

The Syriac Chronicle of Michael Rabo (The Great)
A Universal History from the Creation

Translation and Introduction by
Matti Moosa

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Dedicated to:

His Eminence Mor Cyril Aphrem Karim, Metropolitan of the Syrian Orthodox Church of Antioch of the Eastern Part of the United States of America, for his most commendable effort in promoting and perpetuating the legacy of the Syrian Orthodox Church

And

In loving memory of my father Ishaq Moosa (d. 1960), deacon and malphono (teacher), who for decades served the Syrian Orthodox Church and the School of Mor Tuma (St. Thomas) in Mosul, Iraq

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In Memory of their parents, brothers and sisters, grandparents, uncles and aunts. Elias and Jamila Johar Yunan Khbaiz Id Dayr, Rose, Yunan, Yacoub, Marcos and Mary who toiled to give their children the best available education.

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¹ A text summary of the contents (titles of books and chapters) is prepared by Sebastian P. Brock in *The Edessa-Aleppo Syriac Codex of the Chronicle of Michael the Great* (Gorgias Press, 2009) xvii – xxxi.

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Translator's Introduction

Michael Rabo, patriarch of the Syrian Orthodox Church (1166-1199), was the most outstanding dignitary of his community in the twelfth century. He was and is known as Rabo, Syriac for "great," and is called this epithet by Bar Hebraeus.² William Wright says that he was called Michael the Elder to distinguish him from his nephew, Michael the Younger, who became (an ante) patriarch in Melitene in opposition to the lawful Patriarch John XIV, but gives no source for his statement.³ *The Anonymous Edessan* discusses the conflict between this intruding Michael and the legitimate Patriarch Mor Athanasius, and calls him "Michael the Younger," which connotes not a social status but age.⁴ Moreover, to the present time, Michael Rabo remains known as Michael the Great.

Michael Rabo was born in Melitene (Malatya, present-day Turkey) in 1126 to the priestly Qandasi family. His father Iliyya (Elijah) was a priest, and his uncle, Athanasius Zakka (d. 1166), was a metropolitan of Anazarba. He became a monk at the Monastery of Mor Barsoum near Melitene and then its archimandrite. He was strict in observing church canons and would not accept the office of the patriarchate offered to him unless the bishops pledged to adhere to them. He is renowned for his good character, sagacity, endurance and sound judgment, but mostly for his massive Syriac Chronicle, as shall be seen shortly.⁵

Like many ancient writings of prominent Syriac learned men, this Chronicle was hardly known for a long time in either East or West. Even the great Syriac scholar, the renowned Maronite Bishop Yusuf (Joseph) Assemani (1687-1768) had no full knowledge of it. He does not even list it among Michael's writings.⁶ Michael Rabo may have started writing it in the year 1166 and ended it in 1196, three years before his death on November 7, 1199.

Armenian scholars should be credited for being first interested in this Chronicle. The German scholar Andrea Schmidt has so far provided the most comprehensive account of the Armenian translations of Michael's Chronicle including a text summary of versions I and II.⁷ The reason is that the Armenians share with the Syrians the same doctrinal faith of the "One Nature of Christ," following the theological system of St. Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444). In addition, the Chronicle contains several examples of the efforts of both the Syrian and the Armenian Orthodox Churches to achieve doctrinal union between them. Furthermore, the Chronicle abounds with Armenian historical and church events pertaining to their kingdom, kings, domination by the Arabs and Turks, and finally their relations with the Crusaders. It was probably for these reasons that a certain Vartaped, David, undertook the translation of the Chronicle into Armenian at the beginning of the thirteenth century. However, David died while working on the first part of the Chronicle. Thus, his translation is only partial and no date is given for it.

According to the French scholar Victor Langlois, a member of the Armenian Mekhitarist Academy of Saint Lazar of Venice, a second Armenian translation was made from the Syriac in 1248 by a priest named Ischok, who worked on the translation during the pontificate of the Armenian Catholicos Constantine I (Bardzrberdts'i, 1221-1267), and the pontificate of Mor Ignatius, patriarch of the Syrians.

² See Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, II, ed. by J. B. Abbeloos and Thomas Joseph Lamy (Paris and Louvain, 1874), 536.

³ See William Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature* (London, 1894), 250.

⁴ See *Tarikh al-Ruhawi al-Majhul*, translated by Rev. Albert Abouna, II (Baghdad, 1986), 378.

⁵ See Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum *The Scattered Pearls*, translated by Matti Moosa (Gorgias Press, 2003) 446, and Georg Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur* (City of Vatican: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 1947), 267.

⁶ See Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Vol. 2, 154 ch. xxxi, and *Chronique de Michel le Grand, patriarche des Syriens Jacobites, traduit pour la première fois sur la version arménienne du prêtre Ischôk* par Victor Langlois (Venice, 1868), 2.

⁷ See Andrea Schmidt, "Foreword to the Armenian Versions I and II" in *Text and Translations of the Chronicle of Michael the Great, The Armenian Epitomes*, Vol. 9 (Gorgias Press, 2011), vii-xxv, and by the same author, "Die zweifache armenische Rezension der syrischen Chronik Michales des Grossen," in *Le Museon* 109 (1996), 299-319.

INTRODUCTION

Apparently, the Syriac copy of Michael's Chronicle was lent to him by the Syrian patriarch to work on it.⁸ Langlois makes the statement that the Armenian version of Michael's Chronicle was translated into Latin by Professor M. Nazarian in Russia, but gives no information about this translation.⁹ In 1848, Edouard Dulaurier translated parts of the Armenian version into French and it was published in the *Journal Asiatique* (1848) and in the *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades* (1869).¹⁰

However, Langlois disapproves of Dulaurier's translation and says it is inaccurate.¹¹ It was then left for Victor Langlois to translate and publish the entire Armenian epitome in 1868. This Armenian version was published in 1870 and 1871.¹² Presently, I am informed by my colleague Dr. Robert Bedrosian that he has completed a new translation of the Armenian abridgment into English.

But who was this Ischok? Langlois says that Ischok, who Armenians call Sahak (Isaac), was an Armenian priest who was attached to the Catholicos' (Constantine I) palace at Hrombla. He continues to say that because of the conflict between Patriarch Ignatius and his church, the patriarch sought refuge with the Armenian Catholicos Constantine I, taking his books with him. Among these was a copy of the Chronicle of Michael Rabo, which he lent to Ischok who undertook its translation. Apparently, Langlois derives his information about Patriarch Ignatius from Joseph Assemani's *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, II, 371-376, who derived his information from the *Chronography* of Bar Hebraeus.¹³ Evidently Bar Hebraeus says nothing of this sort about Ignatius or the Chronicle of Michael.¹⁴ According to the late Patriarch Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum (d. 1957), Ischok was the Syrian priest, Yesu (Joshua) of Hisn Kipha, a resident of Qal'at al-Rum (the Roman fortress). In 1245, he made an abridgment of the Chronicle in Armenian and it was revised by the Armenian monk Vardan.¹⁵ Evidently, Langlois must have misunderstood the name Isho, which is the Syriac colloquial of Yesu, as Ischok.

Following Langlois' translation of the Armenian version, some writers objected that it was not a translation of the Syriac text but an adaptation. The German scholar Felix Haase undertook the task of comparing sections of the Armenian translation with the original Syriac. After comparing many sections of both, he reached the conclusion that the Armenian version of The Chronicle of Michael the Great is not a translation of the Syriac Chronicle by this historian, but an independent work of Armenian editors. He goes on to say that, Armenian editors omitted a large part of The Chronicle and abbreviated others. He further maintains that because of local patriotic interest, the Armenian editors added a number of events and legends of Armenian church history, which gave the Armenian edition a lasting value.¹⁶

According to Langlois, the original text of Michael's Chronicle seems to have been lost when the fortress of Hrombla (Roman fortress, Qal'at al-Rum in Arabic) was pillaged by the Egyptian Mamluks in 1298.¹⁷ As far as we know, *The Edessa-Aleppo Syriac Codex of the Chronicle of Michael the Great* is the only

⁸ See Langlois, 9-10.

⁹ See Langlois, 8.

¹⁰ See Land, J. P. N. *Joannes Bischof von Ephesos. Der erste syrische Kirchenhistoriker*, (Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1856), 44-45.

¹¹ See previous note, 8; William Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1894), 252, and J. B. Chabot, in *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 43^{ème} année, N.4, Séance du 28 juillet 1899, p. 477.

¹² See previous note and Dorothea Weltecke, "The World Chronicle by Patriarch Michael the Great (1126-1199): Some Reflections," *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies*, Vol. xi, no. 2 (1997), 8-9 and the above Armenian Preface translated by Robert Bedrosian.

¹³ See Langlois, 10, notes 1-3.

¹⁴ See *The Chronography of Gregory Abul' Faraj Bar Hebraeus*, translated into English by Ernest A. Wallis Budge (Oxford University Press, 1932), 389 where Ignatius is mentioned.

¹⁵ See Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, translated by Matti Moosa (Gorgias Press, 2003), 446, and Mor Gregorius Yuhanna Ibrahim, Syrian Orthodox Bishop of Aleppo, in the Arabic translation of the Chronicle of Michael Rabo translated by Mor Gregorius Saliba Shamoun, in 3 Vols. Aleppo: Dar Mardin, 1996), p. 25 of the Introduction found in all the volumes. It is also found in the *Edessa-Aleppo Syriac Codex of the Chronicle of Michael the Great*, ed. by Bishop Yuhanna Ibrahim (Gorgias Press, 2009), p. xii of the Introduction.

¹⁶ See Felix Haase, "Die armenische Rezension der syrischen Chronik Michaels des Grossen," *Oriens Christianus*. Neue Series V, 13 (1915), 69-82 and 271-283, especially the last page.

¹⁷ Langlois, 10.

surviving copy of Michael's Chronicle. On page 298 of this *Codex*, we find the statement that this copy was transcribed by the monk Michael of 'Urbish (later a metropolitan), from the copy of Metropolitan Musa of Sawar (d. 1587), who transcribed his copy from the original text written by the Patriarch Michael Rabo. Michael of 'Urbish completed the copying of the *Codex* in the year 1598. This statement also appears in Garshuni (Arabic written in Syriac script) on the upper-left corner of p. 781 of the *Codex*, but it is written by someone else. Unfortunately, there is no information about the fate of Michael's original copy. Whatever there is on the copy of Metropolitan Musa of Sawar remains rather nebulous.

The Edessa-Aleppo Codex of the Chronicle of Michael the Great found its way into the Syrian Church of Edessa (present-day Urfa in Turkey). How it got there, no one knows. What is known is that it was finally taken to Aleppo by the Syrian congregation, which was forcibly evicted in 1924 by the Turkish government, and deposited at the Church of St. Jirjis (George). It remained under lock until 2009, when the present Metropolitan Mor Gregorius Yuhanna Ibrahim of Aleppo decided to make it public. It was printed by Gorgias Press (2009).¹⁸

The Edessa-Aleppo Codex was not completely unknown to some Syrian bishops in the nineteenth century, who read all or some parts of it. On folio numbered six at the beginning of the *Codex*, we read the following in Garshuni:

Bishop Timothy Ibrahim Qudsi, the less of the chief priests, looked through this book on the first of the month of November of the year 2138 of the Greeks/1827 A.D.

It is followed by:

The less among the chief priests, Iyawannis Stephen Jazri, read through this book at the Festival of Sts. Peter and Paul in the month of June of the year 2158 of the Greeks/1847 A.D.

This is finally followed by:

In the year 1849, I, the less among the chief priests Philoxenus Zaytun, metropolitan of the village of Beth Anhil in the district of Midyat, Tur Abdin, read through this book at the Church of Peter and Paul in Edessa, in the time of Metropolitan Timothy Ibrahim Qudsi in the year 2159 of the Greeks/1849 and the year 1265 of the Hijra/A.D. 1848-1849.

From the above we gather that these and probably other Syrian bishops knew about the existence of this *Codex*, but no one thought of, or even had the means of making it public. It should also be mentioned that a Garshuni (Arabic written in Syriac script) translation was completed in 1795 by Yuhanna Shuqayr, Syrian Orthodox metropolitan of Damascus. Five Garshuni versions survive in different MSS, none of which are published.¹⁹

In the 1880's, the Syrian Catholic Patriarch Ignatius Rahmani, then bishop of Edessa in 1887, acquired a copy of the *Codex* in Edessa and carried it with him to Rome. He presented it to the Italian orientalist Ignazio Guidi (d. 1935), perhaps in the hope of seeking funds to have it printed, but he did not succeed in this effort.²⁰

In 1899, the Rev. J. B. Chabot published the first volume of his French translation of the *Syriac*

¹⁸ See the Preface of Metropolitan Yuhanna Ibrahim to the *Edessa-Aleppo Codex*, ix.

¹⁹ See J. B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, I, XLIII-L; Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, 445, note 1 and Georg Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, II (Vatican City, 1947), 267.

²⁰ See Heinrich Gelzer, *Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronographie*, II, Leipzig: 1898, repr. New York: Burt Franklin, n.d. 432; J. B. Chabot, in *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 43^{ème} année, N.4, Séance du 28 juillet 1899, p. 477, and Dorothea Weltecke, "The World Chronicle by Patriarch Michael the Great (1126-1199): Some Reflections," *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies*, Vol. xi, no. 2 (1997), 9.

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Codex under the title *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, Patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche* (1166-1199), (Paris, 1899), reprinted Culture et Civilisation, Bruxelles, 1963. It was followed by Vol. 2 in 1901 and Vol. 3 in 1905. Finally, he had Vol. 4 of the Syriac text published in 1910. While the title of *The Edessa-Aleppo Syriac Codex* and Chabot's copy from which it was made are missing, Chabot's copy bears the Syriac title *Kthobo d' Makhthabanuth Zabne d' Sim l' Mor Mikha'il Rabo, Fateriarchu* (The Chronicle written by Mor Michael Rabo the Patriarch). Evidently, the title is the interpolation of the calligrapher, whoever he is, and who transcribed Chabot's copy. Instead of following this title, Chabot's French title reads thus, "Michel Le Syrien Patriarche Jacobite." Why call Michael Rabo "Syrian" and "Jacobite?" I am not contesting these terms. What I am maintaining is that they are an arbitrary interpolation by Chabot. They are not in the Syriac copy where the title is missing. Furthermore, to designate Michael as "Syrian" is self-evident, even superfluous. Generally, Western scholars of Syriac culture call the fathers of the Syrian church either by their agnomen, like Bar Hebraeus, or according to their native place of birth, or mostly according to the cities where they served as bishops. For example, Jacob of Sarug is known after the town of Sarug. Philoxenus of Mabug is known after the city of Mabug, and Jacob of Edessa is known after the city of Edessa, Dionysius Tell Mahre is called after the town of Tell Mahre, Sergius of Rish 'Ayna, after the city of this name, etc. These and many other fathers are Syrians by language and culture. Like them, Michael Rabo was a genuine Syrian and patriarch of the Syrian Church. Why of all of them he is called "Syrian" by Chabot?

Calling Michael Rabo "Jacobite" is another matter. Chabot should have realized that the term "Jacobite" is neither doctrinal nor denominational. It was first used during the conflict between Jacob Baradaeus (d. 578) and his supporters, and Paul the Black, as attested by the historian John of Ephesus.²¹ Later, from the end of the sixth century until now, it has been used by the Chalcedonians to berate the Syrian Orthodox Church and community. It has simply been used as a derogatory appellation to mean that Jacob Baradaeus was a "heretic" who established a separate church that rejected the Council of Chalcedon. By the same token, the anti-Chalcedonian Syrians called the Chalcedonians as Malkites, or those who espoused the ideas of Emperor Marcian, who was instrumental in the convocation of the Council of Chalcedon. Both terms "Jacobite" and "Malkite" are pejorative and have no theological legitimacy. In fact, history shows that Jacob Baradaeus neither established a new church nor developed a new dogma. By his indefatigable effort for forty years, he saved the church in Syria and Egypt from utter extinction as a result of the persecution of the Byzantine church and state. It is true that the term "Jacobite" recurs in Syriac writings, as the subtitle of the Syriac copy of Rev. Chabot shows. Sometimes, it is even mentioned in the Chronicle of Michael Rabo itself. However, the term is either used by Eastern calligraphers and others who are not well versed in the history of the Syrian Church, or used by the opponents of this church.²² Or, it is used as a term which became current throughout time.

As to the term "Malkite," Emperor Marcian did not establish a new church called "Malkite," or Malkoye in Syriac. Thus, "Malkite," is as much a derogatory term as "Jacobite."

Be that as it may, Chabot's translation of the Chronicle is impressive. His Introduction is expansive, covering 52 pages. Among other things, he elaborated the Armenian and Garshuni (Arabic written in Syriac script) MSS of Michael's Chronicle. Surprisingly, however, he does not say how he obtained a copy of the Syriac text deposited in the Syrian Church in Urfa (Edessa). According to the minutes of the *Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, in its Session dated July 28, 1899, Chabot says that he was expecting Bishop Rahmani to publish the copy of Michael's Chronicle he had brought to Rome, but did not. Chabot goes on to say that he spent five years searching in the Middle East to find a copy of the Chronicle. Finally, in 1897, during a scientific mission in Syria, he says, "I managed to discover it (The Chronicle) in the humble library of the Jacobite church in Urfa, the ancient Edessa." He continues that "For no price, I could obtain a copy of it. I had, however, the possibility to examine the manuscript during one day; this was enough to let me

²¹ See *The Edessa-Aleppo Syriac Codex*, Book Ten, Chapter 13, 360; Chabot's copy, 357 and his French translation, 2, 324.

²² See "al-Ya'qubiyya (Jacobitism)" being a summary of an article by deacon Ni'mat Allah Denno (d. 1951), showing the term "Jacobite" is derogatory and has no historical validity. See *al-Majalla al-Patriarchiyya*, 2, no. 11 (Damascus, September, 1963), 83-90.

realize its value, and also to increase my regrets.”²³ He adds that, “Today, thanks to the clever negotiations lead by persons to whom I would be happy to publicly pay tribute here, if they had not required from me the categorical assurance not to tell their names, I possess a good copy made by a copyist who reproduced the original manuscript page by page and line by line, and whose calligraphic execution is close to excellent.” Chabot ends up saying that the copy Bishop Rahmani possessed also came from the manuscript of Urfa, which seems really to have been an *unicum* (the same).²⁴

Chabot’s above statements are puzzling and sound surreptitious.²⁵ The years he spent searching for a copy of The Chronicle of Michael Rabo, until finally on a scientific mission to Syria he found it at a Syrian church in Urfa (Edessa) are not clear. How did he “discover” it while he knew that Bishop Rahmani had already brought a copy of it to Rome? And what was the nature of the scientific mission he iterates? How many men were involved in helping him obtain a copy of the Chronicle, and what was the reason they wanted him to keep their names concealed? Dorothea Weltecke, a German Syriac scholar, sheds some light on these statements. She says, “Sadly but understandably, Chabot’s method of discovering manuscripts had a long lasting side-effect on the relationship between scholars of Oriental studies and Oriental scholars, the impact of which is still felt to this day.” She continues, “In Europe, Chabot was honored for having ‘discovered’ the chronicle after a year-long research, while the Syriac original and the Arabic translations became known or were acquired for European libraries respectively. While none of these have been published, they have, however, been used by Chabot as a corroboration of the Syriac text in his translation and commentary.”²⁶

The late Syriac scholar, Arthur Vööbus (d. 1988), sheds some light on the manner Chabot obtained this manuscript. Vööbus, who was trying to photograph some Syriac manuscripts (in Aleppo) in the 1980’s, says that Archbishop Dionysius (Jirjis) permitted him to photograph the documents he needed. However, the council of the church overruled his decision, creating a very painful situation. Vööbus continues to say that he was permitted to see the manuscripts, but the council members were sitting around him and followed every move he made. He concludes that, “These people had not yet forgotten their deep resentment caused by Prof. J.B. Chabot who had broken their trust in Edessa as I was told.”²⁷ Nevertheless, the present Syrian Orthodox Metropolitan of Aleppo, Mor Gregorius Yuhanna Ibrahim, identified the calligrapher who made a copy for Chabot as deacon Gouria of Urhoi (Edessa) in the year 2199 of the Greeks/A.D. 1888.²⁸ In fact, the name of deacon Gouria appears in a colophon on p. 777 of the Syriac text of Chabot, following the table of names of the Nestorian Catholicoses. Although the colophon does not clearly state that Gouria is the one who added it, he is most likely the same deacon Gouria who transcribed the Syriac copy of Chabot in 1888. It should be noted that the *Edessa-Aleppo Syriac Codex* does not have this colophon.²⁹ Despite the abstruse or perhaps inconvenient circumstances under which Rev. Chabot obtained a copy of Michael’s Chronicle, he is the first scholar in both East and West to undertake the translation into French of this massive work. His translation is truly a phenomenal feat that shall be remembered and cherished for generations to come.

The present translation of Michael’s Chronicle, offered for the first time in English, is based on *The Edessa-Aleppo Syriac Codex* and two Arabic translations. One is London MS Or. 4402 in Garshuni (Arabic written in Syriac script), the other is a recent translation by Metropolitan Mor Gregorius Saliba Shamoun of Mosul in 3 Vols. under the title *Tarikh Mar Mikha’il al-Suryani al-Kabir al-Patriarch* (Dar Mardin, Aleppo, 1996). It is a translation of Rev. Chabot’s copy. The London Garshuni MS contains the translation of

²³ See Notes by J. B. Chabot in *Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*. Séance du 28 juillet 1899, 477-478.

²⁴ Notes by J. B. Chabot in *Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*. Séance du 28 juillet 1899, 478.

²⁵ See Roger Pearse, *Armenian Versions of Michael the Syrian*, found on the internet.

²⁶ Dorothea Weltecke, “The World Chronicle by Patriarch Michael the Great (1126-1199): Some Reflections,” *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies*, Vol. xi, no. 2 (1997), 10.

²⁷ See Weltecke, 10, note 22.

²⁸ See the Preface of Metropolitan Yuhanna Ibrahim to the *Edessa-Aleppo Syriac Codex* (Gorgias Press, 2009), p. xii 5 of the English version; p. 5 of the Syriac version, and p. k of the Arabic version of the same Preface at the beginning of the Codex.

²⁹ See *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, IV (Paris, 1910, rept. 1963), 777.

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Yuhanna Shuqayr of Sadad, metropolitan of Damascus, completed in 1759. It is transcribed from the copy of the Za'faran Monastery by David, son of Ibrahim al-Solchi³⁰ in the time of Patriarch Elias (II 'Ankaz) on September 7, 1846. Then, he goes on to say that the Za'faran copy is written in three columns. One column contains profane history; the second contains church history and the third contains extraordinary natural phenomena. David al-Solchi did not follow this arrangement, but preferred to write down these columns following each other consecutively in order that the reader might not be tired or bored. Also, he followed this arrangement because in some parts the folios are blank either because they were not in the original Syriac text, or because the *Codex* is old and some of the folios were lost or placed in disorder.³¹ Unlike this version which is translated into a mixture of colloquial and classical Arabic, the recent translation of Metropolitan Saliba Shamoun is done in classical Arabic. I have abstained from contextual criticism of these translations which I used only as far as they conformed to the Syriac text. Sometimes I consulted the Garshuni copy of Michael's Chronicle in MS 20 of St. Mark's Monastery, Jerusalem, and a DVD copy provided me by the antiquarian Roger Pearse, which can be found on the internet. It is copied by the priest Jirjis (George) of the family of Fadil of the village of Fairuza, Syria. Jirjis finished copying it on January 5, 1899 in the time of Patriarch Abd al-Masih (II), and Metropolitan Iyawannis (Halluli), archimandrite of St. Mark's Monastery.³² Still, there are other Garshuni copies in Sadad, Cambridge and an abridged copy in the Borgia Museum, Rome.³³

Michael used Greek and Syriac authorities mentioned in the three versions of the Introduction. In the computation of years of the Biblical fathers, he relied on the Chronicle of Eusebius of Caesarea. This Chronicle was translated by Jacob of Edessa (d. 708).³⁴ Unfortunately, it is lost to us except for few folios translated into Latin and published by E. W. Brooks in 1903.³⁵ In his account on the Crusades, he relied on his own experience and on an Arabic source, but does not identify it. He also used Armenian sources from which he derived the table of names of the Armenian Catholicoses. Again, he does not identify his source. Nevertheless, in order to compile his massive knowledge, he must have had a fairly good knowledge of Greek, Armenian and Arabic languages. At the end of Chapter Fourteen of Book Fifteen, Michael says that, "We placed this chapter at the end of this book because we have derived it from an Arabic book." And at the end of the table of Armenian kings and chief priests, he says, "We found this information in an Armenian book." These statements indicate that Michael knew Arabic and Armenian. However, he does not identify either of these books.

The *Chronicle* of Michael Rabo is not a random compilation of ancient sources. Michael makes clear in the Introduction, which survives in an Armenian abridgment, that he gathered numerous accounts from sacred and secular documents with the names of their authors. He did not copy these accounts slavishly but sifted through them and chose what only was most useful, leaving aside what was harmful, inaccurate or irrelevant. In this sense, Michael, like any historian of our time, adhered strictly to the accepted canons of history and the manner in which they should be presented. His objective was to run a trustworthy and accurate account of history from the Creation to his own time. Michael had a keen sense of history. Not only did he desire to leave a record of history to future generations, but also to enlighten the people of his own time. He realized that ancient authors had presented knowledge of their own time in a comprehensive manner. He also maintained that not too many people of his time made use of their writing. Thus, he undertook the task to present history in a contracted and concise manner to his generation, which was

³⁰ Chabot mistakenly writes the name as al-Solibi in the Arabic version and es-Solibi in his French translation. See Chabot's Preface to *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 1, p. xlv of the Arabic and xlvi of the French, and Notes by J. B. Chabot in *Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*. Séance du 28 juillet 1899, 479.

³¹ See MS London, Or 4402 the colophon of David al-Solchi, p. 420 being the last page of the MS, and G. Margoliouth, *Descriptive Lists of the Syriac and Karshuni manuscripts in the British Museum acquired since 1873* (London, 1899), 2.

³² See the colophon written in Arabic and Syriac on p. 363 of MS 20 of St. Mark Monastery.

³³ See Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, 446, notes 1 and 3.

³⁴ See the remarks of Theodosius of Edessa in Book Seven, Chapter Two.

³⁵ E. W. Brooks, "Chronicon Iacobi Edesseni" *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, Vol. 4, 3rd series, 1903, 187-257.

blunted by ignorance. His intention was that by reviving the writings of authors of past generations, he would dispel the darkness of ignorance in his generation. Like any modern historian, Michael was essentially saying that by studying the past we learn the present. Judging by its extensive scope, historical narrative and wealthy source materials, the Chronicle of Michael Rabo is a work of impressive Syriac scholarship and erudition.

It should be remembered that Michael was a devout, Christian historian. Unlike modern historians who drop God's providence from their treatment of history, Michael maintains that God is in control of history and time. In his Introduction, he warns the inquiring minds not to be dismayed about the discrepancies between the Septuagint and other translations of the Scriptures because, "mankind errs in correctly understanding the word of the Lord, and that only the Creator and Lord can know time." Perhaps, like Eusebius, Michael had in the back of his mind Christ's warning to his disciples in Acts 1:7, "It is not for you to know the times or dates the Father has set by his own authority."³⁶ To him, the omniscient God is the Lord of history.

From Michael's Chronicle, we learn that the actions of men, especially rulers, whether believers or not, are monitored by God. Their good deeds merit God's approval, and bad deeds, God's wrath. In fact, his Chronicle abounds with examples of warfare, calamities, plagues, famines, earthquakes, and even swarms of locusts that devastated crops, as manifestations of God's wrath against men. In Chapter Six of Book Eleven of the Chronicle, he affirms that the Muslims invaded the district of Antioch and took a great number of men, women, and especially young women captive, as a divine punishment of the Christians.

It is interesting that in Book Eight, Chapter Four, Michael relates the story of the young men who fled the city of Ephesus from the persecution of the Roman Emperor Decius (249-251), and slept in a cave. When they woke up it was the time of Emperor Theodosius II (d. 450). They had slept for almost two hundred years. This Byzantine, Christian miracle was adapted by Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam, as a revelation he received from God and used it as Sura (Chapter) 18 of the Quran entitled *Ahl al-Kahf* (The People of the Cave). The importance of this story is that it serves as evidence of how much Muhammad was influenced by Christian legends circulating in his time.

Apart from the narrative of the Councils of Nicaea (325), Constantinople (381) and Ephesus (431), Michael devotes a rather extensive portion of Book Eight to the Council of Chalcedon (451). Apparently, this Council was convened by Emperor Marcian and his wife Pulcheria to present a new definition of the faith (much against the resolutions of the Council of First Ephesus in 431). In reality, its main objective was to punish Dioscorus, pope of Alexandria, for not reading the *Tome* of Leo, bishop of Rome, in the Second Council of Ephesus in 449. This Council (Chalcedon) tore the universal church into two conflicting factions, and its deleterious damage is felt until this day. As a leader of the church who rejected Chalcedon, it is not surprising to see Michael relate 72 narratives to demonstrate his condemnation of this council.

The rift between the Chalcedonians and their opponents continued, and was worsened when emperors sided with one faction against the other. In Book Nine, probably derived mainly from the second volume of the history of John of Ephesus (d. 587), which is lost to us, Michael details this rift and the persecution suffered by the anti-Chalcedonians, calling them "Orthodox" and calling the Chalcedonians "heretics." Emperor Zeno, who came to power in 474, tried to find a compromise for both warring factions by issuing his *Henoticon* (Instrument of Union), but failed when some Egyptian bishops rejected it. Emperor Anastasius (491-518), who supported the anti-Chalcedonians, displeased the Chalcedonians. However, the scales tipped in favour of the Chalcedonians when Justin I assumed the throne. He was an avowed Chalcedonian and began the persecution of those who rejected the resolutions of the Council of Chalcedon. The main victim of his persecution was Patriarch Severus of Antioch (d. 538). Threatened by Justin to have his tongue cut off, Severus fled to Egypt where he administered his church by proxy until the end of his life. The persecution of the bishops and the pillaging of the monasteries and churches in the East intensified. The most notorious persecutor was Ephraim, Chalcedonian patriarch of Antioch, and his agent, Abraham

³⁶ Cf. *The Chronicle of George Synkellos*, translated by William Adler and Paul Tuffin (Oxford University Press, 2002), xxxv of the Introduction.

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Bar Kaili, bishop of Amid. The persecution abated in the time of Emperor Justinian I (527-565), nephew of Justin, and his wife, Theodora, who was Orthodox, or non-Chalcedonian. However, the wounds afflicting the universal church were never healed. It is peculiar that amidst these tragic circumstances of the church, Justinian, a Chalcedonian, commissioned John of Ephesus, an anti-Chalcedonian, to evangelize heathens in Asia, Pharia, Phrygia and other countries. About 70,000 were converted to Christianity, but they accepted the Council of Chalcedon after Justinian paid the expenses of their baptism.³⁷ Justinian convened the Fifth Council as a compromise but it did not succeed, and he remained a Chalcedonian.

Adding to church schism was the constant warfare between the Roman (Michael never called the Romans as Byzantines) and the Persian Empires. Both invaded the territories of each other devastating, killing, burning, demolishing and taking captives. It is no wonder that both were exhausted by wars and other calamities like famine and plague, that they fell as easy prey for the Arabs, who invaded their territories, defeated them and became their new masters. In addition, we should not lose sight of the heroic and indomitable people of Armenia. The Romans had mistreated the Armenians and even dislodged crowds of them, scattering them throughout the Roman territory because of their rejection of the Council of Chalcedon. By weakening Armenia, they destroyed the bulwark that protected their territories against foreign invasion. The tragic blow came in 1071 when they lost the battle of Manzikert to the Seljuk Turks in northern Armenia, and the entire Asia Minor was open to the new invaders. Eventually, the eastern Roman homeland became what is called today Turkey.

From Chapter Twenty-One of Book Ten, that is, the beginning of the reign of Emperor Maurice (582-602), until the end of Book Twelve, Michael Rabo extracts a very large pericope from the history of Patriarch Dionysius Tell Mahre (d. 845). It covers the events from the time of Maurice to the year 843, two years before Tell Mahre's death. The original of this history is regrettably lost to us, but whatever Michael copied from it is of prime importance. What is significant is that Tell Mahre relates in Chapter Two of Book Eleven of this Chronicle the appearance of Muhammad and Islam, and how the Arabs overwhelmed both the Persians and the Romans. In Chapter Six, Tell Mahre says that from Damascus, Khalid ibn al-Walid marched with an army against Aleppo and Antioch and killed many people. He laments the fact that the invading Arabs caused so many calamities that they are difficult to recount. In Chapter Seven, he shows that the Muslims finally dominated Syria proper together with Palestine and Iraq. Their victory sealed the end of the rule of the Romans in Syria, whose Emperor Heraclius departed with sorrow. While he praises Umar Ibn al-Khattab (d. 644) for his apparent justice, based on Muslim sources, he says that Umar imposed a Jizya (poll tax) on the countries his armies occupied. In Chapter Eight, Tell Mahre iterates the atrocities committed by the Muslims when they invaded Roman countries. From him, we learn that the invading Arabs were only interested in levying the Jizya (poll tax) on the subdued people, and in killing and looting. Their treatment of captive women inside some churches was abominable.

Moreover, the church continued to suffer from schism over the Christological resolutions of Chalcedon and began to lose ground to Islam. Since Tell Mahre was a contemporary of Abbasid Caliphs from Harun al-Rashid to al-Mu'tasim and an eyewitness of most of the events in his time, his observations and comments are most credible. He says that the Muslim caliphs who did not understand Christianity dabbled in church affairs and even determined the appointment of patriarchs. Still, the main concern of the caliphs was to collect the Jizya (poll-tax) from the Christians. Even the most tolerant of the Christians, the Abbasid Caliph al-Ma'mun (d. 833), imposed the Jizya as a priority. Patriarch Tell Mahre, who was a friend of al-Ma'mun, asserts that al-Ma'mun loved the Christians and imposed a double tribute on any of them who deserted Christianity or converted to Islam. He adds that al-Ma'mun used to say, "As long as you (Christians) pay me the Jizya, everyone has the freedom to follow the religion he wishes." For this, many deserted the mosques and joined the churches.³⁸ Al-Ma'mun also took Patriarch Tell Mahre with him to Egypt to prevail on the Biyamaye Copts in Lower Egypt to desist from rebelling and become obedient to

³⁷ See Book Nine, Chapter Twenty-Four.

³⁸ See Book Twelve, Chapter Thirteen.

the caliph. When their women brought food to their rebellious men, the Muslims captured them and defiled them. With the mediation of the patriarch, they stopped rebelling, but their leaders were evicted from Egypt and sold in Damascus. Al-Ma'mun issued a decree to his governors not to molest the Egyptians or kill them. He also lightened their Jizya. However, no sooner had he left Egypt than his governors oppressed the Egyptians even more. They killed many of them and took the rest captive.³⁹ It should be understood that to an extent al-Ma'mun was an exception and not the norm. However, one is tempted to note that this was the true spirit of the Abbasid society and not the fanciful world of the *Arabian Nights*. With the death of al-Mu'tasim (d. 842), the history of Tell Mahre comes to an end.

Most of the information in Book Thirteen is derived from the chronicle of Bishop Ignatius of Melitene (d. 1094).⁴⁰ In the introduction of his chronicle, which Michael Rabo presents at the beginning of Book Thirteen, Ignatius relates the reason for writing his chronicle. He says that after Dionysius Tell Mahre, no Syrian attempted to write the chronicle of kings and churches. So, he, the unworthy, decided to undertake this task by presenting the historical events in a simple and brief manner. He began his account with the time of Constantine the Great and brought it to his own time.

The conflict between the Romans and the Muslims, and the continuous persecution of his own church by the Chalcedonians aside, Ignatius makes a significant statement concerning the Armenians. He says that in the year 1300 of the Greeks/A.D. 989, the Armenians began to leave Great Armenia (in the time of Emperor Basil II, the Bulgar-Slayer (976-1025) and settle in Cappadocia, Cilicia and Syria.⁴¹ This movement, together with the eviction of the Armenians from their country by some emperors, explains the existence of the Armenians in some Middle Eastern countries and the change of their demographic structure to this day. If the emperors had not weakened Armenia, the Seljuk Turks would have faced a great difficulty in overwhelming that country and the rest of Asia Minor.

In Book Fourteen, Michael Rabo details the origin of the Turks, who he says are the descendants of Japheth, one of the sons of Noah. They were also said to be the Gog and Magog by the Prophet Ezekiel in Chapters 38-39. They multiplied and spread in the earth. They controlled Persia, Athor (north Iraq), Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia), Armenia, Syria, Palestine and Cilicia. In addition, they were used as mercenaries by the Arabs (by the Abbasid Caliph al-Mu'tasim, d. 842). When the Arabs became weak, the Turks dominated them and their caliphs were mere puppets, enthroned and deposed by their will. Like the Arabs, they embraced Islam and observed their religious rules and obligations.

In Book Fifteen, Chapter Three, Michael, who most likely continues the chronicle of Ignatius of Melitene, relates the rise of Tughrul Beg (1038-1063), the Seljuk, in Khurasan and his raids against Roman cities like Melitene and Aleppo, ravaging them. The catastrophe, however, came in 1071 when another Seljuk Sultan Alp Arslan, nephew of Tughrul, defeated the army of the Romans at Manzikert in northern Armenia near Lake Van. With its defeat, the whole Roman territory was open to the Turkish hordes that moved quickly to occupy it and establish Turkish petty states. Of these were the Seljuks of Rum in Iconium and the Danishmends in Sebastea, Caesarea, Amasea and other northern regions. Other major cities like Antioch were in the hands of the Turks. Indeed, the Roman state was no more and the Romans were confined only to Constantinople and its surroundings.⁴²

In Book Fifteen, Chapter Seven, we find the account of the regular army of the Crusaders and its leaders who arrived in Constantinople and then crossed over to the land of the Romans. The reason for their coming to the East was to liberate Jerusalem from the hands of the Muslim Turks. These Turks were molesting, persecuting and imposing heavy taxes on the European pilgrims to the Holy Places in Jerusalem. In addition, the Turks assassinated especially the pilgrims from Rome and Italy. This abominable treatment of the pilgrims moved the kings of Europe to send an army against these Turks. In 1097, the Crusaders

³⁹ For the tragic conditions of these Egyptians, see Chapters Seventeen and Eighteen of Book Twelve.

⁴⁰ For a biography of Ignatius of Melitene, see Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, translated by Matti Moosa as *The Scattered Pearls*, 418-419.

⁴¹ Chapter Five of Book Thirteen.

⁴² For details, see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades: Conflict between Christendom and Islam*, 67-75.

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captured Edessa, which became the first Latin principality in the East. In the next year (1098), they captured Antioch, which was ruled by Aghousin the Turk.⁴³ Then, the Crusaders marched against Jerusalem, captured it in 1099, and set up their Latin Kingdom.

Before the Crusaders' arrival in the East, the condition of the countries of the Middle East was neither peaceful nor tranquil. In Chapter Seven, Michael shows that the warfare between the Muslim rulers, whether Turks or Arabs, was ferocious and devastating. The entire region was in constant turmoil. The Turks had the upper hand in Asia Minor, Syria and Mesopotamia while the caliphate of Baghdad had totally lost its power. When the Crusaders arrived, they did not fight the Arabs but the Turks. The Franks were now the rulers of the East.⁴⁴

As rulers, the Franks did not enjoy a state of peace. They faced two major and deadly enemies, first the Zangids and later their lieutenant mukluk, Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi (Saladin). In 1144, Imad al-Din Zangi captured Edessa and his fighting men ravaged it. In Book Sixteen, Chapter Two, Michael laments the tragedy that befell Edessa. However, Imad al-Din Zangi's rule did not last long, and he was killed in bed by two of his eunuchs in 1146. His son Nur al-Din, who succeeded him, marched against Edessa, captured it and devastated it in this same year. This precipitated the second Crusade and the expedition to the East by Kings Conrad III of Germany and Louis II of France, which ended in failure. In 1174, Nur al-Din died and his lieutenant in Egypt, Saladin, took advantage of his death, married his widow, and by different maneuvers became the sole ruler of his domain. The Franks now faced this formidable enemy who unified the Muslim forces and defeated them at Hittin. He recaptured Jerusalem from them in 1187. The most significant reason for their defeat was their internecine conflict, divisiveness and the ill-fated tactical mistakes of their leaders.

Michael Rabo, who ends the saga of the Crusades with the death of Saladin in 1193, shows intermittently that, in general, the Franks did not treat their own people, the Syrians or the Armenians fairly. They used the Armenians for their own interests, and interfered in the affairs of the Syrian Church. Still, he is benevolent and objective in his treatment of Franks. At one time, he was invited by the Franks to journey to Rome to defend the true faith against a certain heresy. He did not journey to Rome, but wrote a discourse refuting that heresy and sent it to the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem. Although he was a contemporary of Saladin, yet he does not say much about him. Only on one occasion did he send a delegation to Saladin regarding a matter concerning the church, the nature of which he does not clearly explain. However, he was relieved when Saladin solved the matter in favor of the church. I have detailed the affairs of the Armenians and the Syrians before and after the arrival of the Franks in the East, and how they were treated by the Muslims, whether Arabs or Turks, and how they were treated by the Franks until the death of Saladin.⁴⁵

It should be noticed that the pages of the *Edessa-Aleppo Syriac Codex* are not uniform. Some of them are one full page, others contain two columns, and others contain three columns. However, the entire *Codex* is written in a neat, modern Syriac hand. Unfortunately, the *Codex* suffers many lacunae, whether great or small. I preferred to fill in some of them from the *Chronography* of Bar Hebraeus, whereas Rev. J. B. Chabot filled all of them in his French translation of Michael's Chronicle. When these lacunae consisted only of a few words, I have overlooked them and bridged the text without losing the original meaning.

I have also eliminated the charts of dates and names of the kings of different ancient nations, whether they are recorded in individual charts or placed at the bottom of the folios. My main concern is to give a faithful translation of the entire text and not encumber the reader with the infinite names and dates which are mentioned in abundance in the text.

The first 90 folios of the *Syriac Codex* contain "marginal notes." Most of these notes, however, are originally meant either as a part of the text or have a strong affinity with it. For their importance, and that they might not be overlooked by the reader if they are treated otherwise, I have inserted them in their

⁴³ For more details, see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, Chapters 9 and 10, pp. 269-380.

⁴⁴ See Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, entire Chapter 14, pp. 477-532.

⁴⁵ See Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, Chapters 14 and 18-19.

proper place in the text.

Throughout the entire Chronicle, the reader will be faced by the term “Orthodox.” What Michael Rabo means by this term is specifically the Syrians, Armenians and the Egyptian (Copts) who rejected the definition of faith by the Council of Chalcedon (451 A.D.). The reader will also encounter the *Tome* of Leo, bishop of Rome, which separated the two natures of Christ, the divine and the human, after their union. This was understood to mean that the divine nature of Christ acted separately from his human nature, with the result that there were two Christs, one divine and the other human, separate from each other. This *Tome*, which became the basis of the definition of faith by the Council of Chalcedon, was rejected by Michael Rabo and his church.

The dates in the *Edessa-Aleppo Syriac Codex* are given according to the computation of the Greeks, which exceeds the current calendar by 311 years. To eliminate confusion, I have converted the dates to our A.D. calendar. The discerning reader will find that some of the dates do not exactly correspond with the years, especially of kings, given by modern writers. I kept them as they were put down by the author.

The Biblical quotations are mostly taken from the New International Version and some others from the King James Version.

The reader will notice that Michael Rabo always refers to the East Roman Empire as “the Romans” or “the Greeks” and never used “Byzantine,” which is a later term. He also refers to the Arabs as Tayoye in reference to the Arab tribe of Tay, which was evangelized and converted to Christianity by the Syrians. The term Tayoye covers Arabs and Arab Muslims. Even the Hijra or, Islamic Calendar, is referred to as Tayoye. Sometimes the Arab Muslims are called *hanfe*, which basically means pagans, or heathens. But in Michael Rabo’s sense, and the sense of the Syrians, it meant non-Christians. He also refers to Arab Muslims as *mbagroye* (Hagerites) in reference to Hagar, the Egyptian slave girl who gave birth to Ishmael, son of Abraham, according to Genesis 16:11-16. However, from Book Fourteen onward, the Arabs and Muslims are sometimes called *Tayoye* and other times, *Arboye* (Arabs) or *Mshalmone* (Muslims), but no explanation is given.

This book would have not been completed without the collaboration of friends and colleagues. Some of them contributed translation of passages from the Armenian or the French. Others provided DVDs of unpublished Syriac manuscripts. Still, others offered their suggestions on parts of the translation. I am grateful to his Eminence Mor Cyril Aphrem Karim, Metropolitan of the Syrian Orthodox Church of the Eastern United States, for his commendable effort in having this book published, and for explaining some obscure Syriac terms. I am indebted to my colleague Dr. Robert Bedrosian, who translated the Preface found only in the Armenian epitome of the *Chronicle of Michael the Great*, and for his invaluable suggestions. I am also indebted to my kinsman Dr. Sami-Victor Qass Elias and his wife Dr. Elisabeth Kauffmann, to my friend and linguist Lance Strasser, to Robert Hall, a former student, and to Rev. Roger Youssef Akhrass, a promising young Syrian scholar, and Shatha Sofia for the translation of several passages of the French of J. B. Chabot. Ralph Boyles of the Computer Department of Edinboro University of Pennsylvania was very helpful in setting the draft copy of this translation on the computer. The antiquarian Roger Pearse, and Abd al-Masih Sa’di, have generously provided me with Garshuni and Arabic manuscript on CDs. I should also thank Dr. George Kiraz of Gorgias Press for providing me with a copy of the *Edessa-Aleppo Syriac Codex of Michael the Great*. I should also recognize the moral support of Dr. Admer Gouryeh and Hanna Isa Tuma of the American Foundation for Syriac Studies. Petra Beck, who copy edited this book deserves my utmost thanks and gratitude.

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INTRODUCTION

Author's Preface

Listen now, you students and lovers of God, who seek knowledge about events and chronology. With great diligence, we have gathered numerous accounts from sacred and secular documents and have selected, for your sake as well as ours, from them only the most useful and rational information, leaving aside what is poisonous, inaccurate, and irrelevant. For (the early authors) wrote, as it were, in the dawn and noontime and, given the philosophy of those times, in an expansive, comprehensive manner.

It is our misfortune, on the other hand, to live in a period when the day is on the wane, and so (we write) in an abbreviated, contracted fashion. Seeing our (era as) blunted by ignorance, we wanted to dispel the darkness of that ignorance with the breath of (the Holy) Spirit. (Thus) we have resolved to pass the rays of the Sun of Justice like a torch to (illuminate) our hearts, and to present this book to Zion, our holy mother, to serve as education to her children who will hear about forgiveness from On High. Give us your prayers, then, so that our labors bear fruit. It is appropriate now to provide you with the names of the historians from whose works we have constructed this (*Chronicle*).

(The period) from (Adam), the root of humankind, until the coming of Christ was described by the Jewish (authors) (Julius) Africanus, Jesus, Hegesippus, and Josephus. Annianus the cleric from Alexandria, wrote (about the period) from Adam to the Emperor (king) Constantine. Eusebius Pamphili, compiled a book from these and other historians, (and wrote a book) called *Ecclesiastical History*. Zosimus, Sokrat (Socrates Scholasticus), and Theodoret the Heretic, wrote (about the period) from Constantine to Theodosius⁴⁶ the Lesser. John of Antioch,⁴⁷ Djebel, the lector Theodorus of Constantinople, and Zachariah, bishop of Mitylene, wrote (about the period) from Theodosius to Justinian the Old. John of Asia wrote (about the period) from Emperor Anastasius to Emperor Maurice. Gouria (Koria) the savant wrote (about the period) from Justinian to Emperor Heraclius and the march of the Arabs into Syria in Heraclius' time. The blessed James (Jacob) of Edessa briefly wrote about these matters. The deacon Dionysius wrote (about the period) from Maurice to Theophilus, emperor of the Greeks, and to Harun (Aaron), caliph (Amir) of the Arabs. Bishop Ignatius of Melitene and the presbyter Saliba from the same city, John of Kesum, and Dionysius of Alexandria, wrote short histories (about the period) from Adam until their own times. Putting forth the same effort (as these authors), we too, with the aid of God and to the glory of God, will weave a work whose fabric is made up of strands drawn from these and other (writers), colored with the vibrant hues of splendid flowers. Inquiring minds should not be dismayed by seeming discrepancies in the dating, for we found many such discrepancies between the Septuagint and other translations of Scripture, especially in the translation, which King Abgar had made at the order of Thaddeus the Apostle. This translation), was corrected by James of Edessa, who went among the Jews because of a suspicion that they had not provided accurate (exemplars) of all their writings, out of loathing for the heathens. There should be no surprise in this. For, indeed, it is the word of the Lord that mankind errs in understanding correctly times and seasons, and that only the Creator and Lord can know time. Let us, remaining firm in our faith, begin examining the literature with Adam, the first man. Moreover, we observe here, right at the outset, some discrepancy in the chronology (provided by different historians).⁴⁸

Another version of the author's Preface

Devoted and studious brothers, when I was considering the facts, which are important to know in the great number of Chronicles, I refrained from going into detail about those that can be learned from the great number of existing accounts. In addition, I have compiled in the process, from ecclesiastical and profane writers, what was useful and appropriate to reveal in this way the mortal laziness of many, and to

⁴⁶ II

⁴⁷ Or Alexandria.

⁴⁸ This preface is translated by Dr. Robert Bedrosian from the Classical Armenian Jerusalem 1870 edition, pp. 1-5, but it also appears in the Jerusalem edition of 1871. I have only changed the name of Zachariah of the Melitene into Mytilene.

enlighten the shadows of ignorance, lifting the sight towards the reward of my efforts. I shall leave this treasure in the church, and of the teachers of the children of the new Zion, so that it will survive after my time.

In first place we must place the first of all mankind, Adam, so that we start at the beginning. This will be useful to those who speak and those who listen. First, we must give the names of the historians from whom we propose to take the material of our edifice.

Africanus (Julius), Jesus, Hegesippus, Jews covered up to the coming of Christ, Annianus, a monk of Alexandria, covered from Adam until the emperor Constantine

Eusebius Pamphili composed his book with the help of their writings and called it *Church History*.

Zosimus, Socrates and Theodore the heretic, began their writings with Constantine and (continued) to Theodosius the Younger.

John of Antioch and of Dejebel, Theodore Lector, of Constantinople, and Zacharias, bishop of Mitylene, covered from Theodosius to Justinian the Elder.

John of Asia covered from Anastasius to Maurice.

Gouria covered from Justinian to Heraclius, and on the invasion of the Arabs into the lands of the Syrians, which took place in the time of Heraclius.

Saint James (Jacob) of Edessa made an abridgement of them all.

Dionysius the Patriarch covered from Maurice to Theophilus, emperor of the Greeks, and Haroun, amir of the Arabs.

Ignatius, bishop of Melitene, John of Kesum and Dionysius (of Alexandria), and Bar Salibi, made several chronicles from Adam to their own times.

Now we have enumerated the chronicles who, considering the studious disposition of listeners in their own times, wrote with rich colors, we who live in a lesser age, seeing our indolence, (will write) briefly passing rapidly over each of their accounts.

But studious men should not consume their energies in working out greater or lesser numbers in the computation of dates, because of the truth of the saying of the Savior, "The Father has kept for himself the knowledge of times and dates." In fact, there seems a great deal of difference between the version of the Septuagint, and that which the Syrians possess, that which King Abgar had translated, and which James of Edessa revised by using the artifice of a pretended conversion to Judaism, so that the Jews wouldn't hide their information from him.⁴⁹

The Garshuni (Arabic in Syriac script) Preface of the Chronicle of Michael Rabo

Lord, Lord, unto my Lord I call as I proceed to copy the *Chronicle* written and set in order by Mor Michael Rabo (the Great), patriarch of the Syrians, who gathered it and derived it from the books of Maribas the Chaldean, Socrates, Theodoret, John, bishop of Asia, Timothy, bishop of Alexandria, Dionysius of Tell Mahre, Jacob of Edessa, Bar Salibi, Epiphanius, Iyawannis and other renowned teachers and fathers, each one of whom recorded the events of his own time and country.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ This version of the Preface is translated by the antiquarian Roger Pearse from the French translation by Victor Langlois made from the Armenian translation of the presbyter Ishok, (Vince, 1868). Langlois's translation appears under the title *Chronique de Michel le Grand, Patriarche des Syriens Jacobites, traduite pour la premier fois sur la version Armenienne du pretre Ischok* par Victor Langlois (Mekhitarist Publishing House: Paris, 1868). I have produced it here with one slight change of Zacharias, bishop not of Melitene but of Mitylene. It could be found on the internet under <http://www.roger-pearse.com/weblog/>

⁵⁰ This preface appears at the beginning of the Garshuni (Arabic written in Syriac script), of the British Museum, MS Arabic 4402), translated by Yuhanon (John) Shuqayr, metropolitan of Damascus who completed it in 1759. It is most likely written by Metropolitan Mikha'il (Michael) of Urbish when he was still a monk, and finished the transcription of the *Chronicle* of Michael Rabo in 1598 A.D.

BOOK ONE

FROM ADAM TO THE FLOOD CONSISTS OF SEVEN CHAPTERS

Chapter One: From the Creation of Adam to the birth of Seth

Almighty God created Adam on the sixth day of the week, which is 'Urobtō (Friday). Most learned men say that Eve was created on the same day. After their fall, i.e. transgression of the commandment of God their creator, they were expelled from Paradise. Thirty years later, Adam knew his wife and she brought forth Cain their firstborn.⁵¹

...lacuna... years until the ninth century.⁵² The monk Annianus, based on the *Book of Enoch*, says, "After his expulsion from Paradise, Adam knew his wife Eve when he was seventy years old, and she gave birth to Cain. Seven years later, she brought forth Abel. Fifty-three years later, Cain killed Abel, and Adam and Eve mourned him one hundred years. Then, Seth was born. He resembled perfectly his parents."⁵³ Methodius of Patara⁵⁴ says that Adam and Eve had Cain and his sister Climia thirty years after they left Paradise. Thirty years later, they brought forth Abel together with his sister Labuda.⁵⁵ Then, when Adam was 130 years old, Cain killed Abel. When Adam was 230 years old, he brought forth Seth." This account is brief but sufficient to show the concurrence of historians regarding the number of years.

Chapter Two: The divine Book of Prophecy of the Prophet of God, Moses, tells us that God created the heaven and the earth. The earth, which was created by wisdom, was sufficient to comprehend all creation. However, it was empty and formless, and the Spirit of God was hovering over the waters. And God said, "Let there be light," and there was light. God saw that the light was good, and he separated the light from the darkness. God called the light "day", and the darkness he called, "night." And there was evening and there was morning—the first day. Thus, the Spirit of Prophecy says until he reached the sixth day in which Adam was created after everything else had been created. God said, "Let us make man in our image, in our likeness, and let them rule over the fish of the sea and the birds of the air, over the livestock, and over all the earth. God created man in his own image; in the image of God he created him." God then completed what was lacking by creating Eve from Adam's rib.⁵⁶ Not only the Holy Scriptures alone mention these things, but they are also mentioned in all the histories. However, we do this in order that he who reads shall understand the connotation if they are discerned correctly. Indeed, they should be understood according to the ideas of the saints. They may have been written in a latter time.

⁵¹ This passage is not in the Syriac copy. See *The Edessan-Aleppo Syriac Codex of the Chronicle of Michael the Great*, ed. Mor Gregorius Yohanna Ibrahim, Metropolitan of Aleppo (Gorgias Press, 2009), 2, and the copy used by J. B. Chabot (Paris, 1910, reprinted *Culture Et Civilization*, Bruxelles, 1963), 1. But it is found in the Arabic (Garshuni) translation of Metropolitan Yuhanon Shuqayr, British Museum, Arabic 4402. J. B. Chabot produced it in both the original Syriac and in the French translation. See J. B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel les Syrien Patriarch Jacobite D'Antioche* (1166-1199), Paris, 1899, repr. Bruxelles, 1963), p. xlv of the Introduction.

⁵² With these words begins the Syriac text. See previous note.

⁵³ See *The Chronography of Gregory Abul Faraj Commonly Known as Bar Hebraeus*, translated Ernest A. Wallis Budge, I (Oxford University Press, 1932, 3 (hereafter Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*), and Heinrich Gelzer, *Sextus Julius Africanus und die Byzantinische Chronographie*, II (Leipzig: 1898, repr. New York: Burt Franklin, n.d. 254-255 where he compares the dates with *The Book of Jubilee* and with Synkellos. See *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, translated by William Adler and Paul Tuffin (Oxford University Press, 2002), 11-12. On Annianus and the *Book of Enoch*, see below Chapter Four, footnote 60.

⁵⁴ Methodius (called also Eubulius), bishop of Olympus and then of Patara in Lycia, was a distinguished writer. See Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Six, Chapter 13 (Nu Vision Publications, 2007), 247 and Rev. George Salmon, "Methodius," *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, ed. William Smith and Henry Wace, III (London, 1882), 909-911. In footnote 3 on page 3 of Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, Ernest Wallis Budge makes him a bishop of Tyre, but this is questionable. Methodius was martyred in the first persecution of Emperor Diocletian began in A.D. 303.

⁵⁵ John Malalas mentions two daughters of Adam: Azoura and Asouam. see *The Chronicle of John Malalas: A Translation* by Elizabeth Jeffreys, Michael Jeffreys and Roger Scott (Melbourne, 1986), 2

⁵⁶ Genesis 1:26-31.

Chapter Three: From the creation of Adam until Jared who was born in the sixth generation in which also Adam died, there are 930 years. During this period, no king was set up and no kingdom was known. This is because Adam, the first man and father of humankind who was made in the image of God, was the only authority and had dominion, during his life, over his children and his children's children. Seth assumed authority for 138 years, after Abel's death. According to the Septuagint version, Seth lived 205 years and fathered children. According to the Pshitto (Syriac version of the Bible), he lived 150 years. According to the tradition of the Greeks, the Hebrews and the Syrians, Seth lived 970 years and died in the seventh generation. According to the Syriac tradition, he died in the ninth generation. It is said that in Seth's time his children lived in Paradise happily. They determined to live a pure life in the sight of God. They went up to the Mountain of Hermon where they lived a pure life abstaining from marriage. For this reason, they were called *Bnai Elohim*, i.e. the sons of God, and angels. According to the historians Annianus and Africanus, Enosh (Anosh) was 190 years when he fathered a son. However, according to the Syriac tradition, he was 90 years old. Enosh was the first to call on the name of God. He also called for a life of godliness. According to the Greek and Syrian traditions, Enosh lived 905 years and died in the eighth generation. However, the Syrian tradition says that he died in the tenth generation. As to Kenan, he began to have children when he was 120 years old according to the Greek tradition, and 70 years according to the Syrian tradition. Altogether, Kenan lived 800 years, and died in the ninth century. He was followed by Mahalalel who began to have children when he was 165 years old, and 65 according to the Syrian tradition. Altogether, Mahalalel lived 895 years and died in the tenth century. Jared was 162 years old when he fathered a son according to the Greek and Syrian traditions. According to the Samaritan version (of the Old Testament), he was 62 years old. He lived 962 years until the year 366 of the life of Enosh.⁵⁷

When Jared was 40 years old, the first millennium ended. In this year, *Bnai Elohim* (sons of God), two hundred in number, descended from the Mountain of Hermon because they were bored living there. Realizing that they could not return to Paradise, they abandoned the angelic life and indulged in physical lusts. They set up for themselves a king called Semiazos. Annianus says that, "They (the sons of God), descended from the Mountain of Hermon and lodged with their brethren, the children of Seth and Enosh. However, these people refused to give them women to wed because they had betrayed the covenant. The sons of God went to the children of Cain and wedded wives from them and begat mighty men (giants)⁵⁸, i.e., robbers and murderers of great might, that is to say, audacious roaming foot soldiers."⁵⁹

From the history of Josephus

When Abel was murdered and his killer Cain fled, Adam became more concerned about procreating because of his great love for children, and he had many of them. Seth was then 270 years old and lived 70 more years. The seven generations that followed had knowledge of God and feared him. Nevertheless, with the passage of time they began to change the customs of the fathers for bad ones. They did not fear God as they should have, nor did they deal justly with people. Thus, they became enemies of God. In their association with women, many of the *Bnai Elohim* (Sons of God) begat wicked children who despised everything good because they relied on their own strength. It is said that they even practiced robbery. As to Cain, he lived in a region called Nod and fathered children. He was a bad example for all who associated with him. It was he who determined the boundaries of the land, invented measurements for distance and weights, and filled his house with stolen goods. He built a city he called Enoch after his elder son. His sixth

⁵⁷ See Genesis entire Chapter 5, and Henrich Gelzer, *Sextus Julius Africanus und die Byzantinische Chronography*, II, 440.

⁵⁸ Cf. *The Chronicle of John Malalas*, 3

⁵⁹ This, and the former passage and the passages in the margin facing Chapter Four, seems to be derived from one common source that is Annianus, a monk at the beginning of the fifth-century. The original source is the *Book of Enoch*. See *The Book of Enoch*, translated into English by R. H. Charles, first published in 1912. The version used here is the thirteenth impression (London: S. P. C. K, 1972), 34-35. For a thorough analysis of these passages and their origin, see the seminal article of S. P. Brock, "A Fragment of Enoch in Syriac," *Journal of Theological Studies*, xix (1968), 626-631; *The Chronography of George Synkellos* 16 and 18, and *The Book Of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* ed. J. T. Milik (Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1976), 82 mostly based on Brock's article, and Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 4.

BOOK ONE

son, Lamech, married two wives and fathered 77 children, one of whom was Nabal who pitched a tent for himself and loved sheep herding. His son, Jubal, loved music and played the harp. His other son, Tubal, from his second wife, was more distinguished by his might than all the rest of them. He was greatly enamored of musical instruments, and was the first goldsmith.⁶⁰ As to the descendants of Semiazos, who was the leader of those who descended from the mountain and mingled with the daughters of Cain, we found nothing concerning their lineage or the number of their kings except that they descended and were first to establish a kingdom which lasted until the time of the Flood.

Chapter Four: Adam was the first king, followed by Seth. In their time people enjoyed safety and tranquility and led a good life with the fear of God. However, when those called *Bnai Elohim* fell, they stirred up seditions and waged wars and shed blood. They set up Semiazos as their king.⁶¹ The sons of Seth, who lived in the third region to the west known as the lower region, became jealous of them. They imitated them following the example of the wickedness of the sons of Cain. They set up a king like Semiazos, called Aloros, who reigned for ten *saros* (a Chaldean time measure). Thus, two kingdoms were established. After Aloros, nine Chaldean kings followed in succession until the Flood. The days of the Chaldean kings are computed according to the Chaldean horology. According to the names given to them at that time, the first was Aloros the Chaldean from Babylon. He reigned ten *saros*, that is 98 years and 230 days. The second is his son Alaparus, who reigned for three *saros*, that is 29 years and 215 days. The third, Almelon the Chaldean from city of Pautibiblon, reigned for 13 *saros*, which is 128 years and 80 days. The fourth, Ammenon the Chaldean, from the city of Pautibiblon, reigned 12 *saros* that is 118 years and 130 days. The fifth, Amegalarus the Chaldean from the city of Pautibiblon, reigned for 18 *saros* that is 177 years and 195 days. The sixth, Daonus the shepherd from the same city of Pautibiblon, reigned for 10 *saros*, which is 98 years and 230 days. The seventh, Edovanchus from the city of Pautibiblon, reigned for 18 *saros* that is 177 years and 195 days. The eighth, Amempsinus from the city of Laranchon, reigned for 10 *saros*, which is 78 years and 330 days. The ninth, his son Otiartus from the same Laranchon, reigned 10 *saros* that is 78 years and 330 days. The tenth, Xisuthrus his son, reigned for 18 *saros* that is 177 years and 195 days.⁶² The total of these years is 1183 and 205 days. In the time of this latter king, the Flood took place according to the history of the Chaldeans. If the total of these years of 1183 is added to the 1052 years, said to have been the period when there were no kings, and in which Adam and Seth were in control of authority, the period between Adam and Noah in whose time the Flood occurred will then be 2242 years, which agrees perfectly with what is said in the Prophetic Book.⁶³

⁶⁰ Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book 1, Chapter 11, 31-32 translated by William Whiston as *The Works of Flavius Josephus* (New York: Worthington Co., 1888).

⁶¹ See above footnote.

⁶² In his *Chronography*, Bar Hebraeus, 4, lists these names but say nothing about the term *saro* or the years they reigned. According to Gelzer, Bar Hebraeus (in this case Michael Rabo because Bar Hebraeus copies him) defines two definite ruling families: the Egregores (Watchers) whose first king is Semiazos from the sons of Cain. Opposite them stand the sons of Seth whose first ruler is Aloros. These are not the lawful of the Sethites because they remained with Jared on the mountain. The chronographer only mentions the Sethites who inhabited the low region from whom sprang the first Chaldean king, Aloros. See Gelzer, II: 199-200.

⁶³ Michael Rabo does not mention the source from which he derived this information. Actually, he took it from the *Chronicle* of Eusebius of Caesarea. See below Book Twenty-One: Chapter 8, p. 1036. Eusebius derived his information from the Hellenistic-Babylonian Berossos. Berossos was born around 340 B. C. He was an astronomer and a priest of Bel Marduk. He wrote *The History of Babylon*, which survives today in fragments. These fragments were incorporated by Eusebius in his *Chronology*, the original Greek of which is lost to us. The *Chronicle* was translated into Syriac by Jacob of Edessa (d. 708) and was extant in Michael Rabo's time. Unfortunately, this Syriac translation is also lost. Nothing remains of the *Chronicle's* original Greek except some fragments preserved by the ninth-century George Synkellos. A complete translation of the Greek original was made into Armenian in the fifth century and has survived in full. The Armenian version was later translated into French, German and English. Eusebius' *Chronicle* was written in two parts. Part 1 is a prose history and part two contains chronological tables and additional text based on the first part. Part one of Eusebius' *Chronicle* was translated from Classical Armenian by Robert Bedrosian and is available online at <http://rbedrosian.com/euseb.html> and at Internet Archive (<http://www.archive.org/details/EusebiusChroniclechronicon>). Both accessed July 16, 2011. Eusebius' *Chronicle* part two is known as Jerome's *Chronicle* and was translated from Latin by Roger Pearse, available at

However, divine wisdom for the benefit of those who still existed and that they might not be perverted, caused Adam to previously predict that creation would be destroyed either by fire, water, or by force. For this reason, they (people) set up two memorials, one of brick and the other of stone. They inscribed them with writing in order that, in case the brick memorial was destroyed by rain, the one made of stone would remain to let the people know what was inscribed on it. This stone memorial is standing until this day in the land of Shinar (lower Iraq).

According to Josephus, men remained for seven generations looking for God as the Lord of the universe, and practiced virtue.⁶⁴

According to the Roman Proton, Seth is the one who invented writing in the Hebrew language.

From *The Book of Enoch*: In those days, when people multiplied on earth and beautiful daughters were born to them, the daughters were desired by those called *Bnai Elohim* (Sons of God), and they were corrupted. They said to each other, 'Let us choose women from the daughters of the sons of the earth and beget sons.' Their leader, Semiazos, said, 'I fear that you will not want to do this, and will leave me to commit this great sin alone.' They replied, vowing that they would not retreat from this decision. The number of those who took the oath was two hundred. They were the ones who came down from Mount (Ermoniem, Hermon). Of them was Nokbael, chief of the two hundred, who also taught the people about the celestial sphere that is the 360 rotations of the sun. (Astrology)⁶⁵

Chapter Five: Now that we have determined the number of kings who preceded the Flood and their years as correctly as possible, we shall return to the subject of their genealogy as mentioned in the Prophetic Book.

Enoch was 165 years when he fathered children, according to three books. But according to the Syriac version (the Pshitto), which is like the Hebrew version, he was 65 years old. It is said that Enoch was first to write a book and that he pleased God for 300 years. For this reason God transported him to where He willed; He alone knows where that place is. It is said that God moved him to Paradise where Adam lived before the transgression. As to Methuselah, he fathered children at the age 187 years, according to the Septuagint, Syriac and Hebrew versions of the Bible. Thus, also says Andronicus, Eusebius and Annianus, that he was 167 years when he fathered children. According to the Samaritan version, he was 62 years old when he became a father. The total years of his life are 962 beginning with the year 98 of the life of Shem before the Flood took place. Here the Syriac Pshitto and the Greek Septuagint agree regarding the life span

<http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/index.htm#JeromeChronicle> and also at <http://rbedrosian.com/Jerome.htm>. *The Chaldean Chronicle* appears at <http://rbedrosian.com/euseb2.htm>. The Translator's Preface in the Bedrosian translation also lists other relevant Internet-related materials on the topic. See also *Berosos and Manetho, Introduced and Translated: Native Traditions in Ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt*, by Gerald P. Verbrugge and John M. Wickersham (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1996), 49 and 70. In Chapter 1, 13-34, the authors detail the life and works of Berosos. The ninth-century Christian chronographer George Synkellos, relying on the divinely inspired scripture (The Holy Bible), denies that there was a kingdom of any kind before the Flood. He rejects the ideas of Alexander Polyhistor, Berosos and Abydenos who discussed the Chaldeans, their kingdom and table of kings, as "figments of demons when considered in the light of true reasoning". See *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, 18-23.

⁶⁴ Evidently, these passages are taken with great liberty from Josephus' *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book 1, Chapter 2, Section 3 and Chapter 3, Section 1, translated by William Whiston as *The Works of Flavius Josephus* (New York: Worthington Co., 1888), 32.

⁶⁵ This passage is given by Michael Rabo on the margin of Book One, Chapter 4, and p. 4 of the Syriac manuscript. In Chapter 3, the author produced several segments of this passage. He cites it on the authority of the monk Annianus of Alexandria (beginning of the fourth century), who probably derived it from the chronicle of his contemporary, the monk Panodorus. See *The Book of Enoch*, translated by R. H. Charles (1912, repr. London: S. P. C. K., 1972), 34-35; *The Book of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4*, ed. J. T. Milik (Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1976), 8. The passage is quoted almost verbatim by the ninth-century George Synkellos who drew on the chronography of Annianus. See *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, translated by William Adler and Paul Tuffin (Oxford University Press, 2002, 16). It was studied by the Syriac scholar S. P. Brock in a seminal article. Brock maintains that it is "the only genuine fragment of *Enoch* to be preserved in Syriac." He goes on to say that concerning this fragment, Michael drew on a Syriac and not on a Greek source. He speculates that it could come from the Syriac translations of early Syrian fathers like Jacob of Edessa or John of Atharb. See S. P. Brock, "A Fragment of Enoch in Syriac," *Journal of Theological Studies*, xix (1968), 631.

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of Methuselah. Lamech had children when he was 188 years old according to the Hebrew version. The Pshitto says he was 182, and the Samaritan 52. Thus, his life according to the Greek tradition was 772 years up to the year 69 of the life of Shem, son of Noah. He died 29 years before his father. According to the Syriac tradition Lamech lived 770 years and died before his father.⁶⁶

In the year 1666, Noah the righteous was born. He preserved his virginity for 500 years as it is written. According to the Syriac tradition he was 502 years when he had children. In the year 358 of his life, the second millennium came to an end.

Chapter Six: Noah pleased God by his righteous life and found favor in his eyes as the Prophetic Book testifies.⁶⁷ He shunned people when he saw how abomination and injustice had increased among them. God inspired him to carry out everything that was said to him. The Lord said to Noah, “I am going to destroy the earth.”⁶⁸ Noah did what the Lord told him to do. He finished building the ark and put into it every kind of animal and beast of the earth. God also ordered him to bring into the ark his wife, sons and their wives. Then, the Flood came. In the year 600 of Noah,⁶⁹ which is the year 100 (of Shem), people had multiplied and had abandoned the way of the Lord, and the Lord left them a prey to vicious warfare. Thousands and tens of thousands were killed; the earth where these wars took place became stained with their blood; and mounds were formed from their bones. After these events, and because of them, the Flood took place on the 27th of the second month. On that day all the springs of the great deep burst forth, the floodgates of the heaven were opened, and rain fell on the earth for forty days and forty nights. The waters rose and increased greatly, and the ark floated. The waters covered the high mountains under the heaven to the depth of twenty feet. Every living thing that moved on the earth perished. But God remembered Noah and those with him. He sent a wind and the waters stopped. Noah and his household came out and built an altar to the Lord. He offered sacrifices of clean animals, and the Lord smelled the pleasant aroma.⁷⁰

Adam, who was honored by the laying on of hands (priesthood) together with the kingdom and the prophecy, did not keep the commandment as he should have. This made it necessary for the divine visitation of the Word of God (Christ) in the fullness of time. Nevertheless, Adam was worthy of being called “Father.” ...lacuna... Since he offered us a Godly life similar to the life of the One (Christ), and good intention and deeds, he could also offer us a life worthy of saints, which is the holy priesthood that we may become close to those On High. This is what the Scriptures had correctly explained. Priesthood is a gift bestowed by God and extends to the secondary lights that are the first creation of the ranks of angelic heavenly hosts through whom it reached mankind. Let us, then, see who were worthy of this grace from that time up to the Flood.

From the Book (entitled) *On the Priesthood* by Iyawannis (John) of Dara (d. 860):

It was not in the capacity of human nature to be likened unto God, or to correspond to him without the divine gifts of which the priesthood is first, and by which we become divine. Priesthood comes down to us from God, and remains with us in a continuous succession as that of the heavenly hosts. Through it are set up in the church as chief priests, priests and the entire sacred orders. Here we would like to discuss this gift, asking, “What is priesthood and what are the orders associated with it?” Priesthood is a holy act accomplished by full knowledge, in order to fulfill all the things which fall within its activity, for those who are worthy of it. It acts within them as fire acts within iron, and molds them unto itself as it unites with them.

The Theologian (Gregory of Nazianzus), in his *Apology of the Priesthood*, says, “The priesthood is the guardianship over souls. It is the intermediary between God and man. Priesthood is an imperative and

⁶⁶ These names are taken from Eusebius. Sometimes, the dates do not correspond with those of the different translations of the Bible, which Eusebius mentions. See R. Bedrosian, Roger Pearse and Josef Karst, *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ Genesis 6: 8.

⁶⁸ Genesis 6: 13.

⁶⁹ Genesis 7:6.

⁷⁰ Genesis Chapters 6-8.

unlimited service. As to the term “priesthood,” we say that it is taken from abundance, opulence, because it contains all richness and beneficence. It enriches everyone who draws near to, and serves it. We call a person rich because he possesses worldly riches. This description, however, is self-acquired and not natural. It is only a proof of the profusion of worldly possessions. The priesthood is understood as a service between God and man. Man cannot receive the priesthood by himself; only the one called by God, like Aaron, receives it. As David the Psalmist chanted, “You have formed me and laid your hand upon me.”⁷¹ By “formed me,” he meant “created me,” and by “laid your hand upon me,” he meant “you have granted me the laying on of hands of the priesthood which has enriched the human race.” The hand of the Father symbolizes his Son by whom Adam received the priesthood when he was called from the beginning of the world. After Adam’s transgression, the priesthood was renewed, i.e. the gift of the chief priesthood was given him anew through the Incarnate Word of God. At the beginning, Adam received the holy priesthood by the laying on of the hand of God, and from him the priesthood passed to successive generations. It follows that everyone who believes in this sacrament receives it, like Abel, whose sacrifice was accepted because of his goodness. God was pleased with him as it is written. But when the accursed Cain killed him maliciously.... (words missing), God’s unlimited mercy does not take away the gift because he does not regret the graces he had offered. Accordingly, the gift will not be hidden from true believers in every generation and time. The Holy Bible bears witness to this when it relates the stories of Job and Enoch who found favor with God. By the same token, the righteous Noah served God and never associated with the wicked men because of his faith in God. Therefore, he was chosen to accomplish the sacrament (priesthood) with joy. He became the means of preserving what was left of the created beings which God saved from the Flood. Therefore, he became worthy of the order of the priesthood after that miraculous salvation was achieved. After he emerged from the ark he built an altar for the Lord. He offered clean animals as sacrifice in order that this grace will give him the sacrament of the holy priesthood as it was given to the meek Abel. Stranger than this is what the divine revelation said, “The lord smelled the pleasant aroma of the sacrifice.”⁷² The believer, who hears this, will realize that this priesthood does not allude to the shadowy sacrifices of the Old Testament. What actually delights the Lord are those new obvious symbols. And since Noah was worthy to represent the regeneration of the world because he was found righteous in God’s sight, the gift of the priesthood became renewed in him. Also, he bore the divine mysteries which denote the great vicarious sacrifice (Christ).

We should understand in this context the purpose of offering the priesthood. The priesthood is first offered for the salvation of souls. Second, it is offered for the forgiveness of sins. Third, it is offered for our union with God. Fourth, it is offered in order that we may become divine.

Concerning salvation, I say that people deserve death because of Adam’s transgression. But God for His love, wanted to give them life and save them. Thus, He renewed the gift of priesthood first through the law of the Old Testament which saved only a few people by animal sacrifices. According to this law, the priests could not die for the sinners. It was, therefore, imperative that every sinner should die for his own sins. Second, animal sacrifices imposed by the law were not offered to expiate mortal sins and save its perpetrator from death. They were only offered to atone for venal sins. Indeed, it was not in their capacity to realize the desire of those who offered them. If there was perfection in these sacrifices, those who offered them would have been freed from them. Their thinking would not have kept them estranged because of the sins they committed once. But people deserved death, and the priests, the guardians of the law, could not save them nor could animal sacrifices save them either. This is what caused the Lord to come personally and offer a sacrifice on behalf of all (people) and fulfill the sacrifices offered to the Father through Him. Furthermore, He destroyed death caused by sin and granted salvation to everyone. The law of life in Jesus Christ has freed you from the law of sin and death.⁷³ As the priest in the Old Testament offered a sacrifice for the sins of the people, and it was believed that all sins were remitted by this sacrifice, (words

⁷¹ Psalm 139:5.

⁷² Genesis 8:21.

⁷³ Romans 8:2.

missing)...because the priest effected remission of sins by entering the Holy of Holies. Thus, Christ offered himself for the people, destroyed the sins of many who were dead, and he is living forever to intercede on their behalf. And since he was prepared to ascend to heaven, he left for the church a priesthood to act on His behalf in remitting the sins of its children. Also, He reminded them, by His life-giving dispensation, to do this "in my memory."⁷⁴ It is well known that if there was no sin, there was no need for someone to forgive it because "It is not the healthy who need a doctor, but the sick. For I have not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance."⁷⁵ The priesthood, then, is given for the forgiveness of sins. This much from the testimonies of the saints about the priesthood is sufficient.

Chapter Seven: The total years from the beginning of Adam's life until the Flood in the time of Noah are 2245 years.⁷⁶ During this period ten tribal chiefs rose up whose names are known, and ten kings reigned successively whose names are also known. Furthermore, the names of three cities are mentioned. A brief account is given about those who discovered the vocation of discerning the stars, armaments, and musical instruments. For it is unknown from those who have understanding that many unrecorded and consequential events took place successively during that long period of time. Perhaps, the hearers did not pay attention to them. Therefore, the Holy Spirit did not allow their preservation. Sufficient evidence of what has been said are the words of the prophetic spirit, "the Lord was grieved that He had made man."⁷⁷ If we follow the traces of the writers of the prophetic books who wrote by the revelation of the Holy Spirit, we will grasp the reality of the succession of generations. Now, let us leave what is unnecessary for another time.

Chapter Eight: It illustrates tables, names and numbers (years)

Adam lived 930 years and fathered children.

The first millennium

Seth lived to 912 years old. He had the following sons: Enosh, 905 years; Kenan, 800 years; Mahalalel, 895 years; Jared, 962 years; Methuselah, 962 years (raptured to Paradise); Lamech 753, years; Noah, 950 years; Aloros, 98 years; Alaparus, 29 years; Almelon, 128 years; Ammenon, 118 years; Amegalarus, 177 years. Here ended the first millennium.

Doanos, 98 years; Edavanchus, 177 years; Amempsines, 98 years; Otiartus, 78 years and Xisuthrus, 177 years.

Cain fathered Enoch; 'Ir fathered Mahoel who fathered Methuselah who fathered Lamech.

From the race of Seth were those who went up into the mountain and were called *Bnai Elobim*. But when they transgressed their covenant, they came down from the mountain and mingled with the daughters of Cain they set up for themselves a kingdom whose first king was Simiazos. It remained until the Flood and then perished.

Here ends Book One. With it, 2256 years would have passed from Adam to the Flood which occurred in the time of Noah the righteous. He who reads let him pray for the scribe.

⁷⁴ Luke 22:20.

⁷⁵ Matthew 9:12-13.

⁷⁶ According to Malalas, the period is 2552. See *The Chronicle of John Malalas*, translated by Elizabeth Jeffreys, Michael Jeffreys and Roger Scott, 4.

⁷⁷ Genesis 6:6.

BOOK TWO

WITH THE HELP OF GOD LORD OF ALL, WHO DETERMINES THE TIMES, WE PROCEED TO WRITE DOWN BOOK TWO. IT BEGINS AFTER THE FLOOD WHICH TOOK PLACE IN THE TIME OF NOAH UNTIL THE TIME OF ABRAHAM (A SPAN OF) 1081 YEARS.

Chapter One: After God's just wrath, God remembered Noah, and he and those with him came out of the ark on May 17, which is the second month. They abandoned the ark and came to the town of Apamea, in the metropolis of Pisidia, as mentioned by Josephus where its planks are found. Others said something else.

As to their embarking and disembarking the ark, and the number of days, months and years there are different ideas. It is widely known that they (Noah and his household) entered the ark on May 17 and left it at the end of the year on the 27th of the same month. The sons of Noah who left the ark with him were Shem, Ham and Japheth.⁷⁸ Shem was 98 years old when he entered the ark and 100 years old when he left it and fathered children.

Noah divided the land between his sons and cursed anyone who would encroach upon the boundaries of the other. The partition was as follows: the boundaries of Shem were Persia, Bactria up to India, and Rinocoroura; the boundaries of Ham were from Rinocoroura to Gadiron; the boundaries of Japheth were from Media to the western part of Gadiron. Japheth had fifteen tribes whose boundaries were from the River Tigris, which is a dividing line between Media and Persia. The tribes of Shem were twenty-five who lived in the east. Their boundaries were from the Euphrates River which divided their land. Ham's tribes were thirty-two. The demarcation of their land was Jihon that is the Nile. From Japheth descended the Macedonians, Armenians, Medes, Greeks, Latins, Romans and Iberians. From Ham descended the Indians, Copts, Egyptians, Hittites, Jebusites, Hevites, Amorites, Jerjisites and Aradians. The descendants of Shem are the Assyrians, Chaldeans, Lydians, and Aramaeans who are the Syrians, Hebrews and Persians. The sons of Shem dwelt in the east, the sons of Japheth in the north and the sons of Ham in the south. When Noah saw that those who preceded the Flood had wallowed in bloodshed because they wanted the best habitations, and that they had angered God who eradicated them from the face of the earth, he divided the earth and fixed its boundaries. And he cursed those who might quarrel over this division and thereby anger God.

Extracts from the books of the Chaldeans:

The profane philosophers Abydenus and Alexander (Polyhistor) say about Noah and his ark that, "Chronos revealed to Xisuthrus that heavy rain would fall and a flood would occur on June 15." When he heard this he sailed to Armenia on board a ship supported by planks. This ship is still there offering healing to the natives who still adhere to this notion. The books of the Chaldeans contain many stories, one of which says that when the people came out of the ship they reached Babylon and built a city there. It is believed that, concerning the Flood, these Chaldeans follow in the footsteps of the Greeks. This is manifest to everyone. However, whether the writers were Greek or Chaldeans, they gave Noah another name. Sometimes they called him Xisuthrus and other time, Noachus. What is strange is that they mentioned gods instead of God. Instead of the dove they said a flying bird. Abydenus is the one who related the chronicles of the Chaldeans concerning the Flood.⁷⁹

We should clearly understand that when sin increased and people were acting in many forms of abomination, they began to kill each other in ferocious wars. Indeed, such cruelty is the work of the devils

⁷⁸ Genesis 9:18-19.

⁷⁹ See *Eusebius' Chronicle*, *Alexander Polyhistor on the Flood*, translated by Robert Bedrosian, pp. 3-4 of the website <http://rbedrosian.com/euseb2.htm>, and *Abydenus on the Flood*, pp. 5-6 of the same website; Roger Pearse, *Eusebius: Chronicle*, *Polyhistor on the Flood*, pp. 6-7 of the website <http://www.attalus.org/translate/eusebius4.html>, and *Abydenus on the Flood Ibid.* pp. 10-11, and Karst, *Des Eusebios Chronographie dieses*, in website <http://65.72./att/GetAttachment.aspx?file=1baca7b0-1466-4d27-b81e-jedd254717a0....>, pp. 5 and 7-8.

BOOK TWO

and the fruits of what the people have planted. When the earth was fetid with the blood of people, it became unproductive. Bones were piled in it like high mounds looking more like mountains, a thing which delighted the devils. It was then that God commanded and that horrible flood took place. Noah who knew the reason of the perdition of these people, kept wars from happening and ordered that the earth be divided. He cursed anyone who changed the boundaries. This was the reason for the first division. But when the people multiplied and forgot the boundaries, another division took place in the time of Noah despite the imprecation imposed at the first division. Still the people did not uphold the boundaries in the second division.

From the book of archaeology

Nabodor, grandson of Ham, son of Noah, was a presumptuous young man. He began to deceive people telling them not to worship God if they wanted to be successful and wealthy. Most of the people welcomed his teachings with joy believing that the worship of God was futile. They began to build a tower. When God saw them doing so, He did not want to annihilate them as He had annihilated people before them. But He did confuse them by dividing their tongues into multiple languages. The place where they were building the tower came to be known as Babel (Babylon), meaning the confusion of knowledge and inability to understand their original language. This matter is related as follows, that when the entire earth spoke one language, some people built a very high tower in order to reach the heavens. But God sent a violent wind that destroyed it, and gave every one of them a different language, and that city was called Babel. (Genesis 11:3-8).

Chapter Two: Shem fathered Arphaxad when he was 130 years old or 102 years according to the Hebrew tradition. Arphaxad fathered Kenan when he was 135 years old. Eusebius did not mention Kenan's years. Likewise, they were not mentioned in the table of years of the Hebrews or in our own (Syriac) table. Kenan is the one who invented the science of celestial bodies, magic and astrology. His sons worshiped him as god and set up an idol of him. Here began the worship of idols. He built a city and called it Hara after his son's name Haron. Luke, the Evangelist, mentioned the name of Kenan.⁸⁰ Arphaxad lived 465 years according to the Greek tradition and 438 years according to the Syriac tradition. He fathered Kenan when he was 129 years old. According to the Samaritan tradition, he was 139 years old. Shelah fathered Eber at the age of 130 years according to the three traditions. He lived 460 years. According to the Syriac tradition he procreated children when he was 300 years old and died when he was 433 years old. Eber became a father when he was 134 years old. Annianus says that Eber fathered Peleg when he was 133 years old and then fathered Yaqzan (Jectan). According to the Syriac tradition, he lived 464 years. Some say the Hebrews were called after his name.⁸¹

In the year 120 of Peleg, the earth was divided for the second time between the sons of Shem and the rest of the sons of Noah. The share of the sons of Shem was the land situated in the middle of the earth from the frontiers of Egypt, Rinocoura and the Red Sea, and from the Sea of Phoenicia and Syria⁸² to the end of the eastern part of the earth. They possessed the countries of Palestine, Arabia, Phoenicia, Syria and all of Mesopotamia, Hyrcania, Assyria, the Plain of Shinar, Babylon, the country of the Kurds, Persia and its neighborhood.

The share of Ham, the second son of Noah, was the entire southern region from east to west. It included inland and southern India, Ethiopia, Saba, Egypt, Libya, Thebes, Africa and the entire western and southern regions until the end of the world and the ocean (Atlantic). In the northern part, it included Cilicia (Kilikia), Pamphylia, Pisidia, Moesia, Phrygia, Lycia, and Lydia. Of the Sea Islands, it included Cyprus, Chio, Sicily and some twenty additional islands.

⁸⁰ Luke 3:37

⁸¹ See Bedrosian, Pearse and Karst, *Eusebius' Chronicle: the Hebrew Chronicle*, *Ibid.* on the Internet.

⁸² The Mediterranean.

The share of Japheth, the third son of Noah, embraced all the countries of the inhabited world from the east of the inhabited world to the west. The sons of Japheth possessed the following countries: the lands of the Latins and the Turks, and the countries lying east of it, Media, Armenia, Cappadocia, Galatia, Asia, Moesia, Thrace and Hellade as well as the countries lying to the north and the west, the lands of the Greeks and the Romans, the Sarmatians, the Slavs and the Georgians. To the west were the Gaul, the Spanish and Garida (Gadira).

Chapter Three: At the beginning of the life of Re'u, people began to build Babel and a tower in the land of Shinar. They said, "Let us build ourselves a city and a tower so that we may make a name for ourselves, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth."⁸³ The mighty Nimrud, son of Cush, fed the builders with what he hunted. The building process lasted for forty years. But because they transgressed the law, despised the commandment, and did not adhere to the borders fixed by the righteous Noah, but divided the earth, they thought of a means to save them from God's wrath for their transgression. They agreed to build the tower. But the Scriptures say, "The Lord came down and confused their tongues and made the one language seventy-two languages. This is why the land of Shinar was called Babel, because in it the Lord confused their tongues."⁸⁴ As to Eber, that great old man, he did not agree to their idea of partition (of the land), but insisted that Noah's commandment be kept. And he did not transgress the commandment or agree to their building of the tower. Because he disagreed with their building of the tower, he preserved the first original language, and called that land Babel. Our Aramaic language gives the true meaning of Babel as confusion. Saint Ephraim (d. 373) and Basil the Great are of this opinion. But Jacob of Edessa (d. 708) and John, bishop of Atharb, and others, who follow the opinion of ancient historians, say, "The original language of Eber was Hebrew, and for this reasons the Hebrews are called by his name." Other historians say that Abraham was called Hebrew because he crossed the Euphrates River and entered the Promised Land where he fought against armies. Then, he transferred from the heathen customs of his forefathers to faith in God the creator of all. For these reasons he was called Hebrew ('Ebroyo). We maintain that everything that was already said is true, because the first primitive language was Aramaic, and from it the Hebrew language was derived.

Eber was 130 years old when he fathered Re'u. According to the Syriac version (Pshitto), he was 30 years old. He lived 343 years. According to the Syriac version, he was 239 years old. The intermediary period between the Flood and the confusion of tongues is 600 years. From Adam to the Flood, 2096 years according to the Septuagint, and 2757 years according to the Pshitto version. Re'u was 132 years when he fathered Sarug. According to the Syriac version (of the Septuagint), he was 52 years and lived 339 years, but according to the Syriac version (Pshitto), he lived 239 years. In the year 74 of Re'u, the third millennium had passed according to the Septuagint. Re'u was 70 years old when the tower was built. Forty years after the completion of the tower, people scattered over the face of the earth and many wars broke out. Victory was the portion of the idol worshippers who bowed down before these idols, and thus, the worship of idols became known. In the year 100 of Re'u the tower collapsed.

In the year 40 of the leadership of Re'u, Nimrod I ruled in Babylon. It happened that God sent wind that caused the tower to collapse, and Nimrod fell and was killed. Nimrod ruled for a total of 69 years. The history of the Magian Menandros and the second book of Asaph say the following, "The crown of the kingdom still attained strength after Peleg's death. After the death of Peleg, the sons of his brother, Jectan, realized that Jectan did not bequeath inheritance to them. They consulted each other and set up Saba as a leader. Ophir and Havila who manufactured arms followed him. People became mighty because they learned how to use weapons of war, and bloodshed commenced. Because other people were not trained to use arms, they retreated before these mighty men and built fortresses for protection. Since they failed in their struggle against the sons of Ophir, they gave them the choice to take whatever they found pleasant in their eyes of the kingdom on condition that they terminated the war. Accordingly, the entire land of the

⁸³ Genesis 11:4.

⁸⁴ Genesis 11: 5-8.

BOOK TWO

perfumes was taken by Saba, the land of gold by Ophir, and the region of Anabados (Danube River), where gems are found, by Havila.⁸⁵

(Alexander) Polyhistor wrote that after the Flood, Evekoios ruled over the Chaldeans for forty years. He was succeeded by his son, Komasbelos, who ruled for four years. The period from the Flood to the Medes who occupied Babylon, is 86 years, as reckoned by Polyhistor who mentioned each one by name.

Nimrod assumed the royal crown ten years after the division of the earth for the second time. He was the first king after the Flood.

In the year 101 of Re'u, Panophis was first to rule Egypt as a king for 68 years. This is the first leadership in Egypt which was called after their father Misraim.

Nimrod built three cities: Arak, Orkala that is Edessa, Nisibin and Seleucia. When the people departed Babylon, the Canaanites set up a king for them and gave him the name of Canaan after the name of their father, Canaan. When the sons of Canaan saw that the lands of Palestine and Lebanon were good, they dwelt there and did not want to go to the land of their inheritance, which lies west of the sea of Egypt, and thus they inherited the curse for the second time. At this point, the curse of the righteous Noah was fulfilled.

Chapter Four: Sarug was 70 years old when he fathered Nahor according to the three versions. The Hebrew version, which is our Pshitto, is short 100 years for each one of the patriarchs after the Flood. Sarug lived 330 years. In his time, the craft of making money and gold jewelry from Ophir appeared.

Forty three years later when Nimrod's kingdom was extinct, a king named Qambiros, arose in Babylon in the time of Sarug. He built the great city of Shushan (Susa). In the year 56 of Sarug, people began to manufacture weapons of warfare. They pillaged and took slaves and bound women captives and sold them. In this period, Qambiros and the Chaldeans waged war against Salto (Qalato) as written by Damaris. However, Zamordos says, "In the year 70 of the life of Nimrod the Chaldean, war was waged between Qalto and the Chaldeans because of land ownership. The king, then, was Qambiros. The Chaldeans triumphed, drove away the people Qalto, and confined them to the mountains that separated them."

Sarug began to teach Nahor the worship of the Chaldeans, namely, magic and astrology, as Asaph says in his book, which is in agreement with the table of generations. After Qambiros ruled for 85 years, a third king named Samiros arose in Babylon as the 3rd king for 72 years. He ruled in the year 106 of Sarug, and waged war against the sons of Yon (Yavan), the Canaanites, and seized their land. He built a city for the Parthians and the Chaldeans. He was first to design weights and measures. In his time, people began to make a variety of vestments with diverse colors as mentioned by the Magian Zamordos. In his time, too, silk fabric of multi colors was known. Many fables were woven about him. For example, it was reported that he had three horns and three eyes and was mightier than the tribe of Nimrod.

In the time of Sarug, the people set up idols and worshipped them, and satanic spirits inhabited them.

In that period, a second leader called Epipaphios arose in Egypt. He was the first to build a ship and sail over the seas. He ruled 46 years and then died. In the same period, a certain Egyptian named Sanos waged war against the Cushites. He was surnamed Athanophos that is, the Cushite. He became the third leader and ruled for 60 years. He allied himself to the Libyans, waged war against Saba, and killed him. His daughter, called Saba after her father's name, succeeded him. She ruled for 40 years. Aristocholos mentioned that she engaged in many wars and triumphed. Therefore, women became accustomed to rule and lead armies into war there.

Concerning the women called Amazons who cut off their right breasts, we found out that they were the daughters of Ashkenez and Thogorma whom Samiros, king of Babylon, first fought. He killed all of their menfolk. Afterwards, they never raised male children but only females. In addition, once a year they

⁸⁵ Anabados is identified by J. B. Chabot as the Danube. See *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 1:22.

deviated from (moral principles), cohabited with men, and returned home pregnant. If they gave birth to male children, they killed them and only kept female children. This account is mentioned in ancient books and supported by many witnesses. In addition, these women called Amazons, that is, those who cut off their breast, who lived in the northern region, are mentioned at length in the wars that took place in the great city of Ilion, which was destroyed. And since nothing is mentioned about them today, and given the fact that no one has seen or heard about a region of the world called the northern region, I, the weak (Michael Rabo), believe that those women were annihilated in the wars of the great city of Ilion. There are two reasons for my judgment. First, nothing is mentioned about these women from that time to the present. Second, as it is said, those eleven kings were allied and waged war for eleven years against the city of Ilion. Amazos, the queen of these women, rushed to support the king of Ilion, but the eleven allied kings killed its king and inhabitants and Ilion was devastated. It is probable that these women were killed.

The fourth king set up in Egypt was Pharaoh, son of Sanos who ruled 35 years. For many generations the kings of Egypt were called pharaohs after his name. To this pharaoh is ascribed the fifth dynasty.

Chapter Five: Nahor was 79 years old when he fathered Terah according to the Septuagint and the Syriac versions. He lived 201 years according to the Septuagint version, or 148 years according to the Syriac version. In this period Kisarmos, the Parthian, waged war against Samiros, killed him, and ruled in his place. He removed the horns of his head and placed them on his own crown, according to the chronicle of Aroud the Canaanite.

In the year 25 of Nahor, the trials of the righteous Job took place. Aroud wrote the following, "There was a rich man of the tribe of Jectan named Job who wrestled with Satan seven times and won." Asaph, however, says that Job's wrestling was done six hundred years later. I think that the idea of Aroud the Canaanite is more explicit and reliable. In fact, Job preceded Moses by five hundred years. Others say that Job belongs to the clan of Esau called also Jobab, son of Zarah.

In the year 5 of Terah, Arphazad, its fifth king, ruled Babylon for 18 years. Here ends the rule of the kings of Babylon (700 years) up to the time of Belos, the first king of the Assyrians. It happened that many Chaldeans, Medes and Assyrians quarreled over the kingship and killed each other, and seven years passed without leadership. Then Belos the Assyrian threw off the Chaldeans bondage, fought them and triumphed over them. He ruled the Assyrians for 62 years and controlled most of Asia with the exclusion of India.⁸⁶

As to Saharon, Terah's brother, he was deceitfully killed by Kisarmos, the Parthian king of Babylon, because he wanted to transport them from their country to Parthia. According to another story, he killed him because of the golden image that Kisanoros took from the house of Nahor who was the priest of the idol god Kenan. In this period Myropose, the Hittite, built the city of Damascus twenty years before the birth of Abraham. Josephus says, "It was built by Uz, son of Aram."⁸⁷

In the year 48 of Nahor the fifth pharaoh, Karimon, of the sixth dynasty, ruled 4 years. In this period, Aronios the Canaanite had two sons, one called Sodom and the other Gomorrah. He built two cities after their names. Also, he built Sa'er after the name of their mother.

In the year 52 of Nahor, the sixth king of Egypt whose name was Pharaoh Aphintos of the seventh dynasty, ruled Egypt for 32 years. He sent an envoy to Kisarmos, king of the Chaldeans, and acquired their scientific books. They (Egyptians) set up an image of Kenan, the god of Babylon, and worshipped it. When Serapis, son of Niobe became ruler, he built the city of Apantos on the Nile River and called it Babylon, which is Babel. This account is confirmed by Asaph who says, "The Egyptians learned astrology from the Chaldeans in the time of Terah. They erected an image of Ninos made of gold." In the year 5 of Terah, the sixth king, Arsakos, ruled Egypt 33 years. He built a city after his name. He was succeeded by Pharaoh

⁸⁶ See *Jerome's Chronicle Part II (Chronological Tables/Canons)*, translated from the Latin by Roger Pearse, p. 16 on the Internet and *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, 91, and note 5 quoting Eusebius.

⁸⁷ Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book 1, Chapter 6, Section 4, 37 of the English translation.

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Samonos for 20 years. In the year 28 of Terah, Egypt was ruled 27 years by Pharaoh Armios who is the ninth king of the tenth dynasty.

In the year 14, which is the year 36 of Belos, Abraham the Assyrian was born as mentioned in the chronicle of Andronicus. In the year 15 of Abraham, Armios the Egyptian fought against Belos the Assyrian. When Armios was defeated, he was succeeded by Pharaoh Pharandos, the Thebian. He is the tenth of the eleventh dynasty. He is the one who took Abraham's wife, Sarah, and then returned her to him with gold and silver and other gifts, and had him leave Egypt. In the year 98 of Abraham, Pharaoh Hyskos ruled Egypt 21 years. He was the twelfth king of the thirteenth dynasty.⁸⁸

From the First Book of Asaph:

In the year 135 of Mahalalel, Adam passed away.

In the year 20 of Enoch, Seth died.

In the year 13 of Methuselah, Enoch died.

In the year 61 of Lamech, Kenan passed away.

In the year 33 of Lamech, Enoch was raptured to heaven.

In the year 34 of Noah, Mahalalel died.

In the year 166 of Noah, Jared passed away.

In the year 600 of Noah, Methuselah died. Asaph adds that Methuselah perished in the Flood with the sons of Kenan.

In the year 74 of Shelah, Noah died.

In the year 156 of Shelah, Shem died.

In the year 34 of Eber, Arphaxad passed away.

Chapter Six: When Terah was 70 years old, he fathered Abraham. He lived 275 years. According to the Syriac version, however, he lived 205 years. Andronicus says, "The period from the Flood to Abraham is 1081 years, and from Adam to Abraham, 3337 years." Here the Greek and the Syriac versions agree on the number of years. From the division of the earth until the time of Abraham there is 421 years. Here Nahor died, and Abraham was born to Milcah. Eight years later, Sarah, daughter of Terah, was born from Zamrot. As to the number of years, we say that they are deficient by 1384 years, according to the Pshitto (Syriac translation), in comparison to the Septuagint.

At the age of 15, Abraham began, on his own, to call on God and pray to him to chase away the crows, which he sent to the land of the Chaldeans to spoil and destroy their crops.

In this period Belos, the first king of the Assyrians, died and was succeeded by his son, Ninos, who ruled 52 years.⁸⁹ He is the second king of the Assyrians. He built a city called Ninos, but the Hebrews called it Nineveh. He also made a golden image of his father Belos and inscribed on it, "the great god." He made this public throughout Athor (Assyria), and many worshipped it. After Nineveh, Rahobot, Rasan and Caleh were built.

In this period, Melchizedek the Canaanite built Jerusalem and called it Oreb. As to Abraham, he set on fire the temple of idols in Ur of the Chaldeans. When his brother Haran tried to rescue the idols from the fire, he fell in it and died. When Abraham was 60 years old, his father Terah, his brother Nahor and Lot, son of Haran, went to Harran and settled there for 14 years.⁹⁰ Then Abraham left his father and dwelt in the land of Canaan.⁹¹

⁸⁸ It should be remembered that Michael Rabo copies these accounts from Eusebius, who in turn copied them from Berosos and Abydenes and others. See Bedrosian, Pearse, and Karst, *op. cit.*

⁸⁹ See Roger Pearse, *Jerome's Chronicle*, p. 16.

⁹⁰ Genesis 12:14; Acts 7:2-4 and *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, 130-131 and 139, note 4.

⁹¹ See George Phillips, *Scholia On Passages of the Old Testament by Mar Jacob* (London, 1864, 3-5), in which he makes an explanation concerning Haran and the wives of Abraham and Nahor and especially the death of Haran by fire which motivated Terah, Abraham's father, to leave Ur of the Chaldeans. It has a striking similarity in the main with Quran Sura al-Anbia' (the Prophets, 21) 51-70. See also Matti Moosa, "Jacob of Edessa" on the Internet at the website www.syriacstudies.com

Chapter Seven: Appended below is the agreement and disagreement of historians concerning the numbers of years until the time of Abraham.

From the time of Abraham, Eusebius fixed chronologically the number (of years) according to the periods. Therefore, we decided to record in this context what concerns the period from Adam to Abraham.

From Adam to the Flood, there are 2256 years, and from the Flood to the division of the earth, 2916 years. Ten years after the division, Peleg, who had lived 116 years, became the father of Re'u. When Re'u had lived 132 years, he became the father of Sarug. When Sarug had lived 130 years, he became the father of Nahor. When Nahor had lived 79 years, he became the father of Terah. When Terah had lived 70 years, he became the father of Abraham.⁹²

The Kings of Babylon

In the year 10 of Re'u, Nimrod ruled 69 years.

After him, the kingdom was 43 years without a king.

As to Qombaros, (his reign) was thought to be 85 years.

To Samiros, 72 years.

To Kisranos, 42 years.

To Arpakid, 18 years. For seven years there was no king.

Afterwards, Belos became king of the Assyrians, and in his time, Abraham was born.

The Kings of Egypt:

In the year 100 of Re'u, Panophis ruled 98 years.

Eupropis, 46 years

Sanos, 60 years

Pharaoh, son of Sanons, 35 years

Pharaoh Karimon, 4 years

Pharaoh Aphantos, 32 years

Pharaoh Orkos, 33 years

Pharaoh Samos 20 years

Pharaoh Hirkos, 25 years

In the year 17 of Hirkos, Abraham was born.

From the Chronicle of Ezra, and in accordance with the computation of the Hebrew and the Syrian versions, the Pshitto and the Septuagint agree on the years beginning with Abraham and after.

In the year 56 of Lamech, Adam died.

In the year 168 of Lamech, Seth died.

In the year 84 of Noah, Enoch died.

In the year 179 of Noah, Kenan died.

In the year 234 of Noah, Mahalalel died.

In the year 266 of Noah, Jared died.

In the year 178 of Noah, Enoch was raptured to heaven.

In the year 595 of Noah, Lamech died.

In the year 600 of Noah, Methuselah died. *End of this account*

⁹² Some of these years do not correspond to the years given by Eusebius. See translations of the portions of *Eusebius's Chronicle* by Bedrosian, Pearse and Josef Karst, *op. cit.*

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From the Seventh Book of Asaph

When Adam had lived 230 years, he became the father of Seth.

When Seth had lived 205 years, he became the father of Enoch.

When Enoch had lived 190 years, he became the father of Kenan. When Kenan had lived 130 years, he became the father of Mahalalel. When Mahalalel had lived 165 years, he became the father of Jared. In the year 40 of Jared, the first millennium ended. When Jared had lived 162 years, he became the father of Enoch. When Enoch had lived 160 years, he became the father of Methuselah. *End of this account. He who reads let him pray for the sinner Michael (of Urbish).*

According to the Hebrew and the Syriac Pshitto, when Adam had lived 130 years, he became the father of Seth.

When Seth had lived 135 years, he became the father of Enosh.

When Enosh had lived 90 years, he became the father of Kenan.

When Kenan had lived 70 years, he became the father of Mahalalel.

When Mahalalel had lived 65 years, he became the father of Jared.

When Jared had lived 162 years, he became the father of Enoch.

When Enoch had lived 65 years, he became the father of Methuselah.

When Methuselah had lived 187 years, he became the father of Lamech.

When Lamech had lived 126 years, *the first millennium had ended. Here ends this account.*

In the year 100 of Shem, the Flood took place.

The number of years from Adam to the Flood is 2256 years.

When Shem was 102 years, he became the father Arphaxad.

When Arphaxad was 135 years, he became the father of Kenan.

When Kenan was 109 years, he became the father of Shelah.

When Shelah had lived 130 years, he became the father of Eber.

When Eber was 134 years, he became the father of Peleg.

When Peleg was 130 years, he became the *father* of Re'u.

In the year 7 of Re'u, *the third millennium ended.*

When Re'u was 132 years, he became the father of Sarug.

When Sarug was 130 years, he became the father of Nahor.

When Nahor was 79 years, he became the father of Terah.

When Terah was 70 years, he became the father of Abraham.

The total number of years from the Flood to Abraham is 1081 years.

When Abraham was 100 years, he became the father of Isaac.

When Isaac was 60 years, he became the father of Jacob.

When Jacob was 89 years, he became the father of Levi.

When Levi was 60 years, he became the father of Qahat.

When Qahat had lived 70 years, he became the father of Amram.

When Amram was 70 years, he became the father of Moses.

The total years from Abraham to Moses are 505 years, and from Adam to the Exodus (of the children of Israel from Egypt) are 2492 years.⁹³

It is said that Kenan founded astrology, magic and charms. He was worshipped as a god. In his time, the tower's building was raised immensely. He died at the age of 140 years. The question is how could we

⁹³See Bedrosian, Pearse and Josef Karst, *The Hebrew Chronology, Ibid.* and *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, 116-118 with some variance in the number of years.

reason that Kenan's life extended to the year 36 of the life of Isaac? Furthermore, when Jacob had lived 45 years, Shelah passed away. When Jacob had lived 45 years, Eber passed away. When Abraham had lived 59 years, Peleg died. How could it be believed that Peleg's life extended to the year 48 of the life of Abraham, and that Abraham died after the Tower of Babylon collapsed, when he was born 72 years after it had collapsed? This computation of years does not make sense because when Re'u was 66 years old, Shelah died. When Sarug was 68 years old, Eber died. When Eber was 69 years old, Peleg died at Babylon along with Nimrod, as the Magian Zamros and Qomabaros the Assyrian mentioned. In the year 100 of Sarug, Re'u died and in the year 21 of Terah, Sarug passed away.

Chapter Eight: Contains the descent of peoples according to the layout

The sons of Noah:

The descendants of Shem:

Kenan, Methuselah, Terah, Abraham and Isaac, whose names and their generations are mentioned in the Holy Bible; Ishmael who engendered twelve mighty tribes; Loud, who engendered Laronios, Amoraphel, Tarsheal, Jectan, and the Indian; Arphaxad, who engendered Gether-Tata-Uz the Elamites, the Lazonsa, the Moseninas, the Cataninas, Ghasaqo, Garomeans and Caspians; Aram, who engendered Nahor, who engendered Hamor, who engendered Arouk; Chaldo, who engendered Nebuchadnezzar, and his son Marduk whose generations have been recorded.

The descendants of Ham:

Cush, who engendered the Ethiopians (Cushites) and the Sabeans; Tharhaq and the queen of Sheba, and Candace are derived from the Sabeans; Canaan, from whom sprang the Hittites, Cushites, Sidonites and Amorites; Misraim, who engendered Aloraim, who engendered the Mamraiontes or the Gergistes; Phot, who engendered the Troglodites, Aaron and Lot the Moabite, Japheth, Ham, Patrosiman Kaslonahim.

The descendants of Japheth:

Gomer, who engendered Ashkenaz, and from Ashkenaz came the Sarmites, the Cappadocians and Togarma, from Togarma the Armenians were engendered; Magog who engendered the Celts, the Galatians and Turks (The names of these kings are recorded in the Book of the Tree); Mede, who engendered the Medes and King Darius Astyghros who is reported to have cast Daniel into the pit; Lion (Javan) who engendered the Helenes and the Greeks.

Tubal, from whom the Thessalonians descended.

Thiras, who engendered the Thraces and the Lydians.

Methodius said about Jectan, son of Noah, who was born after the Flood that his father supplied him with gifts and sent him to the east. He went and settled in the region from which the sun rises. He is the one who invented the science of the stars (astronomy). *End of the chapter.*

The names of nations that have records (of generations)

The generations of Shem were the Chaldeans, Assyrians who are the Syrians, the Hebrews, the Persians, the Medes and the Arabs. The nations, which have no records, are the Ladonians, Aeytoians, Lydians, Gasphynoians, Masinoyans, Indians, Qaqtenians, Gamilonians, Arinoians, Barrosians, Scythes, Hyrokionians, Aramaeans, Garmoiens, Parthians, Qakasophonians, and Malagdroye.

The descendants of Ham who mastered writing are the Egyptians, Pamphylians and Phrygians. Those who had no writings are the Cushites, Troglodites, Aegynoians, Esbainous (Spanish), Jolianians, Libyans, Moriotians, Phyltonians, Masmophytians, Maqenosians, Bithyans, Nomadians, Masidionians (Macedonians), Pisidians, Otalioninas, Sartonians, Magratonians and Numidians.

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The descendants of Japheth who had records (writing, script) are the Medians, Greeks, Romans and Armenians.

Those who had no writing (script) are the Cappadocians, Celts, Gauls, Hellenes, Thessalonians, Illyrians, Thracians, Sarmatians and others who are not known. *End of the chapter.*

Here ends Book Two, which began after the Flood to the time of Abraham. It consisted of 1081 years and comprised eight chapters.

BOOK THREE

WITH THE HELP OF THE ONLY ONE KNOWN IN THREE HOLY PERSONS, WE BEGIN TO WRITE BOOK THREE. IT BEGINS WITH THE FIGURES, KINGDOMS AND KINGS PUT IN ORDER BY EUSEBIUS. HE EXPLAINS WITH UTMOST CLARITY WHEN EACH KINGDOM BEGAN, THE NUMBERS OF THEIR KINGS, AND THE YEARS OF THE REIGN OF EACH ONE OF THEM

Chapter One: It begins from the time of Abraham, which is the year 3336 from the first Adam⁹⁴

When Abraham was 81 years old, he entered Egypt and fathered Ishmael from Hagar.⁹⁵ Ishmael lived 130 years until the year 62 of Jacob. In this period, Shamiram (Semiramis) ruled the Assyrians 46 years. She built mounds (mud banks) as a precaution against the Flood.⁹⁶ We have come upon the chronicle of these mounds, how and where they were set up.

When people multiplied after the Flood, they went astray worshipping demons, idols, celestial bodies of heaven, birds, animals and even water springs. They fixed images of the dead on the tombs and worshipped them. When God saw this (deviation from Him), He sent a violent wind which swept away the satanic images and buried them under the dust. As a result, great mounds were formed of them and many villages with their inhabitants were buried under the mounds. Even the demons who were worshipped were locked up under them. Some of those who went astray still resorted to these mounds. However, Shamiram, wife of Ninos king of the Assyrians, built a mound to save the people from the waters of the Flood.⁹⁷

When Abraham was 99 years old, he circumcised himself. When he was 100 years old, he fathered Isaac according to God's promise to him.⁹⁸ The descendants of Abraham were slaves in Egypt for 430 years, as the Apostle Paul had written.⁹⁹ This period is computed from the year 75 of Abraham until he left his father's house at God's order.

When Abraham had lived 115 years, he offered his son Isaac as a sacrifice. Some say that Isaac was one year old when he was sacrificed. Others maintain that he was thirty years old, but the majority of writers agree that he was 17 years old, which is most correct. Abraham lived 175 years until Jacob was 15 years old.

In the year 45 of Abraham, the jubilee of the forty generations of the Hebrews ended. Thus, the total number of years from Adam is 3290.

In this period Ageilaus ruled the Syconians for 13 years. Europos, the second king of the Syconians, ruled for 45 years. In Egypt, Scysinos the 13th king of the Fourteenth Dynasty ruled. He was succeeded by Taracos, the 13th king of the Fifteen Dynasty, who ruled for 44 years.

In the year 71 of Abraham, Kedorlaomer (king of Elam) went to war against the kings of the country of Sodom, and subjugated them for 14 years until he settled in the land of Canaan (the year 10 of the Promise). In this time, Hebron was founded by the Canaanites.

Aram was of the clan of Nahor, Abraham's brother, from whom descended the Aramaeans of Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia), according to Jacob of Edessa (d. 708). As to the first Aram, who was of the son of Shem, Jacob says that he lived in the east, and from him descended the Elamites and the Assyrians. He intended to show that the Aramaic language was older than the Hebrew language. Or ...lacuna...

Zamarous reigned over the Assyrians in the time of Abraham.

⁹⁴ George Synkellos criticizes Eusebius's chronology from the Flood up to Abraham. See *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, 243-244.

⁹⁵ *Jerome's Chronicle*, translated by Roger Pearse. Eusebius via Jerome says that the descendants of Ishmael were later called Hagarenes and Saracens. *Jerome's Chronicle Part II (Chronological Tables/Canons)*, translated by Roger Pearse, p 24 on the Internet.

⁹⁶ See *Jerome's Chronicle* translated by Roger Pearse, pp. 18-19.

⁹⁷ See previous footnote.

⁹⁸ See *Jerome's Chronicle*, translated by Roger Pearse, pp.16-17 on the Internet

⁹⁹ Galatians 3:17, and *Jerome's Chronicle*, translated by Roger Pearse, p. 24 on the Internet.

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The first king to rule over the Cretians was Crotos, who is Chronos, a native of the land and son of Aphra, after whose name Crete was founded. It is said that he was one of the Cretes who disappeared ...lacuna... and was greater than his father Chronos, who was ready to swallow (him).

In the first year of the Promise, a severe famine took place. Abraham went down to Egypt where he fathered Ishmael from Hagar. When he had lived 100 years, he became the father of Isaac, son of the Promise. Ishmael was then 35 years old. Prior to this, the Word of God (Christ) appeared to Abraham in the form of a man, that is, in the form that he was to appear to men in the Incarnation. Abraham had already prophesied about the call of the gentiles in the year 30 of the Promise. The year 40 of the Promise is the year 3300 of Adam.

It is now an appropriate time to understand who God is in the light of the testimony of the Holy Bible. In addition, we should explain what the canonical sacrament of the priesthood is, where oblations were offered and how God received them as a pleasant fragrance. A table is preserved of this priesthood.

In the second generation, the sacrament of sacrifice was abolished because corruption once more became rife among people. They did not worship God, but devils. The Book of the righteous Job, from the clan of Jectan, testifies that in his generation, there was no righteous man like him. It has preserved a table of the links of the priesthood given by God. Job was tested and triumphed. He deserved to offer sacrifices to God after his struggle and triumph. Similarly, the Holy Bible points to Melchizedek who welcomed Abraham and his household and the household of Lot. He blessed Abraham when he returned from the war against the kings because Melchizedek was the king of peace and the man of the Most High. He said, "Blessed be Abram by God Most High, Creator of heaven and earth."¹⁰⁰ However, the Bible did not allude to the parents of Melchizedek or to his origin. Here, we learn that he was not from Abraham's clan, whose generations the Bible carefully recorded. In addition, it did not allude to his birth or to the end of his life. All that is known about him is that he lived in the land of Shechem where the Amorites, sons of Canaan, dwelt. This caused some to maintain that he was one of them, because he was set up a king over his city.¹⁰¹ However, because of his righteousness, piety and faith in God, God made him His priest and servant. Melchizedek worshipped God who created the heaven and the earth. Accordingly, despite the fact that his own people, like others, were heathens, they exalted Melchizedek.¹⁰²

Chapter Two: When Isaac was 19 years old, God appeared to Abraham. It was also then that his brother Nahor fathered children. In the year 134 of Abraham, and 34 of Isaac, Sarah died at the age of 127 years. At the age of 142, Abraham took Keturah for a wife. At the age of 38, Isaac married Rebekah. When he was 60 years old, Rebekah went to Melchizedek to ask the Lord about her pregnancy. The Lord told her, "Two peoples are in your womb; one people will be stronger than the other." (Genesis 25:23). Annianus says that Isaac was 60 years old when he fathered children. Others maintain that he was 100 years old when he fathered Esau, who is Edom, father of the Edomites, and Jacob the progenitor of the children of Israel. When Isaac was 36 years old and Jacob 15 years old, Abraham passed away. Abraham lived 180 years until Levi was 21 years old. Abimelech was a friend of Isaac's household. He is the one who waged war in the year 100 of Abraham. The Scriptures call him King of Gerar after the name of his city. (Genesis 20:2). He is also known as king of the Palestinians because of the great number of the people he ruled. When Jacob was ...lacuna...

Chapters Three and Four missing

¹⁰⁰ Genesis 14:19.

¹⁰¹ According to John Malalas, Melchizedek was a gentile who descended from the family of Sidos, son of Egyptos, emperor of the land of Libya, from whom the Egyptians took their name. He was a priest of the Canaanites and a celibate, just man. Malalas bases his idea on Josephus' *Archaeology*, and on John and Cyril whom he does not identify. See *The Chronicle of John Malalas*, translated by Elizabeth Jeffreys et al, 28.

¹⁰² For Melchizedek, see Hebrews Chapters 5 to 7. Like Melchizedek, "Jesus has become a high priest forever in the order of Melchizedek." Hebrews 6:20.

There is a large lacuna here. These chapters mostly contain the names and years of the generations of the priests.

In the year 60 of Moses, before the Exodus, Amram died. He lived 137 years. As to Joseph, he lived 110 years and died in the 6th year of Amram and the year 286 of the Promise, that is the Exodus. The Hebrews lived in servitude after his death. According to another account, Amram fathered Mariam when he was 57 years old and Aaron when he was 68 years old. In this period Amenophthes ruled 43 years. He is the one who ordered that the Hebrew infants should be drowned in the Nile. When Amram had lived 70 years, in the year 350 of the Promise, he became the father of Moses. He lived 120 years.

When Moses was cast into the sea (Nile), the daughter of Pharaoh Amenophthes, saw him and drew him out of the water. She was called Thermothisa, or Ra'usa, but the Hebrews called her Maria. She married Pharaoh Kanphara, king of Memphis, and raised Moses as her son. She died and was buried in Egypt. The city of Myra, also called Maru, was named after her.¹⁰³

When Moses was ten years old, Jannes and Jambaris taught him wisdom, as explained by Artemonios.¹⁰⁴ The period from the time the Hebrews entered Egypt until their Exodus, is 215 years. When Moses was 22 years old, Pharaoh Amenophthes oppressed the Hebrews and compelled them to make bricks for building cities. When he was 28 years old, Amenophthes built Hermopolis and waged war against the Cushites. He took Ra'usa, daughter of King Zoros, to wife.¹⁰⁵

(At this time) Inachus, first ruler of the Thebians and the Argosites, had a daughter named Iyo. The Egyptians changed her name into Isis. In her time, Apis was declared a god. Some Egyptians nicknamed him Serapis. This was the time of the 14th dynasty ruled 103 years by kings called the Hyksos. Apparently, they were called "shepherds" because of Joseph and his brothers who went down to Egypt. We have found in some books that these shepherd kings were of Phoenician origin. Josephus also said this. We find in the story of Amoris and Mapatos, that Iyo, daughter of Inachus, was called Isis when she came to the island of Pharos in Certus. In the time of the Argosites and the Scythians, many cities were built in Peloponnesus.

When Amram was 12 years old, Mephros ruled Egypt 12 years. Mepharmunis who ruled 27 years succeeded him. When Amram had lived 50 years, Tymochamon ruled Egypt 18 years. In the fourth years of their (Hebrews) bondage, Mispharmuthosis ruled Egypt 23 years, and in the year 17, Manchaleus ruled 30 years.

In this period there flourished among the Chaldeans Atilaous (Atlas), brother of Prometheus, who was famed for his knowledge of astrology. In this period too, appeared Syros, son of Ar'a, to whom Syria is attributed. To his brother Cilicos, Cilicia is attributed ...lacuna... the inhabitants of Atticus left the River Indus and dwelled in a region near Egypt.

Chapter Five: When Moses was 37 years old, Joshua, son of Nun was born. Moses became powerful and built Hermopolis. He was engaged in war with the Ethiopians for ten years and vanquished them.¹⁰⁶ Because of this, Kanphara, husband of Maris (Maria) who raised Moses, harbored deep malice against him. He wanted to kill him out of jealousy, because of his victories. However, fearing his wife, he could not fulfill his intention during her lifetime. When Maris (Maria) died, he tried to kill Moses. When Moses learned of this, he killed Kanotis (Khanothis) who was sent by Kanphara to kill him. For this reason, Moses fled Egypt to Arabia to Reuel the Midianite.¹⁰⁷

Abraham fathered Jokshan from Keturah.¹⁰⁸ Jokshan fathered Dedan who fathered Reuel who fathered Jethro and Hobab. Jethro fathered Zipporah who Moses took to wife when he was 40 years old. In

¹⁰³ According to George Synkellos, the parents of Moses placed him in a chest and cast it near the bank of the river. He gives the name of pharaoh's daughter who adopted Moses as Thermouthis. Josephus gives the same name to the daughter of Pharaoh. See *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, 173 and Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book II, Sections 3-7, 68-69 of the English translation.

¹⁰⁴ 2 Timothy 3:8-9, and Acts 7:22.

¹⁰⁵ See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 12.

¹⁰⁶ Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book Two, Chapter 10, 69-70 of the English translation.

¹⁰⁷ Exodus 2:18.

¹⁰⁸ Genesis 25:1-2.

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this period, a third flood took place in Thessaly in the time of Deucalion and a great conflagration in Cush in the time of Phaeton. When Moses was 46 years old, he fathered Gershom and Eleazer. At the same time, Caleb Bar (son of) Jephunneh was born. Four years after Moses fled Egypt, Qanbaris ruled that country 12 years. At this time, ferocious war broke out between the Chaldeans and the Phoenicians.

When Moses was one year old, Mamitos, the 15th king of the Assyrians, ruled 30 years. According to Andronicus, he became king when Moses was 73 years old. When Moses was four years old, Oros the 24th king ruled Egypt for 38 years. Andronicus, however, says that the one who ruled Egypt 40 years was another person before Phosnos. If this is correct, then he is the one who engaged the Hebrews in making bricks. He also resisted Moses and Aaron and was drowned in the sea. It was reported that Phosnos ruled when Moses was 41 years old. Some say that the king under whom Moses was educated was Prermethus, distinguished with knowledge. He took people from ignorance into knowledge. It is said about him, jokingly, that he fashioned human beings.

In this period, Isidorus penned many books of wisdom. Eunomius invented alchemy and Menander contrived the comedy. Chiron and Esculapedes developed medical sciences. Some are of the opinion that Cecropos was the first to rule Attica, and that he was a contemporary of these men. Others maintain that he lived 60 years before them.

In this period, Cassanteus founded Tripoli and Tropomos made the first chariot. When Cecropos ruled Attica, Moses was 35 years old. In his time, some miracles took place as the Greeks and Eusebius mentioned. Andronicus, however, says that Cecropos ruled in the first year of Othniel, and from him originated the name of Jupiter and the name of the region of Cekroni. He built a city and called it Athena after his wife's name. He was nicknamed Diophes, or, the one of two crowns of the head (vertex), because of his might and command of the Coptic and the Greek languages.

Amenophtes erected a stone stela that Cocumbos, king of the Persians, destroyed because he believed that it contained magic. Lebon was the first king of the Numidians. According to another opinion, he was called Amon. In this period, the temple of Apollo, the Areopagus "House of Judgment," was built. The city of Corinth was built which Heracleus had called Aphora. In Phoenicia, Heracleus was known as Diasyndes. His fame is still widespread in Cappadocia and Ilion.

Dionysius, son of Semele, developed viticulture. In this period, the plagues against Egypt multiplied, and for seven months the Egyptians lived in the wilderness.

Following pharaoh who drowned (in the Nile), Akrius ruled Egypt. In the 6th year after the Exodus, Chronos ruled Athena 9 years. Attica was called after the name of the daughter of Atticus. In this period, ruled Pharboti Aphrantos, who built a city. In the year 15 of the Exodus, Ampheson, son of Domion, ruled the Athenians. In this time, Dionysius, son of Domion, came to Attica and offered a gift of precious hide to the daughter of Symmachus, as mentioned by Eusebius. Andronicus says that this took place in the time of Ahour. In the year 25 of the Exodus, Armaus Diaous ruled Egypt, but the Egyptians deposed him, and the Argosites ruled 10 years.

At this time Apaphos, son of Aiowous, ruled Egypt for the second time. He built Memphis, while Arrinthus, the fourth king, build Qadmus. In the year 30 of the Exodus, Amontius ruled the Assyrians. Phentur says the following about the governance of the Argosites, "Danus Lukatius sent an envoy to Argos. His grandchildren up to Orodotos, son of Phasius, extended the kingdom to the boundaries of Atros. Arentonis was its first king. He is the one who invented the chariot for the Greeks. Prior to this, it existed among the barbarians. Galinmor ruled the Argosites but they assassinated him. Danus, who through his fifty daughters killed the fifty children of his brother Egoptus, succeeded him. Polygamy was a familiar custom among the barbarians. Baserius controlled the coastal regions of the River Nile and slaughtered the son of Ahor Phosidon and Lebua, daughter of Paphos."

In this time, the cities of Melos, Paphos, Tarsus and Calistius were built. The city of Orphi was pillaged. According to another account, Phonis Agosa, daughter of Qalos, called Shamiram, is the one who built this city. She co-ruled seven years with her father. In this time flourished the musicians Linos of Thebes, Dantos and Ampion who were nicknamed, "the Ornament of Iris." In this period were discovered

the mountains containing iron. At this time, Qadmus pillaged Armonia. Aphora, also known as Corinth, was built.

The things that were said about Demti, or Isis, and Nai, who engendered Aphrosius, took place in this time. Eusebius did not count the years of the servitude of the children of Israel, but he did count the years of their oppressors, while Andronicus and Annianus counted them specifically. In this period, the cities of Adamia and Sidon in Sicily were built.

After Othniel, the Palestinians subjugated the Hebrew for 18 years. Also at this time reigned Alosimus Alosa, or Triptotos, whom Philcorous said distributed wheat from the board of a long ship. The people believed it was a flying serpent, because it had a stern like the tail of a snake.

Concerning the abduction of Kuri by Idonos, king of Moloson, who had a powerful god called Qarbaros, Idonos was able to subdue Paridos and went with Isus to abduct his wife Kuri. He rescued Isus who almost perished when he learned that Hercules would come out of the bottomless pit.

Philcorous says that Phandion who discovered the cedars, died in his time. Some believed that Phricos (Phrixos) flew in the sky on the back of a ram with Golden Fleece, to escape from his wife who cheated on him. Thus, he found a ship with the figurehead of a ram. Platatus says that Cerious, nicknamed the ram, raised the one who rescued him. In the time of Omphidius, the progenitor of the Omphidians who inhabited Athens, war was waged.

In this time flourished the Magians Phresni, Phila, Mila and Milnaphos. In the same time flourished Ptolphos who ruled the Argosites 19 years. At the same time, Paloponesus ruled Ardanian ...lacuna... the pagan gods before Ceprocus. In addition, a flood took place in Thomia in the time of Celion. The Greeks discuss what happened to Celion before the Flood, which was similar to the Flood in Noah's time. Plato talked about the fire that broke out in Thomia in the time of Philaon.

Chapter Six: When Moses was 78 years old, God spoke to him on Mount Sinai. The king of Egypt at this time was Phesnos. He begat a son name Ramses after whose name the city of Ramses was built. Because of its construction, the Hebrews endured great oppression. Phesnos was called Egyptos from which derived the name Egypt. It has become the name of the region formerly called Aaria.

In the year 430 of the Promise, which is the year 80 of Moses, God, having honored him by speaking to him, ordered him to lead the Hebrews out of Egypt. When the Hebrews passed through the sea, Phesnos, Egypt's pharaoh and his hosts drowned in the Sea of Souf (Red Sea). Eusebius says that the pharaoh who drowned was called Qankris (Phankares) and not Phesnos who is called Egyptos. The rest of historians, however, maintain that it was Phesnos who was called Egyptos, who drowned in the sea. The Egyptians, who did not chase after the Hebrews, set up images and worshipped them as if they had rescued them from death with pharaoh.

The period of the servitude of the descendants of Abraham is reckoned from the time God told him that he should be sure that his descendants would live as strangers in a land that does not belong to them.¹⁰⁹ Therefore, Abraham and his descendants lived as strangers. This was attested to by the Apostle Paul who said, "The covenant, since ancient times, was duly established by Christ. And the law introduced 430 years later, does not set aside the covenant previously established." (Galatians 3:15-17). Paul also says about Abraham, "All nations will be blessed through you." (Galatians 3:8). Others maintain that the 430 years began when Abraham offered a bullock, a goat, a ram and a dove, that is when he was 85 years old. Afterwards, he became the father of Ishmael. Apparently, those who say this do not count the years of Levi and his sons because they are not mentioned in the Scriptures.

When Moses was 87 years old, Aaron was set up as the first priest of the people of Israel. The total years from Adam to Aaron are 3600. Moses who led the people deserved to speak with God. He received the two stone tablets written by the finger of God. He also received the laws and commandments of God. He instituted the practice of sacrifices and indicated the lawfulness of the symbolic oblations. Furthermore,

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Genesis 17:1-8.

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he taught the people reading and writing which the Phoenicians adopted. From the Phoenicians, writing passed on to the Greeks, that is to Ilion the city of Qadmus.

Aaron served the people as a chief priest offering sacrifices 38 years. As to Moses' leadership since the Exodus and in the wilderness, it is discussed in the Pentateuch according to the Septuagint. *Here ends what has been written by Moses, God's chosen prophet.*

As to Eleazar, son of the great priest Aaron, he received the chief priesthood from above and by the incomprehensible dictates of God. Nadab and Abihu, Aaron's other two sons were rejected because they consumed incense with unauthorized fire. (Leviticus 10:1-2) Eleazar married the daughter of Amminadab of whose descendants Christ came. From it, he fathered Phinehas. Here appears the kinship between these two tribes. In the table of the genealogy of the priests, that is the tribe of Levi, the kinship of the tribe from which Christ came, was fixed.

Eleazar served as chief priest about 40 years, or as some says, 36 years. His son, Phinehas, became chief priest up to the 7th year of Othniel who, for his avid zeal, killed the adulterer Zumri and the deceptive Kozbi. Thus, the anger of divine justice calmed down. Since Phinehas received the chief priesthood from above, he became a priest of the symbolic sacrifices offered on behalf of the chosen people. The reason was that through him, the priesthood was to continue from generation to generation until it ended with the true and great sacrifice (Christ). Thus, when Eleazar died, Phinehas succeeded him, the third priest in the table of the priesthood. He served as chief priest for about 80 years.

Chapter Seven: The total years from Adam to the year 80 of Moses, that is the Exodus from Egypt, is 3842, and from Exodus to the building of the Temple of Solomon, is 610 years.

At the age of 80, Moses waged war against Amalech. In the third month of this year, he went up into the mountain and received the law and ordinance for the children of Israel. Apomolos, the Hebrew, says that it was Moses who taught the book (writing) to the Jews. Here, it is thought that their writing and language are derived from the Aramaic. At the age of 82, Moses set up the Tabernacle. In this same year, the children of Israel brought a cluster of grapes on a pole (Numbers 13:23-24) when Joshua Bar Nun was then 45 years old and Caleb, son of Juphennah, 40 years old. A year later, Balaq sent Balaam the sorcerer to curse Israel. Moses' life ended when he was 120 years old. Thus, from Adam to this time the period is 3882 years according to the Septuagint, and 4020 according to the Syriac version. Moses spent 40 years in Egypt, 40 years in Median and 40 years in the wilderness. He wrote five books containing events from Adam to his own time.

Moses and Aaron were the first chief priests of the people of God. Aaron was honored by receiving a noble agnomen from above. He was adorned with a holy ornament and thus was called the priest of God. He maintained the staff of leadership for 38 years and was succeeded by his son Eleazar for 56 years. Phinehas succeeded Eleazar, who served the priesthood 80 years, and then Abisha succeeded him as chief priest of the Levites. He was from the tribe of Levi and a descendant of Aaron, as is said by Jacob of Edessa. Abisha served in the priesthood for 56 years. He is the fourth in the table of the priesthood whom God honored secretly. We should know that our Father, the celebrated Jacob of Edessa, is of the opinion that the duration of Eleazar's chief priesthood is 38 years, 56 years was the service of Aaron, 80 years for Phinehas, and 55 years for Abisha. Andronicus sets these durations as follows: 32 years for Aaron as a chief priest, 30 years for Eleazar, 50 years for Phinehas, and Abisha, the fourth in the table of the priesthood, 52 years. These two historians who mentioned the Hebrews' chief priests, agree on the table of names, but differ on the number of years due to their increase or decrease. Therefore, we find it appropriate in this book to mention all the ideas in order that the account will be complete. Again, these two historians agree that the fifth chief priest was Abiah, although Mor Jacob of Edessa says that his duration of the priesthood was 60 years, and Andronicus says it was 46 years. They also agree that he was chief priest in the time of Deborah and Barak. After him, Azri became the sixth chief priest for 42 years. Jacob of Edessa calls him Aazi. Andronicus, however, says he was chief priest for 48 years. Zariha was the chief priest for 52 years in the time of Tola, according to Jacob of Edessa, and 34 years according to Andronicus. Nevertheless, Zariha

was the chief priest in the time of Tola, Nanir, Jephthah the Gileadite, Heshbon and Basen. According to these two historians, the duration of his priesthood was long. Zariha was seventh in the table of priests beginning with Aaron. His name is mentioned canonically in this table in relation to the people who were performing the shadowy types in symbolic forms. Zariha flourished in the time of these judges.

The eighth chief priest is Moro, or Moros, who served 50 years according to Jacob of Edessa, and 40 years according to Andronicus, in the symbolic service of the Lord. The Lord desired to accept the symbol of the sacrifices of goats, sheep, bulls and bullocks, and others as mentioned in the law of the Old Testament. However, during this period the chief priest, Moro, who succeeded Amoria in the table of the Hebrews' chief priests, performed the offering of sacrifices. Like Moros, Amoria was from the tribe of Levi. Mor Jacob (of Edessa) says that he served 32 years, while Andronicus says 44 years. However, both of these historians agree that Amoria was the ninth chief priest. If we take into consideration the difference of the years of these two men, we should concentrate more on the table of the priests...lacuna....

The tenth chief priest was Ahitob who served 20 years, according to Jacob of Edessa. This differs from the account of Andronicus, who mentions the name of another chief priest called Phinehas who succeeded him. Amoria followed Ahitob and served for 40 years. Eli and his sons who served for 40 years followed him. Ahitob and then Abiathar followed them. John says that the chief priests who followed Phinehas successively were Abisha, Basi, Uziel, Zariha, Amrael, Isaiah and Eli.

Chapter Eight: After Moses, his disciple Joshua Bar (son of) Nun assumed leadership of the Hebrews. Joshua was then 83 years old. He is the one who led the children of Israel into the Promised Land. He destroyed the seven nations of Canaanites, divided their land and inherited it. According to Eusebius and Andronicus, he administered the people for 27 years. According to Annianus, he administered them for 25 years. He died at the age of 107. Thus, the generations until Joshua, son of Nun, are 27 according to the Greek version. However, according to the Syriac version they are 26 generations. Hereafter, the years shall not be reckoned according to the generations but according to the judges, first of whom was Joshua, son of Nun. In the first year in which Moses died, the succession of 50 of these judges ended. In the year ten of his administration, Joshua divided the inheritance among the people. The book (Holy Bible) does not mention the number of years of the elders (judges) who succeeded Joshua in administering the people. Africanus, however, says that they administered the people for 30 years.

Chapter Nine: Othniel was judge of the people for 40 years. After the death of Joshua, the people became subject of the wicked Cushan for eight years.¹¹⁰ The Jewish tradition counts these years within the period of Othniel. After Othniel killed the wicked Cushan, he ruled the people for 50 years according to the Septuagint, and for 40 years according to the Syriac version. Therefore, the total years of Othniel including those of the servitude ...lacuna... In the time of Othniel, the cities of Bithynia, Malus, Paphos, Tasos, Qlista and Maronda were built.

Ehud, from the tribe of Ephraim,¹¹¹ became a judge of the Hebrews for 80 years. This is when the people became subjects to Eglon the Moabite for 18 years after the death of Othniel. These years are included within those of Ehud who judged the people after he killed Eglon. (Judges 3:15-30).

In the time of Ehud, the assembly hall of the Areopagus was built in Athens. Qadmus built Qadmonia. In the year 8 of Ehud, the fifth king Arabitus governed Athens for ten years. In the year 26 of Ehud, Lamphedus, the twenty-first king, ruled over the Assyrians for 32 years. The Assyrian King Belbos built Aleppo. With Ehud, the fourth millennium ended.

Chapter Ten: This chapter of Book (Three), begins from the first year of Abraham according to the Septuagint, and from Adam that is from the year 3340. During this period, distinctive events took place and

¹¹⁰ Cushan Rishathaim king of Aram, Judges 3:8.

¹¹¹ Ehud, son of Gera the Benjamite, Judges 3:15.

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were consummated in 680 years, which is until the end of the fourth millennium. *Here ends Book Three in Ten Chapters.*

Sacrifices and oblations were abolished in the generations that followed Jacob, known as Israel, because of their bondage in Egypt. One of them tried to sacrifice to the Lord but was defiled. It appears to me (Michael Rabo) that the reason of their deprivation from offering the symbols of the holy sacraments, was that their bondage in Egypt meant their fall under sin. They were deprived of the Promised Land, which symbolized Paradise. In addition, their bondage to people by their sheer free will denotes the bondage of the Devil. Thus, it was natural that the types would be inoperative while they were engaged in making bricks. It is clear from this, that the children of the Promise could not touch the holy sacraments as long as they were under the bondage of pharaoh, who represented Satan. Pharaoh and his followers, who symbolized Satan, kept them from practicing the mysteries of the priesthood, which symbolized the new eternal life and the divine life of holy bliss, which is ageless. Therefore, the human race, having accepted the promise of a blissful life from God, lost by its own will that promise which is full of life. It had no more purpose to offer sacrifices or feel the felicity of the priesthood. One who contemplates the letters that point to the type that is the Lamb (Christ), and his imminent coming, will realize the necessity that this symbol of (Christ) first began in Egypt. For, Christ, the True Lamb, went down to Egypt, which symbolized hell where pharaoh, the symbolic Satan, had ruled. It was then imperative, that the sacrifices of the children of Israel, who were in bondage in Egypt, should have been suspended until their exodus. This is why they did not offer sacrifices during the time of their sojourn under pharaoh's servitude and cruelty. Since the people were defiled because of their deprivation of the priesthood, by which the Holy Communion between God and man is consummated, it was unlawful to offer sacrifices. Even the Hebrews, who were called the chosen people of God according to his promise to Abraham, suspended the holy service while nations were offering sacrifices to the rebellious devils.

In this period, sacrifice was offered to the bull Crofos, known as Diophaus. As a result, the people fell into error to a degree a little less than those before the Flood did. God allowed this to happen in order to demonstrate man's freedom and individual authority. He also tried to prove how he saved men from the abyss of objectionable error, and make them attain to the divine light by the coming of the holy sacrifice, which is the Lamb of Salvation. (Christ). In this same grace, God desired the salvation of people and their lives. Since God intended to renew his divine gifts for the human race, which have been defiled by all kinds of corruption, he descended to earth in order to rejuvenate his creation in a form better than what it was before. In fact, he had already indicated this purpose when he made his famous promise through Abraham. Indeed, the time of the appearance of the true type (Christ) was fulfilled when Moses was born and raised in Egypt, which signifies sin. Since his birth, grace adhered to Moses in an ineffable manner and by divine act operated from above (heaven). It incarnated the symbolic mystery in order to be seen by the viewers. Therefore, those righteous people, up to the time of Abraham, deserved to partake of the mysteries of sacrifices and oblations. God was pleased that Moses became the servant of the divine mystery. In the year 3841, he offered the symbolic sacrifice in Egypt, which in itself represents sin and bottomless hell. He showed those who are discerning that the True Divine Lamb (Christ) will be slaughtered amidst sinners, and will destroy sin. He also demonstrated that this Lamb descended into the bottomless pit and by his death gave salvation to all believers. If the beginning of the symbolic sacrifice occurred in Egypt, it was transferred with them (Hebrews) to the wilderness and to the Promised Land where they enjoyed it. The same applies to the people who were redeemed by the Blood of the Lamb of Life, the God Jesus. They have enjoyed in the wilderness the first sacrifice. Moreover, they will continue to enjoy it in the happy realm promised them in heaven.

BOOK FOUR

WITH GOD'S HELP, WE WRITE DOWN BOOK FOUR, WHICH BEGINS WITH THE FIRST YEAR OF THE FIFTH MILLENNIUM, WHICH IS THE YEAR 680 FROM ABRAHAM. IT CONTAINS THE EVENTS OF 835 YEARS OF THIS PERIOD

Chapter One: The period from Adam to Moses is counted by 37 generations. After Moses, however, it is not calculated based on generations, but based on the names of judges, of whom Joshua was first who judged for 27 years. Then, the impious King of the Gentiles, Cushan, subjugated the people for eight years. After he was killed, Othniel judged for 32 years, which are counted 40 years for him. After the death of Othniel, Eglon the Moabite rose to power for eight years. Ehud who became judge for 62 years killed him.¹¹² If we add the years of the governance of Eglon according to the Hebrew tradition, his period of judging should be 80 years.¹¹³

Chapter Two: After Ehud, the Hebrews became subject to Jabin, king of Hazor for 20 years.¹¹⁴ Before Jabin ruled, Shamgar rose up, the one who killed 600 Palestinians with an ox goad.¹¹⁵ The commander of Jabin's army was Sisera who had 90 iron chariots. Deborah and Barak, who triumphed over him, fought against him. When Deborah crushed Sisera's head, she ruled for 24 years.¹¹⁶ However, the years she ruled with Barak are considered 40 years according to the Hebrew tradition including those years in which Sisera ruled.

In the fifth year of Deborah, Dmaphses (Rampses) ruled Egypt for 60 years. At the same time, Midas ruled over the Phrygians. Perses killed Acrisios, king of Argos, against his will. For this reason, Perses left Argos and ruled over the Mycenae.

In the year 28 of Deborah, Panyas ruled over the Assyrians 45 years. Deborah and Barak sang the song of praise.¹¹⁷

Chapter Three: After Deborah and Barak, the Midianites subjugated the Hebrews seven years. Then Gideon rose, destroyed the Midianites and led the people for 32 years. If we add to these years the seven years of the Midianites, the total number of Gideon's judging will be 40 years.¹¹⁸

In the third year of Gideon, Aegos, son of Pandion, ruled Athens 48 years. In the year 33 of Gideon, Sosarmos reigned 19 years over the Assyrians. At the same time, Amphion governed Thebes, who was reported to have charmed stones by the sound of his lyre. According to other sources, Cecropos II, reigned over Athens 40 years. As to Gideon, he fathered 70 sons.

Chapter Four: Gideon was followed by his son Abimelech, who was born of a concubine.¹¹⁹ He judged the people for three years after killing his seventy brothers.¹²⁰ After him, Tola, son of Puah, arose. He is sixth of the judges.¹²¹ If we set aside the years in which the people were ruled intermittently by judges, the period of Tola's rule is 22 years. According to other copies, it is 23 years.

¹¹² Judges 3:15-18.

¹¹³ Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, iv, 2-3, 140 of the English translation.

¹¹⁴ Judges 4:1-3.

¹¹⁵ Judges 3:31.

¹¹⁶ The woman who crushed Sisera's head and killed him was Jael, wife of Heber the Kenite. Judges 5:22-26. But the period of her rule together with Barak is considered 40 years according to the Hebrew tradition. This includes the period in which Sisera ruled. Judges, entire Chapter Four, and Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book Five, Chapters 5 and 6, 141-142.

¹¹⁷ Judges 5:1-5.

¹¹⁸ Josephus, *Ibid.* Book Five, Chapter 7, 143 of the English translation.

¹¹⁹ Judges 8:31.

¹²⁰ Judges 9:5.

¹²¹ Judges 10:1-2.

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In the year 8 of Tola, Thesos ruled Athens 27 years. In the year 10 of Tola, Proserpine (Qura) daughter of Zeus, was kidnapped. In the year 21 of Tola, the city of Tarsus was built in Cilicia by Perses, son of Dana. In the same period, Carthage was built and Ilion (Troy) brought into subjection.

Chapter Five: Jair of Gilead, who led Israel twenty-three years, followed Tola. He judged the people 23 years.¹²² In the sixth year of Jair, Ammenemes reigned over Egypt 26 years. Also, in his time, Hercules established Olympia. The period between him and the first Olympiad is 430 years. In the year 19 of Jair, the fourth millennium would have passed according to Eusebius. In the year 17 of Jair, Tautalos reigned over the Assyrians for 31 years. The Greeks called him Tautanes. It is reported that Ilion was destroyed in his time. In the 16 of Jair, Menestheus, son of Peteoes, ruled Athens 23 years. After Jair, the Hebrews became subjects of the Ammonites for 18 years. This period is calculated with the six years of Jephthah's judging. Thus, his duration is 24 years according to the Jewish tradition. Accordingly, from Moses to Jephthah, the period is 300 years according to the books of the Jews.¹²³ During the rule of the Ammonites, the men of Gilead who had expelled Jephthah went to him and made him their leader. He fought the Ammonites and triumphed over them. Later, he offered his daughter as a sacrifice.¹²⁴

Chapter Six: After Jephthah, the names of the judges were placed differently in the history books.

In this period the war of Centaures, who were horsemen of Thessaly, broke out. They were first discussed by Palephatus. In this period flourished Media the sorceress who departed Agos in the time of Mithras, king of the Assyrians as said by Kephalion. In Athens, Androges was assassinated treacherously. Theseus kidnapped Helen, but her brothers delivered her in his absence and took his mother Thesis captive.

In this period, seven military commanders waged war against Thebes. These events happened in the days of Minautores, as mentioned by Philochorus in his second book *The Attbidis*. In the second war, Minos commanded the army of Domianos also called Tauros, who was harsh and inhuman. Because Domianos had waged war against Androge, Minos waged war against the youth of Attica. Being strong, Tauros overwhelmed all of them as he had overwhelmed Troy. The children of Attica became exempt from the gold tribute imposed on them by Domianos. This is attested by the Cnossians.

In this period, Theseus gathered the dispersed Athenians throughout the countries into one city. But he was banished although he was first to enact a law.

In this period, Zoros of Tyre built Carthage as is related by Philistos.¹²⁵ Also, in this period was born Pelops who reigned over the Pelopones. He is the one who founded Olympia. Zeus fathered Castor, Pollux and Helen. They became Dioscuri that is mighty and famous.

In this period, Theseus fled Athens and fought the Amazonians. A ferocious war was waged between Hercules and his father Zeus. Beside his many immoralities, Hercules, considered a god by the Athenians, made contact with Tethonis who lived on the shore of Lake Triton. He appeared to her in the form of Philip the shepherd whom she had overcome many times. He fathered from her Achilles known as Philidos. As Hercules was afflicted with an incurable disease, he cast himself into the fire and died having lived 52 years. Others say that he died ten years earlier. Andronicus and others say that he died in the time of Samson.

In this time flourished Chiron as a mighty combatant. Mopsus reigned over Cilicia. Latinus ruled the Latins from whom their name derives. Previously, they were attributed to Aborigenes whose leadership Ennais inherited after marrying his daughter Lavinie.

Homer calls Thouris king of Egypt as Polybos and Alkandra, meaning the man of many oxen and helper of men. He mentioned him in his book *The Odyssey*, saying that Melon and Helen resided with him after the destruction of Ilion.

¹²² Judges 10:3.

¹²³ Synkellos corrects Eusebius' reckoning of the years of Jephthah's judging. See *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, 238.

¹²⁴ Judges 11:29-40.

¹²⁵ See *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, 248.

In this time, Alexander kidnapped Helen. A ferocious war was fought because of Ilion, which lasted ten years. The reason was a golden apple inscribed with the words "to the most beautiful woman (goddess)." One of them, Helen, was loved by the governor, but Paris, the cattle herder, married her. Homer mentions her abundantly. We found in other copies that Memnon and Amazons were mentioned.

In this time, he (Paris) supported Priam in war. In this time too, Menestheus died in Cilicia after his return from the war of Troy. He was succeeded by Demophon.

In this period Madana (Medea), the sorceress burned Caron (Croesus, king of Lydia 546-560 B.C.) by fire. She also destroyed her two children in a fit of anger and rescued Jason from his private chamber while he was naked.

Remark on the total number of years

The total number of years is as follows:

Concerning the Assyrians, the period from the year 43 of Ninos, king of Assyria, to the year 25 of Tautanis, is 835 years.

Concerning the Hebrews, the period from the birth of Abraham to the third year of Abisan (Labdon), is 835 years.

Concerning the Sicyonians, the period from the year 22 of Europos to the year 29 of Polyphilis, is 835 years.

Concerning the Egyptians, the period from the first year of the 16th dynasty, when the Thebians controlled Egypt for 190 years, until the year 7 of Thouris, the fifth king of the 19th dynasty, which is the last dynasty, is 835 years.

Concerning the Athenians, the period from the first year of Attica to the destruction of Ilion (Troy), and the year 23 of Memnestheus, whom Homer mentioned, is 355 years, which is the year 36 of Moses. Up to this year, the period is about 375 years. Also, from the destruction of Ilion to the first Olympiad is 450 years.

During this period commenced the kingdom of the Latins, also called Romans, that is the *Frangoye* (Franks).

In no way did some men mention the name of the aforementioned Heshbon, who governed the people for seven years. However, John of Atharb (d. 738, who wrote a short chronography which is lost to us), says that Elon judged the people for seven years but his name is not mentioned in the Hebrews' commentaries.

In the fourth year of Heshbon, Thouris ruled Egypt for seven years. In the fourth year of Labdon, Demophon, son of Theseus, reigned over Athena 33 years. In Egypt, in the 20th dynasty, reigned kings known as the Diospolyites for 178 years. Their names are not recorded in the royal tables of kings.

Ennos was the first king to rule the Latins, later called Romans, for three years. Others say he ruled for eight years.

After Labdon, the Philistines subjugated the Hebrews for 40 years. Eusebius does not mention it but Annianus affirms it. Andronicus says that it was 20 years. All of them add 10 years to Elon.

Illustration

In this period, seven military leaders waged war against Centaures. Some say that this incident preceded the destruction of Ilion (Troy). Others say that when Laomedon and Priame, sons of Polyxene and Paris who kidnapped Helen began to rule, they waged war against their sixteen brothers. Androges was killed, Ilion was ruined and the temple of Artemis was constructed. Samson became famous for his victories and actions, which matched those of Hercules. Ascanius (son of Enee) founded the city of Alba.

The story of the destruction of the great city of Ilion (Troy)

In the year 8 of Samson, Alexander Paris king of Ilion, went to offer sacrifices to the god Apollo at Hellade. He was 33 years old, and Apollo had announced the good tidings to his father that he (Paris) would

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have a son. When Alexander went to meet Menelas, king of Sparta, he saw his beautiful wife Helen and kidnapped her. He returned to his father in Troy, in the province of Phrygia, without offering oblations. When Menelas saw what happened, he called twenty kings with their one thousand and two hundred fifty ships. War went on for ten years until year 18 of Samson. Ulysses killed Alexander and retrieved Helen after she had brought forth three children. Damstes the sage who was an eyewitness of the war related this account. Thus, Ilion was destroyed.¹²⁶

In this period, Ulysses escaped from Scylla, which destroyed lost seafarers in a ship (of the Tyrrhenians). Palephatus record this in his first book, *Incredibilia*, recounting Syrenes, who writes about other ships that were treacherously seized and lost on the sea.

Here took place the hunting of wild boars, which belonged to the sons of Calydonius by Meleagre.

Here Ulysses escaped the ship of the Tyrrhenians, and Pyrrhus killed Orestes in the temple of Apollo who was betrayed by the priest Machareus. Others say that, after him, Tisamenus son of Orestes reigned over the Mycenians. He was followed by Penthis and Cometes, whose rule was determined to be 56 years until the coming of Heraclides, as some authors had said.

Here the Amazonians burned down the temple of Ephesus during the war of the Lycenians.

Other writers say that Ilion was devastated in the time of Eli when Enneas was the first king of the Latins.

In this time, Heraclides died being burned by fire.

In this time was known the poet Homer, about whom there is a great difference among historians. The Cretians place him before the descent of the Heraclides. However, the Erasthothenians place him a hundred years after the destruction of Ilion. The partisans of Aristarchus place him 140 years after the migration of Ilionians.

The partisans of Philochorus place him in the time of the magistrate Archippus. The Athenians of Appolodorus maintain that Homer lived 240 years after the events of Ilion. Others maintain that he was in a short period before the Olympiad, which is 400 years before the destruction of Ilion. Others, like Archilochus, say that he was in the 23rd Olympiad, which is 500 years after the destruction of Ilion.

In the second year of Eurystheus, the first king of the Lacedaemonians, the Corinthians set up Aletes as their king. His sons succeeded him until the time when Kypselos rebelled, and Lacedaemonia was split into two kingdoms ruled by two families that date back by origin to Heracles.¹²⁷

In the year 9 of Samuel, Aneaes ruled the Latins as the fourth king, for 31 years. In his 12th year, Derecyclus ruled the Assyrians for 40 years.

In the year 27 of Samuel, Codrus ruled the Athenians, as the 17th prince, for 50 years.

Chapter Seven: Samson the Nazirite, from the tribe of Dan, judged the people for 20 years. In his third year, he began to fight the Philistines.¹²⁸ In his fifth year, the story of Ruth the Moabite took place.

In the second year of Samson, Teutaeus, the 28th king, ruled the Assyrians 40 years. In the year 29 of Samson, Zos (Zeus) died and was buried in Crete. He lived 780 years. He was called Zeus because of the longevity of his life. For this reason he was surnamed Dios.

After Samson, the children of Israel were without a judge for 12 years. John (of Atharb) says that Shamgar succeeded Samson and judged for 40 years, according to the Hebrews. As to the Septuagint, he judged only for 20 years while Andronicus says he judged for 10 years.¹²⁹ Africanus says that the elders judged for forty years because peace and safety prevailed at that time. They remained without a king for 30 years.

In this period, Eli the priest was a judge for 20 years according to the Septuagint, and 40 years according to the Hebrew tradition. He lived 78 years. He assumed the administration of the people at the

¹²⁶ Eusebius's *Chronicle*, Part 1, 287.

¹²⁷ See Eusebius' *Chronicle*, Part 1, 222-225.

¹²⁸ Judges 15:20 and 16:31.

¹²⁹ According to Judges 3:15 and 31, Shamgar succeeded Ehud, son of Gera the Benjamite.

age of 38. Some say that in the year 18 or 19 (of Eli) Samuel was born. In the year 20 of Eli, Samuel was presented to him as a Nazirite.¹³⁰

Chapter Eight: After Eli's death, the Ark of the Lord went to Amminadab after being 20 years in Kiriath Jearim.¹³¹ In the year 42 of Samuel and the year 20 of his governance, the children of Israel demanded a king;¹³² here ended the period of the Judges, and the kingdom of Israel commenced. The first king was Saul for 40 years.

The total number of years from Adam to Saul is 4221, and from the Flood to Saul, 2135 years, and from Moses's death and the rise of Joshua, 410 years. However, according to the computation of the Syrians, the period is 3008 years.

In the third year of Saul, he triumphed over the Amalekites.¹³³ In his tenth year, David was born. In the year 23 of Saul, Samuel who was then 65 years old and David 12, anointed David a king. According to others, he was 13 years old. In the year 28 or 30 of Saul, David killed Goliath. In the year 31, Saul prophesied among the prophets in the field of Naioth in Ramah.¹³⁴ In the year 35 of Saul, Samuel died. In the year 30 after David's birth, the year 17 from his anointment as king, and five years after Samuel's death, Saul and his sons were killed in war.¹³⁵

In this period Pelopones waged war against the Athenians.

In the same period, the Amazonians invaded the Cimmerians in Asia.

In this period Gad, Nathan and Asaph prophesied. Nathan said, "Is this something my lord the king has done without letting his servant know who should sit on the throne of my lord the king after him?"¹³⁶ Gad said, "Now think it over and decide how I should answer the one who sent me."¹³⁷ The Prophet Gad told David to build an altar on the threshing floor of Araunah the Jebusite.¹³⁸ Nathan told David that he should not build a house for the Lord, and rebuked him for because of Uriah's wife.¹³⁹ Asaph is one of the chanters before the Ark.¹⁴⁰

In the year 28 of David, the cities of Ephesus and Samos were founded. In addition, the city of Cumas was founded in Italy. Carchedon of Tyre founded Carthage. Some say that this city was Didon. The city called Origo was rebuilt 143 years after the devastation of Ilion (Troy).

In the year 16 of David, Nahash, king of the Ammonites, died.¹⁴¹

In the year 18 of David, Hanun hired the kings of Aram and Harran, but Joab and Abishai confronted them, defeated them and seized the city of Rabba (Rabbath).¹⁴²

In that time David killed Uriah.¹⁴³ In his 30th year, David killed four mighty men from Gath, thus he annihilated the element of mighty men who were renowned among the nations.¹⁴⁴

In the year 32 of David, Eupales ruled the Assyrians for 38 years.

Chapter Nine: Judges governed the Hebrews from Moses to Samuel. Then Saul became a king and was killed forty years later. The men of Judah set up David, who had been previously anointed, as king. David

¹³⁰ 1 Samuel 1:28 and 1 Samuel 2:11-21

¹³¹ 1 Samuel 7:1-2.

¹³² 1 Samuel 8:5.

¹³³ 1 Samuel 14:48 and 15:5-8.

¹³⁴ 1 Samuel 19:23-24.

¹³⁵ 1 Samuel 31:1-1.

¹³⁶ 1 Kings 1:27.

¹³⁷ 2 Samuel 24:13; 1 Chronicles 21:12.

¹³⁸ 1 Chronicles 21:18.

¹³⁹ 2 Samuel 7:12-13, and 12:15.

¹⁴⁰ Asaph was one of the leaders of David's choir. See 2 Chronicles 6:39.

¹⁴¹ 2 Samuel 10:1; 1 Chronicles 19:1.

¹⁴² 2 Samuel 10: 9-13.

¹⁴³ 2 Samuel 10:14-21.

¹⁴⁴ 2 Samuel 21:22.

reigned seven years in Hebron. He was anointed for the second time. He is the one who built Zion. He reigned 33 years in Jerusalem.¹⁴⁵

In the tenth year of David, the Ark of the Lord was brought up with joy.¹⁴⁶ Nathan, the prophet from Gedaoun (Gabaoun), taught David the law of the Lord. When he saw that David was passionately fond of Bathsheba, he tried to stop him but was hindered by Satan on the road. Uriah was found dead and his body thrown on the road. After he was buried, and on that very night, Nathan returned (home) with sorrow having realized that a crime had been committed. The Lord sent Nathan to David to reprove him for murdering Uriah. David became sorely afraid of the Lord as Nathan reproved him for his unlawful act. He believed what the Prophet Nathan said about the death of the child.¹⁴⁷

In the year 39, David divided the Levite tribes. He designated 288 of them to be chanters and divided them into 24 bands of ten men each. David fought against the peoples around him and triumphed over them. He lived 70 years and reigned 40 years.¹⁴⁸

We add here the names of the judges consecutively together with the durations of each of them and their tribes:

Moses, from the tribe of Levi
 Aaron, from the tribe of Judah
 Othniel, from the tribe of Judah
 Deborah and Barak, from the tribe of Naphtali
 Ehud, from the tribe of Benjamin
 Gideon, from the tribe of Manasseh
 Tola, from the tribe of Issachar
 Ahimelech, from the tribe of Manasseh
 Nanir, from the tribe of Manasseh
 Heshbon, from the tribe of Reuben
 Abisan, from the tribe of Judah
 Elon, from the tribe of Zebulun
 Samson, from the tribe of Dan
 Eli, from the tribe of Levi

The period of the judges from Moses to Samuel is 450 years. After Saul killed Ahimelech and his eight sons because of David, Abiathar was made a chief priest, whom the Scriptures consider the fifteenth chief priest. Jacob of Edessa does not include him among the chief priests. After Ahitob came Zadok, the twelfth of the chief priests, Ahimelech, Azeriah who served 22 years, Amoria the fifteenth in the number of the chief priests, Amoria who served six years, Ahimelech, the fifteenth in the number of chief priests and who served 29 years, then Jehoiada, not Abiathar.

We now turn to David who was a king and a prophet. He is also counted among the priests because he ate from the showbread and wore a vestment. He set up Asaph and Heman ...lacuna... since then began the custom of chanting in the third, sixth and ninth services. The priests were divided into twenty-four ranks arranged consecutively. After Solomon dismissed Abiathar as chief priest, Zadok occupied his position for 19 years according to Adronicus and others. Jacob of Edessa, however, while placing Jehoiada as the seventeenth chief priest, says that Li'azar (Lazarus) whose duration of service is unknown because it was not recorded succeeded him. Also not recorded was the duration of the service of Jehoiada. For this reason, we append below the opinion of each one of them as they occur in the table of the chief priests. Jacob of Edessa further says that after Azariah, the nineteenth chief priest came Shalom, Amasiah, Helekiah, Azariah and then Zadok who was the 23rd chief priest.

¹⁴⁵ 2 Samuel 5:4-5.

¹⁴⁶ 2 Samuel 6:1-11.

¹⁴⁷ 2 Samuel 12:1-16.

¹⁴⁸ 2 Samuel 5:4-5.

Following is the number of verses of every book of the Old Testament up to Solomon:

The Books of Moses, 14100 verses

Joshua, son of Nun, 1952 verses

Ruth, 246 verses

Judges, 2808 verses

Samuel, 3431 verses

Psalms, -----

Proverbs, 1762 verses

Wisdom, 558 verses

Ecclesiastes, 427 verses

The Song of Songs, 496 verses

Eusebius says that Ahimelech was chief priest in the time of Jeroboam, son of Nabat. But John says that Ahimelech became chief priest following Zadok. Jacob of Edessa says that after Zadok was Jehozadak, who was counted among the chief priests. He was a chief priest for 20 years. Andronicus, however, makes him the sixteenth chief priest who served 8 years. He was succeeded by Azariah, as he says, who served for 32 years. These are the chief priests and the number of their years mentioned in the histories of these renowned men. Now, if we placed all of them in this order, which is favored by those who follow the continuity of the priesthood, it would be easier for them to recognize the correctness of their order with a little difference. However, historians were not sure of the years that each one of the kings ruled. Therefore, each of them arranged things according to their own discretion. Consequently, Andronicus counted 33 years for the seventeenth chief priests. He said that the eighteenth chief priest was Ahimelech who served twelve years. Another Ahimelech who served nineteen years succeeded him. This is according to the table of the chief priests he recorded in his book. He says that for 32 years, Ahimelech performed the symbolic service instituted by Moses, and that Aaron was its first priest. However, John says...lacuna... that Jehoiada, the chief priest, flourished in the time of the kings of Israel: Joram, Ahaziah, Athaliah and Joash and those who followed them. He alone spent 23 years in the service after the great Moses. Eusebius attests to this as he indicates the life span of Jehoiada. Still, Jacob of Edessa considers Jehoiada the 28th chief priest while in the table, Andronicus considers him 22nd and that he served 42 years. There is obviously a difference in what these historians have written. Accordingly, some of them thought that there was another person by the name of Jehoiada. In this context, Jacob of Edessa says that the 24th chief priest was Jehozadak who served 34 years, followed by the 25th chief priest Joshua, who was followed by another Jehozadak who served 20 years. Elisha, who served 50 years, followed him and Jacob of Edessa fixes only forty years for Jehoiada. Andronicus, however, considers Ahimelech the 19th and Zadok the 20th followed by Shalom as the 21st who lived ninety years. He rejoins that after Shalom followed Jehoiada, who served 42 years, as has already been mentioned. It is reported that Jehoiada flourished at the time of the said kings. Andronicus further says that Zachariah succeeded Jehoiada for eight years. It is said that he was a young man who was killed by the king of Judah according to Epiphanius. Andronicus also says that Uriah followed Zachariah for six years, who was followed by Amasiah for 21 years. Therefore, if Uriah was the 24th chief priest, Amasiah should be the 25th, then Azariah as the 26th, who served 27 years. He was followed by Hananiah who served 13 years. However, in the table of names, he is considered the 27th, followed by Simon who served 23 years, or 28 or 29 years. Relying on Eusebius, I, the historian John, figured that this Azariah was in the time of Uzziah, king of Judah. He was the 26th in the table of the priests and served 40 years, while Jacob of Edessa calls him Jehozadak who served 34 years.

It seems from the computation of the years of kings in this period, that they are approximate with the years of the chief priests. Thus, Uzziah, king of Judah, is mentioned in the discussion of Azariah. We find necessary to illustrate here ...lacuna... the table of the priests and will return to them ...lacuna... he is known as Mori, the 29th chief priest according to Andronicus. He served 39 years. This historian says that

afterwards, came Uriah as the 29th chief priest who served 16 years. In another place, it was found that Uziah, king of Judah, who was inflicted with leprosy, flourished in this time. After him followed Zacharias, son of Berechiah, who is reported to have been stoned to death by the Jews. Andronicus places him as the 23rd chief priest who served 10 years after Jehoiada. He was followed by Uriah, who flourished in the days of Uziah, Jotham, kings of Judah as mentioned above. We have arranged these things in this manner according to what we have gathered from many books.

After Uriah came Hanaiah. Andronicus makes him the 31st who served 41 years, while Jacob of Edessa says he served 30 years. After him, Andronicus mentions Hananoi, son of the renowned Jehoiada who served 11 years. To Andronicus he is the 32nd chief priest, followed by Helekiah who served 30 years, followed by Phashur who served for four years. Jacob of Edessa, however, lists Simon, son of Hanania instead of Phashur who served 32 years. He considers him the 33rd chief priest. Historians are unanimous that Simon was righteous, wise and loved by the Hebrews. Some historians place him after this period...lacuna... In the second year of Abiah, about two hundred fighting men of Judah and eighty thousand of Israel assembled. The men of Judah killed forty thousand men of Israel. At that time were prophesying Achia, Shemaiah and Joael ...lacuna... Joel, Azariah, Hananiah and Joaos who is Iddo. In this time, came Zarah, king of the Cushites, accompanied by Libyans to fight against Judah. However, he was repelled by Asa who triumphed over him. Asa was in the tenth year of his reign. The Cushites and Libyans numbered thousands upon thousands and hundreds of thousands of men ...lacuna... Zechariah the prophet ...lacuna... Asa, the king ...lacuna... Bithynia which they occupied by way of Satros ...lacuna... Baasha, king of Israel, built the city Ramah (1 Kings 15:17) and fought against Asa, king of Judah. In this period appeared the Prophet Joel who is Azariah, son of Ado. Asa hired Ben-Hadad the Syrian in his war against Baasha. He sent him gifts of the gold and silver from his treasury and from the treasury of the Lord. In the year 15 of Asa, Comphosos ruled the Latins 28 years. In his 27th year, Procos became the fifth judge of the Athenians for 31 years. In the year 29 of Asa, Israel was ruled by Dadael, son of Baasha for two years. In the year 30 of Asa, Ephesus was founded. Epiphanius says that Jehu told Baasha, king of Israel, thus says the Lord, "I lifted you up from the dust and made you leader of my people Israel, but you walked in the ways of Jeroboam... So I am about to consume Baasha and his house, and I will make your house like that of Jeroboam son of Nebat. Dogs will eat those belonging to Baasha who die in the city, and the birds of the air will feed on those who die in the country."¹⁴⁹ This was exactly fulfilled. Concerning Elijah the Tishbite, Epiphanius says that he was from Arabian Tishbe, and from the house of Aaron. However, he lived in Gilead because Tishbe was given to the priests. At his birth, his father saw in a dream men robed in white greeting and wrapping the newly born child in a fiery swaddle. They handed him a brand of fire to eat. When the news spread throughout Jerusalem, his father was told not to fear because it was only a vision. They also said that his son will have a decisive word like fire and will judge Israel by the sword.

At this time there appeared in Israel the Prophets Elijah, Obadiah, Abihu, Uzziel, and Micaiah, son of Nimshi (more correctly, Imlah) and others. In addition, false prophets appeared in Israel like Zedekiah and Leazer and others. Some say that Homer flourished in this period. Zedekiah, the false prophet, made iron horns and said to Ahab, "With these you will gore the Aramaeans until they are destroyed."¹⁵⁰ About Obadiah, Epiphanius says that he was from Shechem and the village of Ephraim. He was a disciple of the Prophet Elijah, and endured a great deal from Ahab in order to save Elijah. He was the captain of the third company of fifty men.¹⁵¹ Elijah had compassion on him. He left the service of King Ahab and became a prophet. Upon his death, he was buried with his father in peace. In fact, the woman who asked Elisha to save her sons from the creditor by the water that he changed into oil was Obadiah's wife.¹⁵²

In the year 15 of Jehoshaphat, Tiberius ruled the Latins eight years. From his name derives that of the River Tiber, which formerly was called Elcus. Concerning Micaiah son of Imla, Epiphanius says that he

¹⁴⁹ 1 Kings 16:1-3.

¹⁵⁰ 1 Kings 22: 11.

¹⁵¹ 2 Kings 1:13.

¹⁵² 2 Kings 4:1-7.

was from the tribe of Ephraim. Because he rebuked Ahab and his son Joram for their wickedness, Joram cast him from...lacuna..., died and was buried in Akim. Joram was afflicted with a malignant disease causing his entrails to spill out. He sent men to a sorceress inquiring whether he would be healed from his sickness. Joram, or (Jehoram) did sustain wounds when he was fighting the Aramaeans.¹⁵³ However, he was killed by his military commander Jehu, son of Jehoshaphat, son of Nimshi who drew his bow and shot him between the shoulders. The arrow pierced his heart and he slumped down in his chariot.¹⁵⁴ In the fourth year of Jehoram, Elijah was raptured to heaven. At that time, Elisha and Amos were prophesying. On Elisha, Epiphanius says that he was from Beth-Maholah (Abel-Maholah in the valley of the Jordan.) in the region of Reubel (Reuben). His birth was accompanied by the following miracle. A golden she-calf cried out loudly and her voice was heard in all of Israel whose idols fell. The priest said that a prophet would be born who will destroy the idols. When Elisha died and was buried in Samaria, the she-calf cried out again.

The King of Damascus (Ben-Hadad, king of Aram) attacked Samaria with a huge army and tightened the grip against it. Ahab opposed him with few fighting men and caused him to flee. A year later, he returned once more saying that, "The Lord is a god of the hills and not a god of the valleys."¹⁵⁵ Because of this saying, God delivered ...lacuna... the Children of Israel and killed him ...lacuna... 120 thousand ...lacuna... and held ...lacuna... was angered against Ahab ...lacuna... over the Adomites, Ramoth Gilead ...lacuna...

At the same time Micaiah the prophet died. So also died King Ahab, and Jezebel the Sidonite took charge of the kingdom. She ruled Israel 35 years and survived her husband by 25 years...lacuna.... Jehoiada, the chief priest, assembled the men of Judah, killed Athaliah and set up the seven years old Joash as king. Joash ruled 41 years. In addition, Jehoiada sent the men of Judah to Beth Baal and burned the priest Mathan by fire.

In this period flourished the philosopher Lycurgus, the legislator, among the Lacedaemonians. Also in this period the Prophet Zechariah, son of Jehoiada the priest, flourished. King Joash of Judah killed him and spilled his blood between the altar and the temple. The priests carried him and buried him with his father. Miraculous signs and visions appeared in the temple. However, the priests could not gaze at the angels of heaven, nor could they utter a word, or ask for an ephod, not even through the sorcerers to attract the people as before.

In this time, Hazael King of Aram destroyed Israel. He wanted to march against Jerusalem. When Joash learned of this, he took the golden sacred vessels, sent them to Hazael and returned ...lacuna...

Aremulus, the very wicked one, died because of explosion. In addition, his house was swept by water inundation ...lacuna...

Hazael, king of Aram, reassembled his forces and attacked Israel. He pillaged and killed the Jews' leaders.

Prophet Elisha died in the year 37 of Joash. He lived fifty years after the Prophet Elijah and 67 years since he was ordained a prophet.

Joash was killed by his guards.

In this period, the city of Carthage was founded. Some say it was founded in an earlier time.

In this period Hazael, king of Aram died and his son ruled...lacuna....

We should note here the error in the table of years by Eusebius regarding Joash, king of Israel. According to the Scriptures, Elisha died in the year 37 of the king of Judah. It says, "In that year Jehoash son of Jehoahaz became king of Israel. When Elisha was suffering the illness from which he died, Jehoash went down to see him and wept over him. He cried, "My father, my father, the chariots and horsemen of Israel." Elisha said to him, "Get a bow and arrow and shoot the ground and you will destroy the Aramaeans. But he (Jehoash) because he did not... lacuna... placed the kings of Judah and Israel...lacuna... in the second year of Amaziah (king of Judah), placed...lacuna...the kingdom of Jehoash, king of Israel, forty

¹⁵³ 2 Kings 9:15.

¹⁵⁴ 2 Kings 9:24.

¹⁵⁵ 1 Kings 20:28.

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years after the death of Elisha, Joash, king of Israel, went up to fight against Ben-Hadad, king of Aram. He restored all the cities that he had captured.¹⁵⁶

Chapter Ten: Solomon reigned at the age of 12, and his kingship extended until he was 40. He dismissed Abiathar the priest and killed Adonai and Joab. In the fourth year of his reign, he began to build the Temple on Mount Moriah. He finished it in seven years.¹⁵⁷

The entire period from the Exodus in Egypt to the building of the Temple consists of 637 years, or 600 years according to another copy. According to the Books of Kings, the Temple was built 480 years after the Exodus. Apparently, the number of years in which the enemies dominated Israel, have been left out. (2 Kings 6:1). This is also what Paul, based on Jeremiah, did when he said, "He delivered them to the hands of judges 450 years until Samuel."¹⁵⁸ From Abraham to this date the period is 985. However, according to Andronicus, it is 1115 years, and according to Annianus, it is 1092 years. These three authorities agree that the period from this date to the Babylonian captivity and the destruction of the Temple, is 441 years. However, Annianus drops 10 years from the life of Amon, and from Adam to the building of the Temple there are 4168 years.¹⁵⁹

In the eleventh year, David bought the threshing floor of Araunah the Jebusite. It was 60 cubits long, 20 cubits wide and of 30 cubits elevation.¹⁶⁰ He built a temple on it.

In his 34th year, Solomon abandoned the God of Israel. He built an altar on the mountain opposite of Jerusalem to Chemosh (god) of Moab and Molech, (god) of the Bnai Ammon (Ammonites).¹⁶¹ On the spot in which the temple of Aphrodite, goddess of the Athenians, which took seven years to build, he built in thirteen years a temple 100 cubits long, 50 cubits wide and 30 cubits high. He made for it locks of gold, brass pillars, and towers.

He (Solomon) destroyed Antioch and built seven cities: Palmyra that is Tadmur, Mello, Hazor, Megeddo, Gezer, Lower Beth Hawron and Balaath. In the first year of his reign, he fathered Rehoboam from Na'ma the Ammonite. (1 Kings 11:43).

Hadad reigned in Damascus and became like a devil to Israel throughout the life of Solomon.¹⁶² Solomon died at the age of 52. After his death, the people fell into chaos and their kingdom was divided. Jeroboam, son of Nabat, reigned 22 years in Tirzah over ten tribes. Only two tribes that came to be known as Judah, remained under Rehoboam's control.¹⁶³ Because of this, all the people were called Jews.

We shall explain below how the Athenian kingdom ended. John (of Atharb) says that the Peloponnesians assembled against the Athenians. Codrus, king of the Athens, was a sorcerer, and he delivered himself and died. After him, no king arose in Athens. The Athenians, however, set up judges whom they called "Judges for life." Medon was the first judge who ruled Athens for 20 years. The second judge was Acastus who was set up in the year 28 of David and ruled for 36 years.

At the beginning of the reign of Solomon, the people of Tyre were ruled by Hiram who sent 80,000 men to help Solomon build the Temple.¹⁶⁴

According to the account of Eupolemus:

In this same period, Vaphres ruled Egypt and Ethiopia.

¹⁵⁶ 2 Kings 13:10-31.

¹⁵⁷ For the building of the Temple, see 2 Chronicles, Chapters 3 and 4, and Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book Eight, Chapter 3, 218-220 of the English translation.

¹⁵⁸ Acts 13: 19-20.

¹⁵⁹ George Synkellos gives different dates of Africanus and Eusebius. See *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, trans. by William Adler and Paul Tuffin, (Oxford University Press, 2002), 264-265.

¹⁶⁰ 2 Samuel 24:18-19.

¹⁶¹ 1 Kings 11:5-7.

¹⁶² According to 1 Kings 11:14, Hadad was an Edomite from the royal line of Edom

¹⁶³ 1 Kings 11:26-37.

¹⁶⁴ 1 Kings, entire Chapter 5.

In the year 10 of Solomon, Laosthenes ruled the Assyrians for 15 years, and Alba ruled the Latins for 39 years.

Also, in this period lived Homer and Hesiod, and Didon founded Carthage. In the year 24 of Solomon, Archippus was the third judge of Athens for 19 years.

In the year 34 of Solomon, 178 years had elapsed for the 20th dynasty of Egypt, and in the 21st dynasty, Smendis began to rule. Jeroboam fled to him and was saved from being killed. He remained in Egypt throughout the life of Solomon.¹⁶⁵

In the year 32 of Solomon, the Prophet Ahijah of Shiloh prophesied on ...lacuna... saying that you will possess (ten tribes of the kingdom).¹⁶⁶

Epiphanius said, "The Prophet Ahijah prophesied about Solomon who had angered God. He rebuked Jeroboam who walked with the Lord with deceit. He is the one who told Solomon that women would estrange him from God. He told Jeroboam that he had become a stumbling block to all Israel because of his golden calves. And when he died, he was buried before the oak tree in Shiloh."

Hiram, whose daughter Solomon married, ruled over the people of Tyre. Tatianus said that Solomon abandoned God and worshiped the false idols of heathens.

In the year 5 of Rehoboam, Shishak king of Egypt attacked Jerusalem through the treachery of Jeroboam. He carried all the golden shields Solomon had made. Therefore, Rehoboam made shields of bronze to replace them.¹⁶⁷

In this period, Smyrna was founded.

In the year 6 of Rehoboam, Thersippus was the fourth judge of the Athenians ruled 41 years. In the year 9 of Rehoboam, the 7th king of the Latins, ruled 26 years.

When he took hold of Samaria (fortified Shechem), Jeroboam said in his heart, "If the people went as usual to Jerusalem to worship (offer sacrifices), their heart will likely revert to their lord Rehoboam. So, he made golden calves ...lacuna... (and told the people, 'It is too much for you to go to) Jerusalem. Here are your gods O Israel, who brought you out of Egypt.'¹⁶⁸ Sin prevailed.

While Jeroboam was offering sacrifices (to the golden calf), the Prophet Shemaiah who lived in Bethel rebuked Jeroboam saying, "O altar, altar! This is what the Lord says: 'A son named Josiah will be born to the house of David. On you, he will sacrifice the priests of the high places who now make offering here, and human bones will be burned on you.'¹⁶⁹ This is the sign the Lord has declared: The altar will split apart and the ashes on it will be poured out."¹⁷⁰ This is exactly what happened. When Jeroboam stretched out his hand to kill him (Shemaiah), it shriveled up. Upon his plea, Shemaiah interceded with the Lord and the hand of Jeroboam was restored and became as it was before.¹⁷¹ When he (the prophet) transgressed the commandment of God by eating the bread, the lion killed him.¹⁷²

Epiphanius says that the prophet who rebuked Jeroboam was Jehoiada from Samaria. He is the one who was killed by the lion for rebuking Jeroboam, because of the golden calves which he set up and with which he misled Israel. He was buried in Bethel beside the Prophet Abiatan who mocked him.¹⁷³

Chapter Eleven: Rehoboam reigned 18 years in Jerusalem. He lived 58 years. At the beginning of his kingdom, Jeroboam reigned over Israel 22 years at Tirzah. He made two golden calves and set up one in

¹⁶⁵ 1 Kings 11:40, where the king of Egypt is called Shishak.

¹⁶⁶ For the entire story of Solomon with Jeroboam and the split of the kingdom, see 1 Kings Chapters 11 and 12

¹⁶⁷ 1 Kings 14:26; 2 Chronicles 12:9-13.

¹⁶⁸ 1 Kings 12:28-30.

¹⁶⁹ 2 Chronicles 34 1-7.

¹⁷⁰ 1 Kings 13:1-3.

¹⁷¹ 1 Kings 13:4-6.

¹⁷² This whole story is in 1 Kings 13:1-33, and *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, 274. Unfortunately, Michael Rabo related it in a mutilated form.

¹⁷³ Cf. *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, 274.

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Dan and the other in Bethel.¹⁷⁴ The Prophet Shemaiah came from Judah to rebuke him for his sin. Jeroboam stretched his hand against Shemaiah but it shriveled up.¹⁷⁵ Jeroboam fortified Shechem in the hill country of Ephraim and lived there. He also built a temple for Phanoel and resided in it. He organized the city of Tirzah and lived all his life in it. This Shemaiah is the one who advised Judah, when they wanted to fight against Israel, not to go up and fight their own brothers because this judgment concerning the House of David was from the Lord.¹⁷⁶ He is also the one who took the cloak (of Jeroboam) and tore it into twelve pieces.¹⁷⁷

In the third year of Rehoboam, the 4th ruler, Tersippus, reigned over the Athenians 44 years. In the year 15 of Rehoboam, Pertiades ruled the Assyrians 30 years.

Chapter Twelve: After Rehoboam, his son Abijah ruled 3 years over Judah. Jeroboam assembled 800,000 men against him, while Judah assembled 400,000 men. Jeroboam was defeated and fled. Israel lost 500,000 men dead.¹⁷⁸ Abijah married 14 wives and fathered 24 sons and 16 daughters. After his death, his son Asa ruled 41 years. He lived 60 years and reigned 41 years. Asa had a great trench dug in Mizpah against the king of Israel. In the fifteenth year of his reign, he burned down the idols and expelled the male prostitutes from the land. He deposed his mother from her position because she made a feast for Astarte, and destroyed its image.¹⁷⁹

In the year 29 of Asa, Elah, (son of Baasha) became king of Israel. Then Zimri killed Baasha the son of his master and reigned only for seven days. After him, the kingdom of Israel was divided. Some followed Tibni, and others followed Omri. Tibni passed away at a time when Omri waxed strong, and Omri ruled for six years. When Zimri saw that the people were inclined toward Omri, he set the house of the king and himself on fire. After Omri ruled for six years in Tirzah, he bought the Mount of Samaria from its owner (Shemer) and built in it a city, which he called Samaria.¹⁸⁰ Later, it was called Sebastea, which is Nabulus. Omri reigned 12 years. The kingdom of Israel was settled in Tirzah for 56 years.

In the year 41 of Asa, Nephereheres reigned 4 years in Egypt. He was succeeded by Amenophantes who reigned 9 years.

Chapter Thirteen: After Asa, Jehoshaphat reigned over Judah for 25 years. In the year 2 of Jehoshaphat, King Ahab, son of Omri, reigned 22 years over Israel. He married Jezebel, daughter of Ethbaal, king of Tyre and Sidon.¹⁸¹ He rebuilt Jericho in the place which Joshua, son of Nun, had cursed, at the cost of his firstborn son Abiram, and set up its gates at the cost of his youngest son Segub.¹⁸²

In the year 2 of Jehoshaphat, Carpentus reigned over the Latins 13 years. In the 4 year of Jehoshaphat, Ophrantinus ruled the Assyrians 50 years. In the year 13 of Jehoshaphat, Isochoris ruled Egypt 6 years. In the fourth year of Jehoshaphat, Amegaclos judged the Athenians 30 years. In the year 9 of his reign, Psinachus became king of Egypt for 9 years. In the year 23 of Jehoshaphat, Agrippa ruled the Latins 41 years. In the year 29 of the kingship of Jehoshaphat, another king of Israel (Ahaziah) reigned for one year.¹⁸³ Then his brother Jehoram (Joram) reigned 12 years.¹⁸⁴ After Jehoshaphat, another Jehoram reigned

¹⁷⁴ 1 Kings 21:28-30.

¹⁷⁵ 1 Kings 13:4.

¹⁷⁶ 1 Kings 12:22-24.

¹⁷⁷ According to 1 Kings 11:29-30, it was the Prophet Ahija of Shiloh and not Shemaiah who did this.

¹⁷⁸ 2 Chronicles 13:1-18.

¹⁷⁹ 1 Kings 15:11-14, and 2 Chronicles 14:1-5 and 15:16. George Synkellos says that Asa cut down the sacred groves and put an end to his own mother's mad obsession with idols. See *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, 272.

¹⁸⁰ 1 Kings 16:1-25.

¹⁸¹ 1 Kings 16:29-32.

¹⁸² According to 1 Kings 16:34, in Ahab's time, Hiel of Bethel rebuilt Jericho. He laid its foundations at the cost of his firstborn Abiram, and he set up its gates at the cost of his youngest son Segub, in accordance with the word of the Lord spoken by Joshua son of Nun.

¹⁸³ 1 Kings 22:40.

¹⁸⁴ 2 Kings 3:1.

over Judah 8 years. Ahaziah ruled two years. Jehoram, king of Judah, married Athaliah, Ahab's sister. He killed all the children of Jehoshaphat.¹⁸⁵ For this reason, the rod of (divine) justice struck him. He was inflicted by an incurable disease that caused his entrails to spill out.¹⁸⁶

Epiphanius says that Amos was from Tekoah (seven miles south of Bethlehem in Judah). Amaziah oppressed him so greatly that his son killed him by striking him with a rod in the temple. They carried him to his own town while he was still breathing but died later and was buried there.

Nahum was from Alqush (a village north of Mosul, Iraq), from Beth Hurim and from the tribe of Simon. After Jonah, he gave the people of Nineveh a sign that the city of Nineveh would be destroyed by water gushing out of the ground accompanied by fire. This took place when an earthquake shook the lake surrounding the city, and fire came simultaneously from the wilderness and burned it down.

Jonah was from the village of Yaarim near Azot on the seashore inhabited by heathens.¹⁸⁷ Upon receiving God's order, he fled and was swallowed by a great fish. He prayed and the fish vomited him out. He went to Nineveh and then returned (to his town) but did not settle in it. He took his mother with him and settled in Tyre saying, "With this my shame is removed because, in my prophecy, I lied to the great city of Nineveh." He settled in the place in which Elijah rebuked King Ahab where famine had taken place. He met a widow and her son but could not stay with uncircumcised people, and he blessed her and her son Jonah.

After the death of Elijah, God singled him (Jonah) out and assured him that he would never escape from him. However, when he tried to go back home, his mother died on the road, and he buried her in the cavern of Qala, who became a judge for one tribe at a time when there was no administrator in Israel. He gave a sign to Israel and the whole world saying, "When you hear the rock shouts vigorously, the end (of world) is at hand. And when the nations gather in Jerusalem, the city will be completely destroyed up to the region...lacuna..."¹⁸⁸

In the time when Thespiesus son of Ariphron ruled the Athenians, the government of the Assyrians vanished.

The total years of the governing of the Assyrians before Belos father of Ninus, is 1300 years.¹⁸⁹ Then, Arabeces (Arabekes) the Mede ruled them and transferred their kingdom to the Medes.¹⁹⁰ Their hegemony lasted until Deioces ruled over them. During this period, they held power and influence over all nations, and set up local kings.

After the death of Sarandapalos and the cessation of the kingdom of the Assyrians in Nineveh, another kingdom arose in Nineveh that was the kingdom of the Chaldeans, from which arose Phoul, Thiglapelesar, Shalmanesor and Sennacherib mentioned by the Bible. In addition, another Chaldean kingdom arose in Babylon whose authority extended from (the time of) Nabonasar until Nabopelesar. There are 424 years from Nabonasar to the death of Alexander the Macedonian.¹⁹¹

Chaldean envoys came to Hezekiah, king of Judah, and he showed them the treasures in his storehouses.¹⁹²

Epiphanius says that Hosea (the Prophet) was from Balemoth and from the tribe of Issachar.¹⁹³

Menahem, king of Israel, attacked the city of Tiphsa and destroyed it because its inhabitants refused to the open their gates.¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁵ 2 Chronicles 21:4.

¹⁸⁶ 2 Chronicles 21:31-20.

¹⁸⁷ According to 2 Kings 14:25, Jonah, son of Amittai was a prophet from Gath Hepher, a town in lower Galilee, in Zebulun.

¹⁸⁸ The story of Jonah and Nineveh is well known in the Book of Jonah in the Old Testament. Obviously, there is confusion between Jonah, the Prophet Elijah, and his story with the widow of Zarephath and her son. See 1 Kings 17:1-14; Luke 4:25-26.

¹⁸⁹ See *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, 182, and 240-241.

¹⁹⁰ *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, 298-299.

¹⁹¹ *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, 302-303.

¹⁹² The envoys were sent by the Chaldean King Merodach-Baladan See Isaiah 39:1-2.

¹⁹³ There is no Biblical evidence that Hosea was from this tribe.

¹⁹⁴ 2 Kings 15:16.

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After Shalmaneser reigned, he invaded Samaria and took ten tribes captive to Assyria. From Assyria, he sent guardians to Samaria against whom God sent lions and other predators. The king of Assyria asked Azariah the priest to teach them the Law of Moses. Moses wrote down the Pentateuch in our Aramaic language, from which was derived the version (the Pshitto), which we have today. This Azariah was set up as chief priest over all Israel. Iyawannis (John of Dara), however, says that the chief priest in this period was Zadok who walked in the path of the Lord. He was succeeded by Ahitub and then by Zadok Shallum and Hilkiah and by another Azariah. The names of these priests are mentioned in the book of John (of Dara) *On the Priesthood*.¹⁹⁵ However, we (Michael Rabo) decided to repeat them here for the sake of putting this history in order. In addition, we wanted to explain the period of exile and the cessation of the kingship of Israel, and their bondage during which arose the chief priests, whose names we have put down here. John also said that Zephaniah prophesied in the times of Amon and Josiah kings of Judah.¹⁹⁶ It is also said that in this same period the chief priest was called Balki, or Hilkia, father of the Prophet Jeremiah, who discovered the book of the law that was completed by King Josiah.¹⁹⁷ However, everything that that Prophet who came from Judah had said came to pass for 374 years. In his time, that is the year 18 of Josiah after the Passover, the 70th succession (of the priesthood) with the Hebrews ended

As to this Hilkia the priest, who as some say was the father of the Prophet Jeremiah, and who appeared in the time of Amon, Josiah and Jehoiakim kings of Judah, as we have said earlier, his priestly service continued for 30 years. Many testimonies about him are available in the books. Concerning him historians said, "It is too long to comment on the chief priests." However, this Hilkia was pious and of wide renown as Andronicus, Africanus and John, said based on Eusebius...lacuna...In the time of King Jehoiakim, also called Eliakim, the chief priest was Uriah who was killed by the king. He was succeeded by Seraya, followed by Jehozadak who was taken into captivity to Babylon.¹⁹⁸ The names of these (high priests) are recorded without giving the dates of their service. Other historians, however, put them before this date. Historians also assert, as said by Andronicus, that Uriah succeeded Hilkiah. He was followed by Seraya, Azariah and Zadok who served for 25 years, as he claims. The truth, as it seems, is that Jehoahaz, Jehoiakim, Jeconiah and Zadok were known in the time of these kings. This is the same case for the high priests who existed then as we have proved. Jehozadak was taken captive (to Babylon) in the time of Zedekiah as is known to the well versed men in the Scriptures.¹⁹⁹ There is other proof which illustrates the truth about these men, that is, that all the divine books (Scriptures) and historians assert that Jehozadak was led captive to Babylon, but none mention which time he was taken captive.²⁰⁰ However, the meticulous searcher can ascertain that four times Nebuchadnezzar attacked Jerusalem. In the last attack, he burned down the Temple and gouged out the eyes of Zedekiah. Thus, the kingship of Judah ceased in Jerusalem, but the priesthood did not cease; rather, it had a remnant in the city. The captives were accompanied by priests and prophets. Daniel, was in Babylon. Ezekiel and Beth Hananya were led captive with Jeconiah (Jehoiakim), where Ezekiel received the spirit of the prophecy.

In the second year of Nebuchadnezzar, Daniel saw a dream and became well known because of it.²⁰¹ Ezekiel saw a vision at the River Khabur in the year 5 of the captivity of Jehoiakim.²⁰² When (king) Zedekiah was led into captivity and the Temple was burned down, Nebuzaradan (commander of the imperial guard) took Zedekiah to the Tigris where he killed him.²⁰³ He also slaughtered Zephaniah the priest, and fought the

¹⁹⁵ Some of these names are in 1 Samuel 14:13; 22:9-11; 1 Chronicles 6:7-9 and 36.

¹⁹⁶ For these kings see 2 Kings 21:19-25 and 22:1-2; 2 Chronicles 34:1-13 and 35:1-11. Hilkah is mentioned in both sources.

¹⁹⁷ Jeremiah 1:1. Which book did he discover? No definite answer is given. It may be the Book of Deuteronomy, but this is sheer speculation.

¹⁹⁸ Jehozadak was son of the high priest Seraya. He was led away captive to Babylon. See 1 Chronicles 6:14-15.

¹⁹⁹ 1 Chronicles 6:14-15.

²⁰⁰ Jehozadak, most likely, spent his life in captivity, for nothing more is known about him.

²⁰¹ Actually, it was Nebuchadnezzar who saw the dream and Daniel who interpreted it for him. In addition, the king made him third ruler in his kingdom. See Daniel entire Chapter Two.

²⁰² Ezekiel 1:1-3.

²⁰³ According to Jeremiah 39:1-8, Zedekiah was captured and brought to Nebuchadnezzar in Riblah. He killed his sons before

chief priest and his sons. It is well known that they were chief priests during that period in Judah and Jerusalem, and no writer was allowed to mention the captives among them. Therefore, whatever was written about Jehozadak is that he was led into captivity after serving 20 years, 15 of which were spent in captivity. The total period of his service is 35 years. He was succeeded in Judah by his son Joshua as a high priest. Jeshua, who was very righteous, was later taken captive to Babylon.²⁰⁴ ...lacuna...he remained there until Cyrus became king, repatriated the people (to Jerusalem) and commanded the restoration of the Temple...lacuna...they began to build (the temple) in the second year of Cyrus. Jehoiakim who was a high priest for 20 years followed Joshua. He was followed by his son Eisha as a high priest for 32 years. Jacob (of Edessa) and others say he served for 40 years.

Chapter Fourteen: After the death of Joram, Ahaziah ruled one year. In this year, the Prophet Elisha was sent to anoint Jehu son of Nimshi.²⁰⁵ Joram, Ahab's son, Ahaziah king of Judah and Jezebel were killed. After Ahaziah's death, his mother Athaliah destroyed the entire royal family. Only Joash was rescued by Jehosheba, Ahab's sister. Athaliah ruled seven years. Jehu ruled Israel 28 years. He killed Ahab's seventy sons and his chief priest, and destroyed the temple of Baal.²⁰⁶

After Athaliah, the chief priest Jehoiada set up Joash son of Ahaziah as a king of Judah. Joash was seven years old.²⁰⁷ He reigned 40 years.

In the third year of Joash, Diogenes the seventh judge ruled the Athenians 28 years. In the year 13 of Joash, Acrazapines ruled the Assyrians 42 years. In the year 22 of Joash, Egypt was ruled 21 years by Ischanosos the 27th king of the 22nd dynasty. In the year 23 of Joash, Aremulus ruled the Latins 19 years. In the year 25 of Joash, Jehoahaz son of Jehu, reigned 17 years.²⁰⁸ In the year 31 of Joash, Pericles, the eighth judge, ruled the Athenians for 19 years. In the year 36 of Joash, and the year 11 of Jehoahaz, the Prophet Elisha died. His servants murdered Joash, and his son Amaziah became king for 29 years.²⁰⁹ He assembled an army against Edom and Seir and triumphed over them. He brought their gods to Jerusalem and worshipped them. He lived 54 years.

In the year 10 of Amaziah king of Israel, Joash ruled 16 years. Aremulus was burned. Aventinus ruled the Latins 37 years. In the third year of Amaziah, Osorthos reigned over the Egyptians 15 years. In the year 10 of Amaziah, Ariphon the ninth judge, ruled the Athenians for 20 years. In the year 15 of Amaziah, Thonus Concolerus, who the Greeks called Sardanapale, ruled the Assyrians for 20 years. In the year 18 of Amaziah, Jeroboam became king of Israel for 40 years. In the same period, Tacelothis ruled Egypt 13 years.

Amaziah, king of Judah, picked a quarrel with Jehoash king of Israel. The men of Israel went up against the men of Judah and took three hundred captives. Amaziah was struck by a lance and died. Jehoash came to Jerusalem and met his opponents on its wall in a section of about 400 cubits (six hundred feet long extending from the Ephraim Gate to the Corner Gate). The men of Israel pillaged gold and silver, took all the articles found in the Temple of the Lord and the palace of the king, and returned to Samaria.²¹⁰ Some say that Amaziah was not killed in war but fled to Lachesh and his soldiers killed him there. They brought him back to Jerusalem and buried him with his fathers. His son Azariah succeeded him.²¹¹

What follows is the commentary of Jacob of Edessa concerning an error found in the number of years of the kings of Judah and Israel determined by Eusebius.

him, put out his eyes and bound him with bronze fetters to be led to Babylon.

²⁰⁴ For Jeshua see Nehemiah 12:26.

²⁰⁵ 2 Kings 9:1-7.

²⁰⁶ 2 Kings 10:1-14 and 27-28.

²⁰⁷ 2 Kings 11:1-12.

²⁰⁸ 2 Kings 13:1.

²⁰⁹ 2 Kings 14:1-2.

²¹⁰ 2 Kings 14:11-15.

²¹¹ 2 Kings 14:17-22.

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You should know that in arranging the dates of the kings of Judah and Israel, Eusebius has erred. The Scriptures mention that Jehu killed both kings in Jezreel. They are Joram, son of Ahab, king of Israel, and Ahaziah son of Jehoram, king of Judah, who went down (to Jezreel) to see Joram because he was ill.²¹² However, in his history, Eusebius sets the date of the death of Ahaziah, king of Judah, three years after that of Joram, king of Israel. The error is clear. In fact, the years mentioned in the Scriptures concerning the kings of Israel are not complete. This is because one year was computed for two kings, the predecessor and the successor simultaneously, since each one of them reigned a certain period of the same year, such as, perhaps, five or six months. Apparently, Eusebius inadvertently set these dates as full years, which is not the case. Therefore, if you want to confirm that these years are incomplete, you will learn this from the sequel of names recorded in the Scriptures about the beginning of the reign of each of the kings of Judah and Israel. This is especially as Eusebius mentions the year of the reign of each of the kings of Judah in relation to the kings of Israel, and the same of the kings of Israel in relation to the kings of Judah. This makes it easier to determine that the years mentioned in the Scriptures are incomplete, and that Eusebius adopted them without deliberation, for they are given as follows:

When after Solomon the kingdom was divided, Rehoboam reigned over Judah 17 years and Jeroboam reigned 22 years in Israel, and in the year 18 of Jeroboam, Abijah ruled 3 years. In the year 20 of Jeroboam, Asa ruled for 41 years. In the second year of Asa, Nadab ruled Israel for two years. In the third year of Asa, Baasha ruled 10 years. In the year 26 of Asa, Elah son of Baasha, ruled two years. In the year 27 of Asa, Zimri ruled seven days. In the year 37 of Asa ... lacuna ... In the year 38 of Asa, Ahab ruled 22 years. In the fourth year of Ahab, Jehoshaphat king of Judah, ruled 25 years. In the year 17 of Jehoshaphat, Joram son of Ahab, ruled two years. In the fifth year of Joram son of Ahab, Jehoram (also called Joram) son of Jehoshaphat, ruled 8 years. In the year 8 of Joram, son of Ahab, Ahaziah, son of Jehoram, and Athaliah ruled Judah one year. Jehu killed both of them, as we are told by the Holy Bible.²¹³ Following them were two kings who reigned simultaneously: Jehu reigned over Israel and Athaliah reigned over Judah after her son was killed. Obviously, the Scriptures do not mention the year of the commencement of each of them, as it did with the kings who preceded them.

Let us return to what has been written about Joash who succeeded Athaliah. In the seventh year of Jehu king of Israel, Joash reigned over Judah for 40 years. It is known that seven years are attributed to Athaliah, which is the duration of her reign. In her seventh year, she was succeeded by Joash as king of Judah. It is obvious here that Jehu and Athaliah ruled the kingdom simultaneously. From this context, we learn that those who preceded them died at the same time. Accordingly, Joram, son of Ahab king of Israel, and Ahaziah, son of Athaliah, and Joram, son of Jehoshaphat king of Judah, are the ones who were killed by Jehu in Jezreel. In fact, the Bible mentions the commencement of the reign of each one of them.²¹⁴

According to the Bible, Jehu ruled Israel 28 years. In his seventh year, Joash became king of Judah for 40 years. In the year 23 of Joash, Jehoahaz ruled Israel 17 years. In the year 37 of Joash, Jehoash ruled Israel 16 years. In the second year of Jehoash, Amaziah ruled Judah 29 years.

The following is also recorded: After the death of Jehoash, Amaziah lived 15 years. In the year 15 of Amaziah, Jeroboam became king of Israel and reigned 16 years. After the year 27 of Jeroboam, Azariah became king of Judah and reigned 52 years. In the year 38 of Azariah, Zechariah son of Jeroboam became king of Israel and reigned six months. In the year 39 of Azariah, Shallum son of Jabish became king for one month. In the year 39 of Azariah, Menahem became king of Israel and reigned 10 years. In the year 50 of Azariah, Pekah son of Remailah became king of Israel and reigned 20 years. In the second year of Pekah, Jotham became king of Judah and reigned 16 years. In the year 12 of Ahaz, Hoshea became king of Israel and reigned 9 years. In the third year of Hoshea, Hezekiah became king of Judah and reigned 29 years.²¹⁵

²¹² 2 King 9:29, and 14-37.

²¹³ 2 Kings 9:24 and 27.

²¹⁴ 1 Kings 22:41 and 52; 2 Kings 3:1 and 8:16-17, and 52-26; 2 Kings 12:1 and 13:1 and 10; 2 Kings 14:1 and 17 and 22-23; 2 Kings 15:1, 8, 13 and 17.

²¹⁵ For the dates of these kings, see 2 Kings Chapters 14-17.

The following is recorded in the Books of Kings: The fourth year of Hezekiah is the seventh year of Hoshea. In the sixth year of Hezekiah, Shalmaneser (king of Assyria) marched against Samaria and captured it and its neighborhood.²¹⁶ You should also know that there is a discrepancy in the Holy Bible in the numbers of years of Pekah, son of Ramliah, and Jotham king of Judah. The Bible assigns Pekah 30 years instead of 20, and assigns Jotham 7 years instead of 16. The Bible also mentions that in the year 20 of Jotham, Hoshea rebelled against Pekah. This is known from what was written about Hezekiah and about Hoshea the Tishbite. Some Greek copies mention that Joram son of Jehoshaphat, reigned 10 years and not 8 years. He reigned at the age of 32...lacuna... he *reigned* 10 years in Jerusalem. *Here ends the commentary.*²¹⁷

Chapter Fifteen: Azariah son of Amaziah reigned 52 years. He lived 68 years.²¹⁸ In the first year of Uzziah (Azariah), king of Judah, Thespheus, the tenth judge, ruled the Athenians 27 years. In the second year of Uzziah (Azariah), Procas ruled the Latins 23 years. In the year 17 of Uzziah (Azariah), Osorthos became king of Egypt and reigned 9 years. The Egyptians called him Hercules. In the year 29 of Uzziah (Azariah), Zechariah became king of Israel and reigned six months.²¹⁹ *Here ends the generations of the four sons of Jehu.*

After Zechariah, Shallum reigned one month. He was succeeded by Menahem who reigned ten years. In the year 24 of his reign, Uzziah had the audacity to enter the Temple of God and offer incense, but the priest Azariah tried to prevent him. When he refused, God afflicted him with leprosy all over his body. After that, his son Jotham became king of Judah.²²⁰ Up to this point, the Prophet Isaiah had been a prophet for 24 years. However, since he did not censure the king for his audacity, God took away his prophet hood for 28 years. He restored it to him 61 years after the death of Uzziah. His book contains 3196 words.

In the year 33 of Uzziah, Amulius became king of the Latins and reigned 43 years. In the year 34 of Uzziah, Sosarmos became the second king of the Medes for 30 years. In this period, Phoul, king of Babylon, attacked Samaria and exacted from Menahem, king of Israel, thousand silver talents, and returned (to his country). In the year 36 of Uzziah, Pasmus became king of Egypt and reigned 10 years. In the year 41 of Uzziah, Konos, the second king of the Macedonians, reigned 12 years. Tiglath-Pileser became king of the Assyrians and reigned 35 years. In the year 46 of Uzziah, Bochoros became king of Egypt of the 24th dynasty. In the year 48 of Uzziah, a king (Ardysus) for the first time ruled the Lydians. In this same year, Tiglath-Pileser the Assyrian, marched against Judah and Israel and took a great number of their population captive. This was the beginning of the dispersion. The inhabitants of Ajon, Abel Beth Maacah, Janoah, Kedesh, Hazor, Gilead, Gad, the entire Galilee and the land of Naphtali, were taken captive (and deported to Assyria).²²¹ Uzziah passed away, God's glory appeared to Isaiah, and the prophet hood was restored to him.

Chapter Sixteen: After Uzziah, his son Jotham reigned 16 years. However, he had administered the kingdom when his father was afflicted with leprosy. He made significant renovations of the wall of Jerusalem. He fought the Ammonites, triumphed over them and imposed tribute on them.²²²

In the third year of Jotham, the third King Tyrimmas reigned over the Macedonians 38 years. In the year 12 of Jotham, Mamycos became king of the Medes and reigned 40 years. After Jotham, his son Ahaz became king and reigned 16 years. He worshipped the idols of the heathens and did evil.

Pekah, king of Israel, invited Rezin, king of Syria, marched against Judah and killed ten thousand people. Ahaz, in turn, invited Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, who came and killed Rezin, king of Syria, and

²¹⁶ 2 Kings 18:10.

²¹⁷ The above information given by Jacob of Edessa is mentioned in 2 Kings, Chapters 14-18. In order to check the information of Jacob of Edessa with what Eusebius said, the reader is referred to *Jerome's Chronicle (Chronological Tables/Canons)*, translated from Latin by Roger Pearse to be found on the Internet under the name of the translator.

²¹⁸ 2 Kings 15:12.

²¹⁹ 2 Kings 15:8.

²²⁰ 2 Kings 15:1-5.

²²¹ 2 Kings 15:29.

²²² 2 Chronicles 27:2-4.

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fought against Damascus and took the Edomites captive. He took from Ahaz plenty of silver and returned to his country.²²³

In the second year of Ahaz, Hoshea rebelled against Pekah. He killed him and ruled Israel 9 years.²²⁴ In the year 8 of Ahaz, Shalmaneser became king of the Assyrians and reigned 14 years. He marched against Israel, and Hoshea became his subject. He paid Shalmaneser tribute but then rebelled against him. He appealed to Adramalek the Cushite (Ethiopian), who was then living in Egypt, for help.²²⁵

In the year 7 of Hoshea, king of Israel, the year 8 of Ahaz and the first year of Shalmaneser, Shalmaneser marched against Samaria and dwelt in it three years. In the year 9 of Hoshea, the year 11 of Ahaz and the year 3 of Shalmaneser, Shalmaneser attacked Samaria and took ten tribes of Israel captive to Babylon, which is the first captivity. The kingdom was set in Tirzah for 56 years and in Samaria for 194 years. The number of years since the kings of Israel seceded (from the kingdom of Judah) is 250 years, and from Adam to the year 11 of Ahaz, 4730 years. Ahaz took away the bronze sea from the (image of the) copper bull which was set up by Solomon.²²⁶ Others say that in the fourth year of Hezekiah, Shalmaneser marched against Israel and spoiled it. *Here the one kingdom of Israel came to an end.*

The number of years from Adam to the first Olympiad is 4732, and from the Flood 2576, and from Saul the first King 340 years.

In this period began the first Olympiad in the time of Aeschylus, ruler of the Athenians. In the second year of his administration was organized the first Olympiad in which Elien Coroebus won victory at the stadium (stadion contest). The Eliens performed this contest every five years with four years interregnum between each of the Olympics, for which administrators were appointed. This process was set up by Iphitus the son of Praxonides... lacuna of six lines....²²⁷ Africanus places the first Olympiad in the time of Jotham, king of Judah. He says: "Aeschylus, son of Agamestor was appointed ruler of the Athenians for life. He reigned 23 years. In his time Jotham, king of Judah, ruled in Jerusalem."²²⁸

The period from the destruction of Ilion (Troy) to the first Olympiad is 405 years, as is stated by Eusebius. Andronicus, however, says that the period from the beginning of the reign of Cecropos the first Athenian king to the first Olympiad, is 802 years, and from Moses and the Exodus to the Olympiad, is 863 years.

In this period Aretinus of Milet the composer of verse flourished.

In this period, the cities of Pandosia and Metapontus were founded in Italy. Also in this period, Remus and Romulus were born to Mars and Ilia.²²⁹

Cymon says that Ilia is the daughter of Nemetor, brother of Amulus. After killing her father, Amulus cast her into prison and usurped the government. He tightened the grip against her twins fathered by Mars. Then, he delivered them to a shepherd to destroy them. The shepherd, however, feeling sorry for them, placed them in a boat and set it afloat on the Tiber River. However, the boat capsized and the twins were left on the bank. A cow herder named Faustulus found them and raised them. When he met the shepherd who had set them afloat on the Tiber, he learned who they were. He began feeding them wolf's milk. When they grew up, Faustulus told them who they were and what had befallen them. The twins became angry and went to Amulus and killed him, and assumed the government, and brought Ilia out of prison. They built the city of Rome in the field of Faustulus the cow herder on the Tiber River where they were raised. The Latin people are called Romans after these twins.

²²³ See 2 Kings entire Chapter 16, and 2 Chronicles, 28:16-19.

²²⁴ 2 Kings 15:30.

²²⁵ 2 Kings 17:1-5.

²²⁶ See 2 Kings 16:17, which says, "King Ahaz took away the side panels and removed the basins from the removable stands. He removed the sea from the bronze bulls that supported it and set it on a stone base."

²²⁷ *Eusebius' Chronicle*, translated from the Armenian into English by Robert Bedrosian as *the Greek Chronicle*, section 69 on the Internet website <http://rbedrosian.com/euseb.html>, and *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, trans. William Adler and Paul Tuffin (Oxford, 2002), 284-287.

²²⁸ See Julius Africanus, *Extant Fragment of the Chronography*, translated by Philip Schaff in *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. VI, section XIV.

²²⁹ *Eusebius's Chronicle: The Romans*, section 105, trans. R. Bedrosian and *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, 279.

Other writers tell their story differently. They say that their leader Amulus learned that the two children were bastards and ordered them thrown into the river. Their mother Ilia, who was a priestess of Mars, committed adultery and pretended that she had become pregnant from Mars. When they cast them into the river, some shepherds found them and raised them. Because these people had been raising wolverines for five years ...lacuna... they were called thus ...lacuna... When they assumed the government, they quarreled. His brother Romulus who reigned over them vanquished Remus. The city found no tranquility from earthquakes until it appeared to Romulus in a vision that the tremors would not stop until he made his brother sit on the throne with him. Romulus made a golden figure in the likeness of his brother and placed it next to him on the throne. He spoke as dual saying, "We order, we act and we wish, etc." This practice has remained among the Roman kings until this day.

In this period flourished Cinethon the Lacedaemonian who wrote a general history. In this period too, flourished Eumelus, the poet who composed the *Bugonia* and *Europhia*. In this same period Joel, Jonah, Micah, Isaiah and Hosea were prophesying.

In the same period, the Island of Aradus, which is Ruad (Arwad), became inhabited. It remained 1460 years until the Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims) destroyed it.²³⁰

In this period, the cities of Salinus, Scale, Pont, and Trapezus were founded in Sicily. In Bithynia Cyzicus was founded. In Italy, Callicum and Lyconia were founded. In Lacedaemonia, the first ephors were established.²³¹

The Latin kings reigned 360 years. Up to this time the governors were known as the Latins' kings. They were fifteen in number.

In the seventh year of Ahaz king of Judah, Romulus became king and built the famous and great Rome. All of those who reigned after him and under his name dwelt in it. Until today, the Romans are called Franks.

In the third year of the destruction of Ilion (Troy), which took place in the time of Labdon, Israel's judge, the kings began to live in the province of Italy. First of them was Enias from the city of Ilion. When he came to live in it, it was attacked and destroyed by the Achians, who invaded it with Agamemnon and Menelas. Formerly, the kings of Italy were called Latins. However, it was not until Romulus built the city of Rome with its towering buildings in the time of Ahaz king of Judah that the entire people came to be called Romans. This Italian city spread and expanded in the time of Romulus, and the kings who followed him. Twenty-four grand churches and two magnificent cathedrals were built near the king's palace where the king sat and all people assembled in his presence. Three hundred twenty-four grand and spacious market places were built in it; two palaces; 80 statues of gold and 64 of ivory; 46,603 grand houses and 797 mansions for leaders; 1352 water canals; 274 bakers and cooks preparing food for the inhabitants of the city, not to mention those buying and selling; 31 imperial palaces; five cemeteries; 31 marble lighthouses; 3800 bronze statues of idols; 270 bronze royal statues; 29 figures of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Sarah, Hagar and the rest of the Hebrew kings which Vespasian pillaged from Jerusalem; the gates of Jerusalem with 6 pillars; 14 Roman theaters; 3 stadiums; 2 gardens; 11 Olympic stadiums; 22 bronze horses; 12 offices for public taxes and 2 others; 4 *ablikon* and 14 *tikhon ikafaturin*; 2 individual mangers for animals; 45 public oil presses; 54 prison cells; 673 sentries to guard the city and 770 commissioners to administer all of them. Outside the city, its circumference was forty miles, and inside it from east to west was twelve miles, and from north to south twelve miles.

In the 60th Olympiad, the population of Rome was 120,000; in the 100th Olympiad, 165,000; in the 121 Olympiad, 270,000; in the 188th Olympiad, 460,000; in the time of Claudius and Agrippa, 6,944,000.

²³⁰ See *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, translated by Cyril Mango and Roger Scott (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1997), 479. The account of the Arab chroniclers on this subject is obscure. Evidently, they confused Arwad with Cyzicus. See Philip Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, Tenth ed. Macmillan, St. Martin's Press, 1970), 202. On the destruction of Arwad by the Arabs, Hitti cites Theophanes as his authority.

²³¹ Ephors are the five overseers of the state of Sparta.

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In the time of Augustus and Archelaus, son of Herod, severe famine took place in Rome. It was so severe that a measure of wheat was sold for 27 dinars. In the time of Titus, plague spread and thousands fell victims to it.

After (Romulus) built the wall of Rome, he held a great celebration and invited to it Martis (Mars) the magician, who formerly was called Prinus, i.e. Ares. Thus, the people of Rome celebrated this festival annually. He also set up a grand *pallium* (festival) in Mandros and set rules for marriage and distributed largess to the people and a great banquet for the notables. Since then, it became a tradition with the Romans to celebrate the festival of Mandros. Whenever they attempted to kill him, he distracted them by holding festivities and banquets for them.

Romulus also built a circus (amphitheater). When he tried to create sedition among the people who intended to kill him, because he had killed his brother in honor of the sun and the four elements, he attacked Rome with chariots drawn by four horses. It was the first time that such a thing had taken place. He gave the four elements new names. He called earth Prasinus because it looked like the herb. He called water Venetus because it looked like seawater. He called fire Rufas (red) because it is luminous, and he called air Alba (white), because it tends toward whiteness. The term Prasinus means in Greek permanent because the earth is permanent and yields herbage. Venetus is called so after a Roman region, Venita, the seat of their chief leader. It has abundant indigo that comes from there. He arranged them in the following manner. Rufas (red) is fire as compared to water. The inhabitants of Rome divided themselves into groups each one living in the section of their choice. Since then, they lost concord among themselves.

Eunomus, king of the Persians, celebrated the festival of horse racing in honor of the sun. He and his challengers cast a lot before preparing for war. Instead of Prasinus (herbage), he wore a uniform with an herbage color. The victor usually killed the vanquished. The throng and those who lived along the coast prayed for the victory of the one who dressed in an attire of indigo color. They did this believing that crops would become scarce if he was vanquished. However, both city and country dwellers living in the middle of the country, prayed for the victory of the one who wore an attire the color of herbs. They believed that their crops would dwindle if he was vanquished.

In the winter, the Romans rebelled once more against Romulus with the intention of killing him. They believed that he was the one who founded those called *brumalia*. Romulus' instruction was that each king should invite his counselors to the winter banquet at the time when lightning calmed down. Attending the banquet were those whose names were included in the invitation from alpha to omega. He commanded his counselors to imitate him by asking the entertainers one by one to visit the lord of all. The musicians and those who played musical instruments visited in the evening the homes of the guests to the banquet and played music for them to inform them that they were invited to the banquet on the next day. To this custom of *brumalia*, the people of Rome adhered until our day.

Romulus suffered greatly from his enemies who spoke ill against him. They said that he was unworthy to be a king because he was raised by strangers. For this reason, Romulus called them "*brumilus*", that is, those who eat from the tables of others.

On Micah the Prophet

I think that the Micah who prophesied in this period is not same as the one who lived in the time of King Ahab. He was in fact thrown off the cliff to death by Jotham, son of Ahab. This Micah, however, is Micah of Moresheth to whom the word of the Lord came in the reign of Jotham, Ahaz and Hezekiah, kings of Judah.²³² Hezekiah rebuilt the fallen wall of Jerusalem and moved the fountain of Shiloh to the interior part of the wall.²³³

In this period flourished Sybil of Erythra who came from Ur.

The Milesians were the ninth (power) to have dominion over the sea for 18 years. They built the city of Naucratis in Egypt.

²³² Micah 1:1.

²³³ 2 Chronicle 32:5 and 30.

Midas began to rule the Phrygians. He was not the Midas of Ilion (Troy).

In Sicily, the city of Naxos was founded.

Sabacon the Cushite (Ethiopian) took Buccharis captive and had him thrown alive into the fire.

Romulus the First, made a hundred men and elders of noble origin from Demos his counselors. In addition, he made six of their noblemen patricians ...lacuna of few lines...

In Sicily Syracuse was built ...lacuna... The Lacedaemonians waged war against the Messilenians. The cities of Megara and Morathonia were founded in Sicily.

Sennacherib built the city of Tarsus in Cilicia. Also, the city of Chersonesos was built in Sicily.

In the time of Hezekiah, the angel Rafael announced to the righteous Tobias, of the children of Israel and who were living in Nineveh, that his eyes were healed by the gall bladder of the whale that was given to him by the angel.²³⁴

Hezekiah showed the envoys of the king of Babylon all that was in his storehouse. This angered the Lord who said to him, "All that there is in your place and all that your fathers have stored up, and some of your descendants, (as well as) your own flesh will be taken away." Hezekiah replied, "The word of the Lord is good. Will there not be peace and security in my lifetime?"²³⁵

Hezekiah made a pool and a tunnel by which he brought water to Jerusalem.²³⁶

The Carians were the tenth (people) who had dominion over the sea for 69 years.²³⁷

In this period, war broke out between the Lacedaemonians and the Argienians.

Midas, king of the Phrygians and son of Lydios, minted a golden dinar.

Numa, king of the Romans, added the months of January and February to the year. Previously, the Romans knew only ten months.

King Manasseh abandoned the worship of God and worshipped idols. He angered God more than all the kings of Judah and Israel did. He made an image with four faces and placed it in the Temple of the Lord. He made Judah sin.²³⁸

The cities of Croton and Parion of Sybaris were built.

Numa Pompilius built the Capitol.

Also the city of Nicomedia, formerly known as Astacus, was built.

Deyoces the Mede built Ecbatana.

The Parthians founded Tarente and the Corinthians, Corcyre.

King Midas of the Phrygians sent ... lacuna of several lines... For this reason, it was called Shiloah, meaning messenger.

In addition, in the time of Hezekiah when the people were captive by the Palestinians, cisterns and ditches were dug up, and little water flowed out of the spot by the prayer of the Prophet Isaiah. The enemies asked them from where they drank water. When they knew that it was from Shiloah, they went to the place and fenced it, but a miracle took place at the spot. The waters of Shiloah usually flowed when the Jews were present at the spot and stopped when the Palestinians arrived. The flowing of the water took place by the prayers of the Prophet Isaiah and it is still flowing until this day. What happened through Isaiah was in fact done by God's revelation; therefore, Isaiah was buried next to Shiloah with great honor. His grave lies next to the tombs of the priests followed by the tombs of kings. These tombs had been marked by David, but were moved by Solomon to the east of the tombs of the kings of Gabaon. Their inscriptions are so obscure that the people could not understand them.

The kings possessed gold and incense that came from Sheba. However, revelation exposed the secret of David and Solomon, and he (Solomon) profaned the bones of his ancestors; therefore, his posterity was destined to be in bondage.

²³⁴ Tobit 6:2-9 and 11:1-14, and *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, 298.

²³⁵ 2 Kings 20:12-19.

²³⁶ 2 Kings 22:20.

²³⁷ The Carians are the ancient inhabitants of Caria in southwest Anatolia.

²³⁸ 2 Kings 21:1-14.

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When Manasseh was taken captive to Nineveh, and was heavily chained and thrown into a brass tower, he became mightily distressed. Turning to the God of his fathers, he wept bitterly for the sins he had committed. He beseeched God with all his heart. God heard him and he was rescued with a mighty hand. He returned to Jerusalem and reestablished his kingship. Since then, (he worshipped God) completely to the end of his life. He cast the four-faced image out of the Temple, renounced all images and sanctified the Temple. He rebuilt the southern wall of Jerusalem and consolidated Judah.²³⁹

In this period began the training of children in Lacedaemonia. In this same period the musicians Arkhilochus, Simonides and Arestoxenus flourished, as did Zaleucus the lawmaker and Lessches of Lesbos who penned the history of Ilion (Troy) called the *Little Iliad*...lacuna of three lines...

Epiphanius says that Zephaniah was from the tribe of Shimun (Simon) from the village of Kabratha. He prophesied about the city (Jerusalem), and about the end of nations and the disgrace of the impious. Upon his death, he was buried in the field of his fathers.

The Scythians captured Palestine. In this period flourished the musicians Terpanderthales of Milet, son of Examius the first naturalist. He lived too long up to the 56th Olympiad.

In this same period flourished Dracon.

Epiphanius says that Jeremiah was from Anathoth.²⁴⁰ The people stoned him in Taphnis of Egypt. He died and was held in the same position of Pharaoh because the Egyptians honored him greatly for the help they received at his hand. By his prayer, they were saved from serpents and water creatures called *naphot* by the Egyptians. The Greeks called them *crocodiles*. The Syrians, however, called them *hardone* (lizards). To this day, the faithful pray in that place and take some of its earth for healing from serpents' bites and to drive away the lizards (crocodiles) back into the water. We, however, heard from the youth of Alexander and Ptolemy that when Alexander the Macedonian came to the place (where Jeremiah was stoned to death) and learned of these mysteries, he moved his remains to Alexandria. Thus, that race of serpents and water creatures disappeared. Also, were driven away the creatures called *goulou* the combatant animals from Argos which the people of Peloponnese call *argoulou* and the Argienians call *samlia*.

Jeremiah, however, gave a sign to the nobles of Egypt that the son of a virgin will shake up their idols and destroy them. This is why until this day they honored a living virgin and placed a child in a manger and worshipped him. When King Ptolemy asked them the reason, they said, "It was a tradition which the Prophet Jeremiah handed to their forefathers. We are waiting for this mystery to be realized."

Before the Temple was besieged, the Prophet Jeremiah got hold of the Ark of Covenant and all therein and hid it under a rock. He said to those present, "The Lord ascended to heaven from Sinai and will come again in glory, and that this is a sign to you from all the people who worship the wood." He also said, "No one can bring out this Ark except Moses, and no priest or prophet can open the tablets inside. This Ark will be placed first on Mount Sinai on the Day of Resurrection and all nations shall gather unto it." Jeremiah sealed the rock by the finger of God and that form became like a sheet of iron. A cloud covered it and the rock, and no one could discover the hiding place. This is because it was in the wilderness where Moses and Aaron were buried. At night, a cloud like the first one rose up in order that the glory of God might not cease from his law. God has bestowed this grace on the Prophet Jeremiah in order to compliment this mystery and thus become a partner of Moses.²⁴¹

In this period flourished the great Athenian poet Murtaios.

²³⁹ 2 Chronicles 33:1-25.

²⁴⁰ Jeremiah son of Hilikia, one of the priests of Anathoth in the territory of Benjamin. See Jeremiah 1:1.

²⁴¹ George Synkellos tells a different story. He says that he discovered in a certain copy of Scripture that the Prophet Jeremiah gave an order to the priests to take up the ark of God and the tabernacle and follow him. He ascended the mountain where Moses had also ascended and seen the Promised Land. Upon finding a cave, he brought into it the tabernacle, the ark, the altar, the table, the lampstand, and sealed up the entrance. When some of the priests with him returned to mark the spot, it was hidden from them. Jeremiah castigated them and said that the place would be unknown until the Lord should gather in his people and mercy should come to Israel. See *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, 316. This story is found in 2 Maccabees 2:1-8.

In the year 18 of the reign of King Josiah, flourished Huldah the woman prophetess of the Hebrews.²⁴²

Battus founded the city of Cyrene.

In this same period the cities of Sinope, Lipara and Prusias were founded. Also, the city of Epidamne was founded and was named Dyrrachium.

In this period the word of God came to the Prophet Jeremiah saying, "What do you see Jeremiah?" "I see a branch of an almond tree." The Lord said, "You have seen well, for I am watching to see that my word is fulfilled." He said to me again, "What do you see?" "I see a boiling pot facing northward," I answered. The Lord said to me, "From the north disaster will be poured out on all who live in the land. I am about to summon all the peoples of the northern kingdom declares the Lord." "Their kings will come and set up their thrones in the entrance of the gates of Jerusalem; they will come against all her surrounding walls and against all the towns of Judah. I will pronounce my judgments on my people."²⁴³

Priander, son of Kypselos, exercised tyranny over Corinth. He marched with his army against the land of the Assyrians. He besieged Nineveh and wrested it from the king of Babylon.

In this time, it was said that Dracon legislated laws.

In this period, the sons of Jonadab became known as ascetic Nazirites. Their father commanded them not to drink wine or dwell in houses. For this reason, they dwelt in the wilderness in tents. They never drank wine in conformity with their father's command.²⁴⁴

In this period Uriah son of Shemiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel were prophesying.²⁴⁵

Josiah fathered Jehoahaz, Jehoiakim and Jeconiah. Jeconiah fathered the Prophet Daniel. Jehoiakim fathered Hanania, Azariah and Mishael.

Tarquinius king of the Romans established the capitol (of ancient Rome).

At Sidon reigned Amilcothos, and at Tyre, Balazoros. Pharaoh Necho,²⁴⁶ the lame, marched against them and killed them. In turn, Nebuchadnezzar on the Euphrates killed Pharaoh Necho.

In this time flourished the poet Stesichorus. According to some also flourished Laqamanon one of the four sages including Phrynon the Athenian who won victory in the Olympiad.

Jeremiah and Baruch were prophesying in Judah. In addition, Daniel, Hanania and Azariah prophesied in Babylon.

In this period, the cities of Camorina, Perinthe and Morseille were founded.

In this time, Epimenides destroyed Athens. Sapho and the poet Aleces flourished in this time.

Chapter Seventeen: After Shalmaneser marched against Israel and took it captive, the kingdom of Israel came to an end. The Hebrews had now only one king, Hezekiah, who reigned over Judah in Jerusalem after Ahaz for 29 years. He lived 54 years.²⁴⁷ The Assyrians occupied Samaria and the entire land of Israel.

In the year 8 of Hezekiah, Shalmaneser the Assyrian dispatched envoys to guard the land of Judah. They were called Samaritans, or guardians. However, God sent lions which killed some of them. Shalmaneser sent them a priest who was among the exiled named Ezra who taught them the Law of Moses. This is because Shalmaneser had instructed them to observe the law of the God of the land. This priest gave the Pentateuch to the Syrians (Samaritans) and had it copied in their language. For this reason, the Samaritans accept only the Pentateuch.

In the sixth year of Hezekiah, Sennacherib became king of the Assyrians.²⁴⁸ He marched against Jerusalem but was defeated by the prayer of Hezekiah. Fifteen years were added to the life of Hezekiah.²⁴⁹

²⁴² 2 Kings 22:14 and 2 Chronicles 34:22.

²⁴³ Jeremiah 1:11-16.

²⁴⁴ Jeremiah 35:3-19.

²⁴⁵ Jeremiah 26:20.

²⁴⁶ 2 Chronicles 35:20, 22 and 36:4.

²⁴⁷ 2 Chronicles 29:1.

²⁴⁸ 2 Chronicles 32:1-8.

²⁴⁹ 2 Kings 20:1-11.

BOOK FOUR

After reigning for nine years, Sennacherib was killed by his sons and was succeeded by Eserhaddon in the fifteenth year of Hezekiah.²⁵⁰ Eserhaddon reigned three years.

In Egypt Sabacon ruled over the Indians (Cushite) twelve years.²⁵¹

Perdiccas ruled the Macedonians 11 years. In the year 18 of Hezekiah, Baladan reigned over the Assyrians. He sent oblations to Jerusalem when he learned that the sun moved backward.²⁵² The Lord was proclaimed God in Babylon and an image was erected for him reflecting the sun. In the years 20 of Hezekiah, Qorqos reigned over the Medes 13 years. In the year 29 of Hezekiah, Taracus the Indian (Ethiopian), ruled Egypt 20 years.²⁵³

Chapter Eighteen: King Manasseh reigned 55 years and lived 67 years. In the year 13 of his reign, he killed the Prophet Isaiah and shed much innocent blood for which God abandoned him.²⁵⁴ He fell into the hands of the Assyrians who took him captive and cast him into prison. While in prison, he repented and prayed to God his well-known prayer and God restored him. He was delivered and returned to his country in the year 37 of his reign.²⁵⁵

In the fourth year of Manasseh, Deioces ruled the Medes 54 years. In the year 21 of Manasseh, Merres ruled Egypt 12 years in the 26th dynasty. In the year 29 of Manasseh, Argaeus reigned over the Macedonians...lacuna... years. In the year 33 of Manasseh, Stephinates ruled Egypt 17 years. In the year 36 of Manasseh, Sennacherib the young ruled the Assyrians 31 years. In the year 40 of Manasseh, Tullus ruled the Romans 33 years. He was the same Hostilius who was first to use the purple and carry a royal scepter. In the year 46 of Manasseh, Necho ruled Egypt 18 years and in the year 46 of Manasseh, Psammeticus ruled Egypt 46 years.

In this period, Byzos founded the city of Byzantium. 970 years later, Constantine renovated and enlarged the city and called it Constantinople.

Chapter Nineteen: Amon became king of Judah for 12 years. According to Hebrew history he ruled only two years.²⁵⁶ Annianus confirm this.

According to the Septuagint, Aphraotinos ruled the Medes 24 years. In the second year of Amon, Nabupelassar the Magian ruled the Assyrians 13 years. Philip the Macedonian reigned 38 years. In the third year of Amon, Josiah was born. Amon worshiped false gods of nations and offered sacrifices to idols. His soldiers struck him with a lance and died being 28 years old.²⁵⁷ After Amon was murdered, he was succeeded by his son Josiah who reigned 31 years.²⁵⁸ He lived 39 years and had four sons: Yohanna, Jehoiakim, Jehoahaz and Zedekiah.

In this period prophesied Zephaniah, son of Cushi, from the tribe of Simeon.²⁵⁹ In the tenth year of Josiah, Marcus Inacus ruled the Romans 24 years. In the year 13 of Josiah, Jeremiah began to prophesy.²⁶⁰ In the year 14 of Josiah, Cyaxare ruled the Medes 32 years. He marched against the Assyrians and occupied Nineveh. In the year 31 of Josiah, Necho who is Nechepsus, ruled Egypt six years.

²⁵⁰ 2 Kings 19:37.

²⁵¹ The reason Michael Rabo calls Sabacon an Indian while, in fact, he is Cushite (Ethiopian), is that ancient writers and the Holy Bible made no difference between Ethiopia and India. For a thorough discussion of this subject, see Ignatius Yacoub III, *History of the Syrian Church of India*, translated by Matti Moosa (Gorgias Press, 2009), Chapter One, 1-3.

²⁵² 2 Kings 20:12.

²⁵³ For the confusion of India with Ethiopia, see previous footnote.

²⁵⁴ 2 Kings 21:1 and 16.

²⁵⁵ 2 Chronicles 33:1-20. The Bible does not mention that Manasseh killed Isaiah.

²⁵⁶ See 2 Chronicles 33:21-24.

²⁵⁷ 2 Chronicles 33:24.

²⁵⁸ 2 Kings 21:19-26 and 2 Chronicles 34:1.

²⁵⁹ Zephaniah 1:1.

²⁶⁰ Jeremiah 1:2-3.

Josiah feared God with all his heart. He devoted much care to the Temple of God. In the eighteenth year of his reign, he instructed Hilkiah the high priest to pay the workers' wages from the silver in the treasury of the house of God. As they dug up the foundation, they found the Book of the Law, and Josiah read it. Upon learning what God had commanded and what the kings of Judah and Israel had done, he burned with zeal, tore his robe and vowed to adhere to everything written in the law of God. He removed the images of his father Amon and purified the Temple. He pulled down the pillars and smashed the altars.²⁶¹ Thus, the words of the man of God who came from Judah to warn Jeroboam were fulfilled.²⁶² He killed the priests of Baal and burned their bones.

In the eleventh year of Josiah, Necho ruled Egypt. He camped at Mabug (Manbij) on the Euphrates to fight the king of Assyria. When Josiah marched against him Necho the lame killed him. When he returned from war against the Assyrians, Josiah's servants carried his body and buried him in Jerusalem.²⁶³ His son Johoahaz became king after him. Three years later, Necho the lame returned and took Johoahaz captive. The people set up his brother Jehoiakim a king. Necho imposed on Jehoiakim the payment of hundred gold talents annually.²⁶⁴ Jehoiakim reigned 12 years.

Chapter Twenty: In the third year of Jehoiakim, surnamed Eliakim, Tarquinius Superbus became king of the Romans for 38 years. In this same year, the Chaldean Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nebupelassar, ruled the Assyrians 44 years. He marched against Jerusalem and ravaged it. He looted the vessels of the Temple and imposed a tribute on Jehoiakim.²⁶⁵ Daniel and his companions were among the captives who were taken to Babylon. This was the first exile to Babylon.

Pharaoh the lame (Necho) had already destroyed Mabug (Manbij) but it was rebuilt under the name of Hierapolis. He returned once more to attack Mabug but was killed by Nebuchadnezzar on the Euphrates River in the fifth year of Jehoiakim.

Psammuthes ruled Egypt 17 years.

In the eighth year of Jehoiakim, Nebuchadnezzar marched for the second time against Jerusalem, imposed tribute on Jehoiakim, and returned (to his own country).

In the eighth year of Nebuchadnezzar, Jehoiakim passed away and was succeeded by his son Jehoiakim for three months. He is Jechonias surnamed Joakin. His heart was not straight with the Lord. Nebuchadnezzar marched against him and took him, his mother, and nobles captive to Babylon. He remained captive 37 years.²⁶⁶

You should know that Nebuchadnezzar's march against Jerusalem in the third year of Jehoiakim was instigated by his father Nebupelassar. Before he returned, his father died and he succeeded him. This is known in the history of nations stating that, "In the eighth year of Nebuchadnezzar, he marched against Jehoiakim, who ruled three months after his father was king for 12 years. He took him, his mother and his great men as captives to Babylon. He set up in his place his uncle Zedekiah (formerly Mattaniah) who ruled eleven years." This history also states that, "On the 29th day of the fifth month of the year 19 of Nebuchadnezzar, Nebuzaradan marched against Jerusalem. He burned down the Temple and took Zedekiah captive."²⁶⁷

In the fourth year of Zedekiah, Astyages ruled the Medes 38 years. In the eleventh year of Zedekiah, Vaphres ruled the Egyptians 35 years. Zedekiah was taken captive, the Temple destroyed and most of the Jews, except for the few, were taken captive. The kingdom of Judah, which once flourished, became extinct 155 years after the termination of the kingdom of Israel.

²⁶¹ 2 Chronicles entire Chapter 34.

²⁶² 1 Kings 13:1-3.

²⁶³ The Bible says that Necho went up to the Euphrates River to help the King of Assyria. See 2 Kings 23 29-30.

²⁶⁴ 2 Kings 23:31-35 and 2 Chronicles 36:1-4.

²⁶⁵ 2 Kings 24:1-2 and 2 Chronicles 36:5-8.

²⁶⁶ 2 Kings Chapters 24 and 25.

²⁶⁷ 2 Kings Chapters 24 and 25 and 2 Chronicles 36:1-21.

BOOK FOUR

When Jeremiah learned that the Temple was burned down, he hid the Tabernacle and the Ark in the cave so that no one knew where they were. The Temple stood for 441 years since its construction by Solomon until the coming of Nebuchadnezzar.

Here begins the seventy years of exile until the second year of Darius, son of Hystaspes. Thus, the total years of the governance of the twenty-three kings to this point is 525 years, and from Adam to this date the total of years is 4806. It was followed by Nebuchadnezzar's warfare in which he persecuted Jerusalem for twenty years, i.e. from the fourth year of Jehoiakim, which is the first year of Nebuchadnezzar until the eleventh year of Zedekiah. The destruction of Jerusalem and the burning of the Temple took place in the fifth month. The kingdom became extinct and the people were taken captive to Babylon. They remained in captivity seventy years.²⁶⁸

The total years from the destruction of Ilion (Troy) until the eleventh year of Ahaz in which was set the First Olympiad in Greece, is 438 years according to the Greek calendar, and from the eleventh year of Ahaz to the destruction of Jerusalem is 216 years.

Chapter Twenty-One: After the destruction of Jerusalem, Nebuchadnezzar waged war against Tyre. He ordered his army to throw stones in the sea to block it up to the limits of the city. When the inhabitants of Tyre saw this, they cast everything into the sea and fled on ships. Nebuchadnezzar's army surrounded Hiram (king of Tyre) and killed him. He lived fifty years during the entire period of the kings of Judah. Egypt was given to the army of Nebuchadnezzar for what they did in Tyre.

After destroying Jerusalem, Nebuchadnezzar lived twenty-four years. The period of exile begins with the year 22 of his reign.²⁶⁹

In the year 25 of the general captivity, Nebuchadnezzar passed away and Murdoch ruled for three years; others say he ruled one year. He was followed by Belshazzar for two years; other say five years. In the first year of Belshazzar, Daniel saw a vision of the four beasts that signified the four kingdoms.²⁷⁰

After Darius killed Belshazzar, the kingdom of the Chaldeans ended. In the time of Darius the Mede, Daniel was cast into the lions' den for the first time. Darius, however, made Daniel the head of his great men and for this reason he was envied. When he was rescued from the lions, those who envied him perished. However, when Cyrus killed Darius, the kingdoms of the Chaldeans, Medes and the Assyrians ceased and the kingdom of the Persians emerged alone in the entire land of the East until the coming of Alexander. Cyrus killed Darius and became the sole ruler. Those kingdoms were terminated by the killing of Darius, surnamed Nabonados. Korous, also called Cyrus, made Babylon his capital. He made Daniel a supervisor of the affairs of his kingdom. Daniel, showing great zeal, destroyed the images of Baal, the Babylonian god, who was the first Assyrian king and father of Ninos the founder of Nineveh. Daniel killed the Dragon, which made the Babylonians hate him. He was also envied by the leaders and was cast into the den that contained seven lions. This was the second time that Habakkuk was sent from Judea to bring food to Daniel. Daniel was saved from the lions and his enemies were annihilated.

In this year the Prophet Habakkuk passed away.

When Daniel, who was in the company of the children of Hananiah, witnessed the change which happened to the kingdoms and counted the years of the exile from the time of Jehoiakim, he deduced that the seventy years decreed for the people (of Israel) by the word of the Lord through Jeremiah had ended.²⁷¹ Daniel prayed for the return of the people to their homeland. On the 24th of the month, he saw in a solemn vision a man dressed in linen saying to him, "For twenty-one days I have resisted the king of the Persians on

²⁶⁸ Jeremiah 25:11-12 and 29:10. According to George Synkellos, there is no general agreement on the seventy years of captivity. He criticizes Eusebius for calculating the seventy years for the period from the eleventh year of Zedekiah up to the second year of Darius, the son of Hystaspes. See *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, 317, 329, 331-332 and 339.

²⁶⁹ Cf. *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, 332.

²⁷⁰ Daniel entire Chapter 7.

²⁷¹ Daniel 1:6-7.

account of the return of the people home.”²⁷² Cyrus repatriated them in the first year of his reign. The year 52 in the table of the Chaldean kings is considered the first year of Cyrus in which he killed their king Nabonados (Darius) and terminated the kingdoms of the Chaldeans, Assyrians, Medes and Jews. The kingdom of the Persians was the only power in the entire land of the East until the advent of Alexander the Macedonian. In this year the captives, numbering fifty thousand, returned from exile and began to build. Their return, however, did not include all the people in captivity because the seventy years mentioned by Jeremiah were not yet completed.

Cyrus was of hybrid origin. His father was Persian named Cambyzes and his mother a Mede, the daughter of King Astyages...lacuna of three lines...

In the year 60 of the captivity, Queen Massagetes killed Cyrus, king of the Persians, and his son Cambyzes became king for 28 years. He was called Nebuchadnezzar by the Hebrews.

In his time, appeared Judith who killed Olophernes (Holofernes, captain of the army of Nebuchadnezzar) from the people of Magog who are the Turks.²⁷³ The Book of Judith contains 1268 words.

In the sixth year of Cambyzes and the 58th Olympiad, the wall of Tyre was completely destroyed.

After the death of Cambyzes, two Magian brothers ruled for seven months. After them, ruled Darius the Mede, son of Hystaspes 36 years. In the second year of his reign, the seventy years since the temple was burned down were completed as testified by Haggai and Zechariah who said, “Lord, how long will you withhold mercy from Jerusalem and from the towns of Judah, which you have been angry with these seventy years.”²⁷⁴ Some say that the seventy years were completed at the beginning of Cyrus’s reign. Their beginning was in year 13 of Josiah when Jeremiah began to prophesy. Others say that the seventy years were completed in the year 19 of Cyrus and they began in the year 3 of Jehoiakim. Eusebius and Andronicus, as we said earlier, maintain that in the second year of Darius and in the month of Iyyar (May), the foundation of the House (Temple) were laid down. It was 60 cubits high and 20 cubits wide. Thus, the entire period from Solomon to the sixth year of Darius in which the Temple was rebuilt is 515 years.

In the year 19 of Darius, the fifth millennium was completed in the time of the 69th Olympiad.

On the Prophet Ezekiel

Ezekiel began to prophesy in the fourth year of Hezekiah. The word of the Lord came to Ezekiel the priest, son of Buzi, in the land of the Chaldeans by the Kobar (Khabur) River. He said, “There the hand of the Lord was upon me. I looked and I saw a strong windstorm coming out of the north—an immense cloud with flashing lightning and surrounded by brilliant light. The center of the fire looked like glowing gold, and in the fire was what looked like four living creatures. In appearance their form was that of a man, but each of them had four faces and four wings, and their wings touched one another. Each one went straight ahead; they did not turn as they moved. Their faces looked like this: Each of the four had the face of a man, and on the right side each had the face of a lion, and on the left a face of an ox; each had also a face of an eagle.”²⁷⁵

Epiphanius says that Ezekiel was a priest from the land of Sarira. He died in the land of the Chaldeans. He prophesied to a large extent about the men of Judah. He was killed by the one who was the chief of the people of Israel. The reason was that Ezekiel scolded him for worshiping idols. They buried him in the field of Maour in the grave of Shem and Arphaxad, the fathers of Abraham. The grave is but a double cavern, and called that because it is curved and hidden underground. Abraham had made Sarah’s grave in Hebron in a similar manner. The upper story was above ground supported by a rock. This prophet gave the people the River Khabur as a sign. If the waters of the river receded, it was a sign of their dispersion throughout the earth, and if its waters over flowed, it was a sign of the salvation of the people of Israel and their return to Jerusalem.

²⁷² Daniel 10:12-13. Verse 13 says that the prince of the Persian kingdom resisted me twenty-one days.

²⁷³ Judith 13:4-10.

²⁷⁴ Zechariah 1:12.

²⁷⁵ Ezekiel 1:1-10.

This righteous man (Ezekiel) lived there and was visited by many people. Sometimes, a crowd thronged around him. The Chaldeans thought that they intended to revolt and kill them. The righteous (Ezekiel) ordered the waters of the River (Khabur) to rise in order to allow the Jews to escape to the other bank. All the people crossed to safety and the enemies who chased after them drowned.

By his prayers, this prophet was able to provide plenty of food to people who perished from hunger, and supplicated God to bring them back to life. When the people were scattered by their enemies, he approached the notables, and told the people, "It is because of our divisiveness that we lost hope." He convinced them by the incident of the dead bones that hope would be restored to Israel.²⁷⁶ He explained what would happen to Jerusalem while he was in the land of exile. However, he had the courage to come to Jerusalem and rebuke those who do not believe. Like Moses, he saw the likeness of the Temple. At Babylon, he condemned the two tribes of Dan and Gad for their impiety and commanded the serpents to kill their children. These two tribes were the first to antagonize him. The notables of these tribes appeared before him, and one of them killed him.

Epiphanius on the Prophet Daniel

Daniel was from the tribe of Judah and one of the notables of the kingdom. As a child, he was taken into captivity from Judea to the land of the Chaldeans. He lived in upper Assyria. He was so chaste that it was thought that he was a eunuch. He became sorely grieved because of Jerusalem. He abstained from delectable food. He was of a pleasant physical appearance. God bestowed on him his grace. He prayed much for Nebuchadnezzar by the request of his son Belshazzar lest he perish when he became like an animal. But he became like an animal whose head and front were like an ox and his legs and back like a lion. God revealed to the righteous prophet the mystery of Nebuchadnezzar that he would become like a beast because of his cruel heart and indulgence in the lusts of the body. Nebuchadnezzar became like an ox under the yoke of Satan. Indeed, these things happen to those who sink deep in error. He became as animals that loot, grab, low and kill. God revealed to the saint (Daniel) that Nebuchadnezzar would eat grass like an ox and it would be his usual meal. For this reason, Nebuchadnezzar sobbed, cried, and beseeched God day and night to make him like a dog in relations to people. He beseeched God forty times a day. He became like Behemoth and forgot that he was a human being. He even became mute. However, when he gained consciousness, he cried bitterly until his eyes became red like a piece of meat. Many people went out from the city to look at him. However, Daniel did not like to see him in this miserable condition, but prayed for him saying, 'He will become once more a normal human being,' but the people did not believe him. Daniel considered the seven years, which he called seven times or seven months, in order that the symbols of the seven times may be changed into seven months and everything would be complete as ordained. When Nebuchadnezzar returned to his former human state, he entreated God six years and five months to blot out his sin for six years and five months. Moreover, when God forgave him his sin, he restored his kingdom to him. During his repentance, he never ate bread or meat and never drank wine in keeping with Daniel's advice. Daniel made him understand that through grass, herbs and water, God had compassion on men. For this reason, Nebuchadnezzar ordered Belteshazzar (Daniel) to be his heir like one of his sons. However, the righteous Daniel, said, "God forbid that I forsake the heritage of my forefathers and become a partner of the heritage of the uncircumcised."²⁷⁷

Daniel accomplished other miracles in the time of other kings not written down. He died there (in the land of the Chaldeans) and was buried with honor in the royal mausoleum. He offered a sign of the end of Babylon. He said, "The end of Babylon will come when smoke appears in the northern part of the mountain above the city. And when it burns like fire, it will be the end of the whole world." He went on to say that, "If the waters flowed from the south, the people (of Israel) will return home. And if blood flowed, satanic manslaughter will cover the whole earth." This is what the righteous Daniel said. Then, he slept (died) in peace.

²⁷⁶ Ezekiel 37:1-10.

²⁷⁷ This statement is not in the Book of Daniel.

Epiphanius on the Prophet Habakkuk

Epiphanius says that Habakkuk was from the tribe of Simeon and the village of Beth Suchra. He witnessed from time of old the occupation of Jerusalem before the exile and became sorely grieved. When Nebuchadnezzar came to Jerusalem, Habakkuk fled to Beth Fakhar in the land of Ishmael. When the Chaldeans returned, those who were not taken into captivity tarried in Jerusalem, and Nebuchadnezzar sent them down to Egypt.

Habakkuk dwelt in his homeland and gave help to the harvesters of his village. When he sat down to have a meal, he prophesied about his people saying, "I am going to a faraway land and will return soon. If I tarry, take food to the harvesters." At Babylon he took food to Daniel. When he got back, he saw the harvesters eating, but did not tell anyone what had happened. He was certain that the people would return from Babylon soon. Two years before they returned, however, he died and was buried alone in his field. He gave a sign to Judah that they would see fire coming out of the Temple and thus, as it was said, witness its destruction. As to the end of the Temple, he said that it would be effected by people coming from the west. The curtain of the Temple would be torn up gradually, the two pillars would be removed immediately, and no one would know their place because angels would carry them to the wilderness where the Tabernacle was first set up. But, the Lord shall reveal on the Last Day their place, when their light shall shine on those who are persecuted with cruelty by the evil Serpent (Devil) as it was in the beginning.

In this time, Hananya the false prophet seduced the people of Judah saying, "The city will not be destroyed and no one shall be taken into captivity."²⁷⁸

At this time too, Solon instituted new laws and discarded the laws of Dracon except those pertaining to homicide.

In this time flourished the combatant Tragos (he goat), to whom are attributed the Tragonians. In this same period, the sun was eclipsed,²⁷⁹ as predicted by the sage Thales of Meletius.

After King Zedekiah and the people of Judea were taken into captivity, the Chaldeans appointed Gedeliah son of Shemeiah, son of Ahikam, a governor over the remnant of the people of Judah.²⁸⁰ However, Ishmael, son of Nethaniah, killed him and took the remnant of the people, old and young, and fled to Egypt. Among them was Jeremiah.²⁸¹ This is affirmed by Clement of Alexandria who said, "The captivity of the wretched people was completely carried out during the 40th Olympiad." At that time, Vaphres ruled Egypt and Philip ruled Athens. It was then that the remnant of Judah found refuge with Vaphres, king of Egypt.

At this time were known seven sages among the Greeks. Here are their names and their maxims: Solon the Athenians "nothing in excess"; Bias of Preened, "the majority of men are evil." ...lacuna... and Cleobulus; "moderation is best."

Nebuchadnezzar founded the city of Babylon. He set up in it the Hanging Gardens, which became one of the Seven Wonders of the World. In the year 13 of the captivity, which is the year 34 of Nebuchadnezzar, this king made an image of gold sixty cubits (ninety feet) high.²⁸² Because of it, however, the children of Hananya (Daniel and his companions) became celebrated. Nebuchadnezzar became an animal according to Daniel's prophecy. He ate grass like the beasts of the wild.²⁸³

In this same period, false prophets appeared in Babylon such as Ahab, Zedekiah and Shemeiah.

The Book of Jeremiah consists of 4252 verses; the Book of Kings, 6043 verses, the Book of Chronicles, 3053 verses and the Book of Ezekiel, 4376 verses.

²⁷⁸ Jeremiah 28:1-17.

²⁷⁹ Jeremiah 40:11.

²⁸⁰ Jeremiah 40:11.

²⁸¹ Jeremiah 40:1-12 and entire Chapter 41.

²⁸² Daniel 3:1.

²⁸³ Daniel 4:31-34.

BOOK FOUR

In this period, the Athenians first organized athletic games in the nude. Pisistrus became the tyrant of the Athenian and passed into Italy.

Upon Nebuchadnezzar's death, the Medes (more correctly the Chaldeans), were ruled by his son Evil-Merodach and then by the latter's brother, Belshazzar.²⁸⁴ In his time, Daniel interpreted the writing on the wall which presaged the cessation of the government of the Chaldeans and its transition to the Medes and the Persians.

In the second year of his reign, Belshazzar gave a banquet for his nobles. He drank wine profusely in the presence of a thousand persons with sacred vessels. The fingers of a human hand appeared and wrote his judgment. In that night Darius the Mede came and killed him.²⁸⁵

It is said that Evil-Merodach ruled 17 years beginning from the time his father became insane and fled to the wilderness, but not from the date of his death. According to the narration of the Chaldean kings, the period of his rule was only three years and five years of the rule of his brother. When Evil-Merodach assumed power, he issued ...lacuna...

In this time flourished Aesop the author of fables. Also, flourished Abaris who came from Scythia to Hellada (Greece), and Eugamon of Cyrene who wrote a book entitled *Telegonia*. In this same time, Aesop, writer of fables, was killed among four thousands. In the twelfth place, the Greeks had dominion over the Phoenician Sea for 34 years.

Korus, who is Cyrus the Persian, repatriated the captive Jews to their homeland. Fifty thousand returned home, built the altar and laid down the foundations of the Temple. However, the neighboring people prevented them and the work was not completed. However, in the time of Darius the altar alone was standing.

The entire period of the captivity of the Jews was seventy years. Some count it from the third year of Jehoiakim until the ninth year of Cyrus, king of Persia. Others compute the period of captivity from the fourth year of the prophecy of Jeremiah, which is the thirteenth year of Josiah, king of Judah, until the first year of Cyrus. However, the period of seventy years is not complete unless it is counted from the destruction of the Temple until the second year of Darius.²⁸⁶

In this period Stesicorus passed away. Also, in his period flourished Simonides, Xenophanes in Colophon and the sage Chilon, who was the chief Lacedaemonian in the kingdom of the Lydians. The Lydian Empire lasted 232 years and then came to an end. After this, Cyrus became sole ruler and occupied the city of Sardis.

Epiphanius on the Prophet Haggai

When he was a boy, Haggai returned from Babylon (to Jerusalem). He prophesied distinctly about the return of the people. He witnessed a part of the building of the Temple. Upon his death, he was buried next to the priests with honor.

Epiphanius on Zechariah

As a young man, Zechariah returned from the land of the Chaldeans where he prophesied on many things. He gave a sign to Jehozadak telling him that he would father a son who would serve as a priest in Jerusalem. He blessed Shealtiel that he would have a son and call him Zerubbabel. He indicated the triumph of Cyrus, as said earlier, and the service he would perform in Jerusalem. Most of his prophesies were about

²⁸⁴ See Eusebius via Polyhistor and Abydenes in *Eusebius' Chronicle*, translated by Robert Bedrosian, and the same translated by Roger Pearse and Josef Karst to be found on the Internet under the name of each of these translators, and Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book x. chapter 11: 2 in *The Works of Flavius Josephus*, translated William Whiston, 280, and *Flavius Josephus Against Apion*, Book 1, section 20, via Berossos, in Whiston's translation, 792-793. In his time, Daniel interpreted the writing which appeared on the wall presaging the end of the Chaldeans' kingdom. Daniel, entire Chapter Five.

²⁸⁵ Daniel, entire Chapter 5.

²⁸⁶ For a thorough discussion of the seventy years of captivity and the methods of their calculation see *The Chronography of George Synkello*, 313, 317-318, 321-332, 325-326, 329, and 340-342.

calling the people (to return to God), on the end of time, on Israel, and the Temple, the invalidation of the prophets, and on judgment. He died at an old venerable age and was buried next to Haggai.

Epiphanius on Malachi

Malachi was born in Supha after the return from exile. From childhood, he was adorned with good conduct. He was called Malachi; meaning angel, because the people loved him for his humility and piety. He was good looking. Whenever he prophesied, the angel of God appeared to him on that day, as it happened in the past when the people of Israel had no leader, as said in the Book of Judges.²⁸⁷

Malachi died while still a young man. He was buried in his field (village) next to his forefathers. After him, no celebrated prophet appeared among the Hebrews.

Cyrus ruled 31 years. At the beginning of his rule the captives returned and proceeded to build (the Temple) as mentioned in the prophecy of Isaiah...lacuna of three lines... the building was delayed because of the people who were surrounding them, until the sixth year of Darius son of Hystaspes, that is a period of 46 years as written by John.²⁸⁸ However, the return (of the people from Babylon) was accomplished by Zerubbabel and Jeshua son of Jozadaq.²⁸⁹

In the second year of Darius, Daniel was thrown into the den. In the third year of Cyrus, he fasted 21 days. In that year, Daniel passed away and was buried in the palace of Shushan (Susa). He was from the tribe of Judah. He was son of Hananya, son of Josiah, king of Judah.

Seventy years after the Captivity, Darius ruled 34 years. In the tenth year of Darius, the first consul was set up. In the year 17 of Darius, Alexander ruled the Macedonians for 43 years.

In this epoch flourished the philosophers Polycarp, Solon and Democritus and the historian Hellanicus. In addition, the musicians Heraclites, Skotinos and Anaxagoras, and the tragedian Aschyles and the poet Panyasis became eminent.²⁹⁰

Harmodius and Aristogiton killed the tyrant Hipparchus. When the prostitute Leana was pressured by them to reveal the secret of her people, she cut off her tongue.

In the fourteenth place, the Lacedaemonians had dominion over the sea for two years; in the fifteenth place, the inhabitants of Naxos had dominion over the sea for ten years, and in the sixteenth place, the Eretrians controlled it for 17 years.

From the burning down of the Temple until its rebuilding, 70 years had elapsed, and from the first year of Cyrus to the return from captivity embraces 46 years. If anyone wants to maintain, like the Hebrews, that the Temple was built in the year 46, he should count the period from the prophecy of Jeremiah. Others say the Temple was rebuilt in the third year of Jehoiakim. Still others count the period from the time the Temple was burned down. However, Africanus counts it from the beginning of the kingship of Zedekiah, Daniel from the time of Jeremiah, and Clement from the time of the burning of the Temple.

After the people (Hebrews) returned (from exile) and rebuilt Jerusalem, Yuhanon (John), who was in the time of Artaxerxes, king of Persia, appeared among the high priests in the period of the Maccabees. Since Judah was under Persian dominion, the duration of the service of the high priests in Judah was computed based on the periods in which the Persian kings ruled. Historians assert that the duration of Yuhanon extended to the time of King Artaxerxes. Yuhanon was succeeded by Jehoiada, surnamed Jaddus, who was in charge of the people for 40 years. In his time emerged a person named Andromachus, who extended a helping hand to the Hebrews in different fields, then arose Manasseh, brother of Jaddus, as a high priest. He had built a temple in the time of his brother Jaddus on Mount Garizim. He served 3 years and was succeeded by Andromachus. In his time came King Alexander, son of Philip the Macedonian, and

²⁸⁷ Judges 2:1-5.

²⁸⁸ Ezra, Chapters 4 and 5, and Nehemiah Chapters 4 and 6.

²⁸⁹ Ezra 3:8-13.

²⁹⁰ For these names see *Eusebius' Chronicle*, translated by Bedrosian, Pearse and Karst on the Internet. Some of them are mentioned by George Synkellos in *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, 361.

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Andromachus welcomed him and honored him. When the Samaritans assassinated Andromachus, Alexander killed the entire population of Samaria and settled Macedonians in it.

After Manasseh, Onias son of Jehoiada (Jaddus) became noteworthy as a high priest. He served 32 years according to Andronicus. However, Jacob (of Edessa) makes the duration of his service 11 years only. He was succeeded by his son Simon, surnamed the Just.²⁹¹ He served for 32 years while Andronicus says that he served only 9 years. The total number of years of the service of both of them was 40 years.

In the time of the Greek Kings who followed Alexander, that is Ptolemy, and Seleucus Nicator ...lacuna... His brother Eleazar succeeded Simon as high priest because Simon, called Onias, was still a child. Eleazar served 10 years.

Ptolemy II Philadelphus, lord of Alexandria, liberated the Jewish captives in Egypt, and sent offerings to Eleazar the priest.²⁹²

In the year 5 of Eleazar's priestly pontificate, which is the year 33 of Seleucus, in the 125th Olympiad, in the year 10 of Antiochus Soter, Eleazar the high priest sent to Ptolemy Philadelphus seventy-two learned men well versed in the Greek and Hebrew languages with Hebrew books. Ptolemy built for them 36 cells, two for each cell, in the island of Faros. He admonished them not to change anything in those books. In 72 days, each two of them translated the Old Testament that resulted in 63 translations. When they met each other and collated their translations, they found that they exactly agreed with each other as if one person alone had translated them. Ptolemy deposited the translation in his library in Alexandria. This translation that came to be known as the Septuagint was circulated everywhere. The names of the translators are:

From the tribe of Reuben: Josephus, Ezekiel, Elisha, Zechariah, Onias, and Ezekiel.

From the tribe of Simon: Judah, Simon, Addai, Samuel, Mathathiah and Shalamiah.

From the tribe of Levi: Nehemiah, Joseph, Theodosi, Bosis, Hourni and Docius.

From the tribe of Judah: Jonathan Abri, Elisha, Hananya, Zechariah and Hilkiah

From the tribe of Issachar: Isaac, Jacob, Joshua, Simon, Levi.

From the tribe of Zebulun: Judah, Joseph, Joshua Zechariah and Shamuel.

From the tribe of Gad: Jacob, Isaac, Asia, and Matthai.

From the tribe of Asher: Theodosi, Jason, Joshua, Theodotus, Onias, Jonathan.

From the tribe of Dan: Theophila, Abraham, Osmos, Jason, Jeremiah, Daniel.

From the tribe of Naphtali: Jeremiah, Eleazar, Zechariah, Yanba, Elisha, and Dathan.

From the tribe of Benjamin: Onias, Isilauas, Abtai, Theodosi, Narsam, and Ezekiel.

From the tribe of Joseph: Judah, Jonathan, and Dosti.

The number of all of them is 72.

When the king saw that the copies sent from Jerusalem were written in golden letters, he was mightily surprised. They were translated from Hebrew into Greek with immense precision, and when they were collated, they were found to be exact. They were kept by the power of God, at the library of Alexandria, until the age of the Divine dispensation (the coming of Christ) shone. Thus, the books of the Old Testament were preserved from decay.²⁹³

After Eleazar, in whose time the scriptures (Books of the Old Testaments) were translated, his uncle Manasseh was set up as high priest. Eleazar served 72 (more correctly) 32 years, and Manasseh 10 years, as asserted by Jacob (of Edessa) and Andronicus.²⁹⁴ After Manasseh, Onias, son of Simon the Just, was set up as high priest. Andronicus says that he served for 4 years, while Jacob of Edessa says that he served more than these years. However, both of them agree that the intention of the king of Egypt to annihilate the Jews was in the time of Onias. But ...lacuna... by his wisdom ...lacuna... Josephus was appointed as captain of

²⁹¹ *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, 392.

²⁹² Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book Twelve, Chapter 2, Section 1, 313 of the English translation by William Whiston.

²⁹³ The entire story of the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures is told by Josephus in *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book Twelve, Chapter 2, p. 313-320 of the English translation.

²⁹⁴ See *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, 392, note 9 who follows Eusebius.

the host and the person responsible for all the cities of Judea.²⁹⁵ Onias and Josephus remained managing the affairs (of the Jews) for 36 years. In the year 15 of Ptolemy, the 137th of the Olympiad...lacuna... Simon son of Onias was a high priest. This Simon is the father of Jesus, called Bar Sirach, who composed the book of wisdom entitled *The Book of Bar Sirach* (Ecclesiasticus) which consists of 2050 verses. He (Simon) is the one who carried the Lord (Christ) when He was brought into the Temple. He was since then bound to live about 260 years (until he saw Christ). He built a temple in Egypt. After him arose his son Onias to whom Arius, king of the Lacedaemonians sent a delegation. He was killed by Andronicus in Daphne near Antioch. He was high priest for 14 years according to Andronicus and 18 years according to Jacob (of Edessa). Onias, son of Simon, was high priest for 4 years according to Jacob (of Edessa), and 5 years according to Andronicus.²⁹⁶ After Onias arose three high priests for the Jews until the time of Mathathias: Menelaus for 2 years; Jason for 1 year; and Eleazar for 1 year, according to Jacob (of Edessa). Andronicus, however, attributes to Jason 9 years of service. The truth is that the Hebrews' priestly arrangement was not in order. Menelaus handed the people over to Antiochus and then to Alicimaus (Alcimus) who was not of the priestly line, but had assumed the dignity of a high priest by his persistence. It is because of him that Onias, son of Onias, when he came to Egypt, built a city in the region of Heliopolis called Onias, and a temple in it like the Temple in Jerusalem. As to Alcimus, God smote him with a fatal blow after a short time for instigating the people against Judas Maccabees. Then the Jews conferred upon Judas the dignity of the high priesthood. After accepting it, he sent envoys to the Romans and reached an agreement according to which the Jews were considered friends and supporters.

As to the dignity of the priesthood, it began with the Maccabees as follows. In the first year of Antiochus, Mattathias was high priest for 4 years. When he passed away, his son Judas assumed leadership and all the people accepted him as their high priest. At this point, Judas Maccabees held both the civil leadership and the dignity of the priesthood. He drove out the soldiers of Antiochus from the district of Judah, purified the Temple and revived the worship after it was slackened off during the last three years of the 150th Olympiad. Judas was killed during the war with Demetrius after serving as high priest for three years.²⁹⁷

After his death, he was succeeded by his brother Jonathan, who combined both the dignity of high priesthood and civil governorship. He was successful in war until King Alexander was killed.²⁹⁸ Jonathan was killed by Trypho and was succeeded by his brother Simon for 8 years. In addition, since the custom was that the high priest had a civil authority, Simon was granted these two dignities. He was then murdered by Ptolemy and was succeeded by John (Onias) for 26 years. Moreover, since the civil authority was habitually associated with the high priest, he was the leader of the people and the army according to royal decrees.

After John (Onias), Aristobulus son of Jonathan, assumed leadership for 1 year. He was not satisfied with civil authority but wore a crown, that is, he revived the kingship after the passage of 445 years or 448 years, as others maintain, or 444 from the burning down of the Temple and the cessation of their (Jewish) kingdom until the era of the Maccabees where the Old Testament ended. Five hundred seventy-two years would have elapsed. From that time to the era of our Lord, 120 years had elapsed.

After Aristobulus was murdered by his brother Antigonus, his brother John (Onias) called Alexander, assumed power and used cruelty in his administration. After his death, his wife, Alexandra, assumed power and the affairs of the priesthood were in chaos. She set up her son Hyrcanus a high priest, and his brother Aristobulus, a king, who was soon taken captive to Rome.²⁹⁹ The period of his father

²⁹⁵ According to George Synkellos who follows Eusebius, Onias defrauded Ptolemy (Euergetes) by not paying the customary tribute to him. A Jew named Josephus, of whom little is known, was sent to Ptolemy and supposedly appeased his wrath, and Ptolemy appointed him as governor of all Judea. See *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, 393; Josephus *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book Twelve, entire Chapter where Josephus the Jew is called Joseph, the son of Onias' sister.

²⁹⁶ According to George Synkellos, Onias, son of Simon was high priest for 7 years. See *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, 402.

²⁹⁷ The entire story of Judas is in Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book Twelve, Chapters 6-11, 320-339 of the English translation.

²⁹⁸ Alexander, son of Antiochus Epiphanes. His head was cut off by Zabdiel, an Arabian prince. See Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book Thirteen, Chapters 2-4, 342-348 of the English translation. His name is on p. 342 and death on p. 347.

²⁹⁹ Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book Five, Chapter 2, Section 5, 403-404 of the English translation, and *War of the Jews*, Book 1,

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Alexander was 4 years, the period of his mother was 9 years and his own period is 34 years. From this point forward, the Jews had no kingdom but only the priesthood and they returned to paying a tribute.

The dignity of the priesthood was practiced secretly throughout the entire period of Hyrcanus, and the order of "Christ" ceased when the Jews set up Herod of Ascalon their administrator. In addition, the Romans appointed Antipater, father of Herod (the Great) who was the prime supporter and a friend of Hyrcanus, as the leader of the Jews. Although Antipater set up high priests, but not in the same manner they expected as those who preceded them, whose life stories contained the affairs that took place in the time of Hyrcanus, who was banished to the land of the Parthians.

Herod went to Rome where he received the authority over the Jews but without right. Therefore, the Jews did not accept him. He fought them and triumphed over them. He destroyed the two walls of Jerusalem and killed many people. He usurped the pontifical vestment and placed it under his jurisdiction. He allowed the high priest to wear it once a year.

Hyrcanus fled from exile and returned home, but Herod killed him. He brought from Babylon Hananel, who was not from the family of priests, and set him up as high priest for one year and then removed him and appointed Aristobulus, son of Hyrcanus, and brother of his wife. Shortly afterwards, he murdered him and restored Hananel. This is what his successors did also. The period of the service of Hananel is 12 years...lacuna... He was followed by someone named Zechariah for 22 years. Afterwards, high priests were appointed for one year only, subject to change from one year to the other. After Zechariah, another Hananel was a high priest for 18 years. In fact, one of these years he was a high priest during Zechariah's period. After Hananel and Zechariah, Simon, brother of Zechariah, was set up as high priest for 18 years according to Jacob (of Edessa), and 24 years according to Andronicus. The period of these high priests extended throughout the entire government of Herod and his sons.³⁰⁰

Here ends with the help of God Book Four in 21 Chapters. It covered a period of 835 years until the end of the fifth millennium Pray for me, a sinner, and for my parents.

Chapter 4, Section 1, 558 of the English translation.

³⁰⁰ The affairs of Antipater, Herod and Hyrcanus are detailed by Josephus in *Antiquities of the Jews*, Books Thirteen to Fifteen, 340-432 of the English translation.

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I LIFT UP MY MIND TO THE ALMIGHTY, THE OMNISCIENT AND THE DIRECTOR OF ALL THINGS, ASKING FOR HIS GUIDANCE. AND, STRENGTHENED BY HIS GRACE, I PROCEED TO WRITE BOOK FIVE, WHICH COMMENCES WITH THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTH MILLENNIUM, WHICH IS THE TWENTIETH YEAR OF DARIUS THE PERSIAN, AND THE FIRST YEAR OF ALEXANDER THE MACEDONIAN, AND THE BEGINNING OF THE EPOCH OF THE ROMAN CONSULS AND THE RETURN OF THE HEBREWS FROM CAPTIVITY

Chapter One: In the year 16 of Darius, the sixth millennium began according to many chroniclers. Others maintain that the fifth millennium ended in the third year of the reign of Xerxes.

Xerxes son of Darius, who is Ahasuerus,³⁰¹ ruled 21 years. In the second year of his reign, he occupied Egypt. In the eleventh year, he occupied Athens and set it on fire. He also conquered many other cities. In his time appeared Esther and Mordecai. When Haman the Amalekite tried to eliminate what was left of the Jews in captivity, Esther and Mordecai put on the haircloth, but God turned Haman's evil against him. John says that some maintain that Esther did not live in the time of Ahasuerus. They support their idea saying, "If she lived in the time of this king, Ezra would have mentioned it. In fact, Ezra recorded the events in his time including the return of the captives. However, chroniclers have unanimously maintained that she was in that period."

Afterward, Artabanos ruled seven months; others say one year. Afterwards, Artaxerxes Longarm, surnamed Arioch (Arovik), ruled 41 years during the 79th Olympiad. In the seventh year of his reign, he permitted Ezra the scribe to return and rebuild Jerusalem.³⁰² Through God's revelation, Ezra rewrote the books of the prophets from memory because all of them were burned during the captivity. In the year 20 of Artaxerxes, he sent Nehemiah, the king's cupbearer, to complete the building of Jerusalem according to the prophecy of Daniel.³⁰³ For knowing the time of the issuance of the order to repatriate the captives to their homeland, the building of Jerusalem, its streets and edifices, Africanus counts the weeks of Daniel from the time of Artaxerxes.³⁰⁴

Nehemiah was a trusted servant of the king. He remained in Jerusalem twelve years. In the year 32 of Artaxerxes, Jerusalem was rebuilt. Joiada bar (son) of Elisha was appointed a chief priest, as said by Ezra.³⁰⁵ If someone wants to count the seventy weeks of Daniel, which are 490 years, he will find that they end in the year 366 of the Greeks (55 A.D.). In the second year of Nero, Jerusalem was occupied. Thus, the total years from the burning and destruction of the Temple to this day are 131 years, until it was rebuilt in the sixth year of Darius, or 73 years. This is what we were able to gather from the books of the prophets and Ezra.

At this time died the philosopher Pythagoras who lived 105(?) years. The philosophers Hellanicus, Heraclitus, Anaxagoras, the stoic and physician, Pindarus and Simonides, the poet and lyric, and Diogenes the philosopher flourished in this period. Apollonemius and Empedocles of Sicily, who were followers of Pythagoras, also flourished in this period. Empedocles, however, threw himself into the fire in Sicily...lacuna... they returned...lacuna ...from abroad...lacuna... he was unmasked because the people found out that he was not a god.

Of the physicians who achieved fame are Theatitus who established a maternity home, and Democrates and Hippocrates.

³⁰¹ In Daniel 9:1, Darius is son of Ahasuerus. Xerxes is the Hebrew Ahasuerus.

³⁰² See *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, 366.

³⁰³ Daniel 9:24-27.

³⁰⁴ See excerpts from Africanus on the seventy weeks of Daniel and their parallel with that of Eusebius; see *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, 476-471 together with the footnotes.

³⁰⁵ There is no Joiada son of Elisha in the Book of Ezra. The Book of Nehemiah 13:28 mentions Joiada son of Eliashib.

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In this period the Romans brought twelve papyrus documents of law from Athens, others say twelve documents.

In this period, Cratines and Plato, the writer of comedy were prominent. The philosophers Espymius, or Empedocles according to others, and Heraclitus and Abaris became famous.

In this same period Eudos the female prophetess appeared. Melissus the naturalist also flourished in this period.

In this period also were renowned Herodotes, Protagoras and Isocrates the Sophists, and Phydias the sculptor, Democretes of Abdira, Gorgias, Empodocles, Zenon Parmenides and Thucydides. Pericles died in this period.

In this period also flourished the poets Aristophanes and Eupolis the writers of comedy.

In this period, Aschyles the songwriter became well known. He died a violent death when an eagle struck him in the head while he was sitting down.

In Rome, the young (Vestal) virgin Pompilia was accused of adultery. She was buried alive.

In the seventeenth place, the Egenians dominated the sea up to the strait of Xerxes for ten years.

In this period the Athenians fortified the wall of Pires. Xerxes attacked and destroyed Egypt. He also destroyed Athens.

During this period, the battles of Thermopylae and the naval combat at Salamis and Plataea and Mycale took place.

Hieron ruled Syracuse tyrannically after Gelon.

In this period Plato was born. He and Socrates became renowned philosophers in Athens. Because Socrates corrupted children, they gave him poison to drink and he died.

In this period Plato propagated a heresy. He and Xenophon were thought to be without a principle for fifteen years. The philosopher Aristotle flourished in this period.

In this period too, fire erupted from Mount Etna and burned many areas.

Qadmus and Agenor arrived in Athens from Sidon carrying with them sixteen letters, which are:

ε ι γ λ ζ η θ λ ρ λ σ ς
α β γ δ

Palamedes Nauplius of Argos invented four more letters, which are:

φ ψ ω ζ

Furthermore, Simonides invented four additional letters, which are:

η θ ι κ

...lacuna...

In this period, the 71st Jubilee of the Hebrews began.

In this year the sun eclipsed and huge flood covered the earth.

Anxagoras died. Sicily was occupied by the democratic group.

In this period the Pythagoreans flourished.

The temple of Hiera in Argos was burned down.

In the time Nehemiah, the woman Evodia began to prophecy.

The women Thelisilla, Praxilla, Cleobulina became renowned.

Aristarchus, the lyric poet, flourished in this period.

In this period also became known Abaris the magician and Hyperboranus the astrologer became well known.

The Athenians and the Lacedaemonians made a union for thirty years.

In this period, the physician Melissus achieved fame.

In Athens, Herodotus who had read books became celebrated as an historian and gained honor.

In this period flourished Theatetus the mathematician.

It is said that the Egyptians were first to invent the alphabet and the Phoenicians borrowed it from them.

In this time, the Athenians decided to burn the writings of the philosopher Protagoras. Socrates became a celebrity. Phidias made an ivory statue of Athena. It was installed at the end of the Straight Street in Italy.

In this period flourished Sophocles the writer of drama. In addition, the philosophers Democritus the Abderite, Empedocles, Hippias, Prodicus, Zenon and Parmenides flourished.

Plato advanced a heresy in the time of the eleventh Persian king. He maintained that God exists along with matter and a visible and created world. The soul, however, is uncreated, immortal and incorruptible. It has three faculties of reason, irascibility and sensibility. The separation of the souls from the bodies extends to even beasts and insects. He further maintained that there are multiple gods whose origin is one God. He further maintained that souls transmigrate to other bodies even to flies and insects. In addition, he advocated communal sexual relations and that man should not confine himself to a specific wife. He was followed by Epicure and other adherents who came to be known as "Platonists."

In this time, the Peloponnesian War began ferociously. It lasted twenty-one years.

In this period Bacchylides, composer of chants, flourished.

The plague afflicted and distressed the Athenians.

Pericles passed away.

The Lacedaemonians took the Heracleans captive.

The Athenians were defeated in Sicily.

In this time, an earthquake occurred and fire gushed out of Mount Etna and consumed many areas.

Another earthquake occurred in the Atlantic Island near Locres.

At this time, the Athenians and the Lacedaemonians entered into a strong alliance and for a good period of time.

In this period, Euripides was delivered to Archelaus while he was writing in a desolate place. Archelaus went out hunting. He was attacked by dogs that tore him to death. This also happened to Posidippe as he was on his way at night to the house of a prostitute. Dogs killed him.

In Athens, Sophocles at the age of 93 choked to death on a grape.

Democritus died from a snakebite.

Xenophon says that Cyrus attacked Athens.

The Athenians began to use twenty-four letters. They were formerly using only nineteen letters.

Dionysius the tyrant ruled Syracuse.

Demosthenes, the rhetoric flourished in this period. Hertinna the poet flourished also in this period.

At the age of seventeen, Aristotle acquired the teachings of Plato.

A census was conducted in Rome. The number of its inhabitants was 175, 000.

Plato died at the age of 82. Speusippus was appointed as his successor.

In this period too, Manasseh, brother of Jaddu, the great Hebrew notable built a large temple in the mountain of Gerizim in the same form of the Temple in Jerusalem.

Dionysius the tyrant fell from power in Sicily.

Aristotle was celebrated and King Alexander became his pupil.

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The philosopher Epicure and the painter Appelles flourished in this period.

Speusippus died and Xenocrates took his place.

Manlius the Roman Consul killed his son because he waged war and triumphed.

The Romans vanquished the Saunites and took them captives. The Saunites are Arabs from the Arabian region known as Eudaimon who flourished at this time.

The great city of Alexandria was built in the seventh year of Alexander who ruled twelve years. He built twelve cities called Alexandria.

Chapter Two: Concerning the events which took place in the time of Nehemiah

From the Books of the Maccabees and the histories of Josephus and Africanus, we are able to know the table of years and the events that took place in them. Let us now discuss Nehemiah.

Nehemiah was a trusted servant and cupbearer of King Artaxerxes. He was a Hebrew by race. He asked the king's permission and returned (to Jerusalem). Since at that time, the Jews had no holy fire in Jerusalem (the fire of sacrifices) as they had thrown it into the well when they were taken into captivity, Nehemiah ordered that some sludge of the well be thrown on the wood of the sacrifice. Immediately, the wood was on fire after having been neglected for seventy-four years.

In this period, another Artaxerxes ruled the Persians 2 months. He was succeeded by Sogdianos who ruled 7 months. After him Darius Nothos ruled 19 years. In the year 15 of his reign, the Egyptians revolted against the Persians and set up a king after 124 years. Dionysius rebelled and became a king.

After Alexander, Perdikkas ruled 28 years.

In the year 19 of Darius, Orestes ruled the Macedonians 3 years.

In Rome, the centennial games were celebrated for the first time. Afterwards, the Gauls and the Celts destroyed Rome and subjugated it with the exception of the Capitol.

In this period, a violent earthquake took place in Peloponnese and its environs and caused the fortified cities of Elike and Bourah to sink.

In this period, the citizens of Rome chose administrators for the city and the markets, because until this time Rome had no administrators.

Having rebuilt the wall of Jerusalem in the year 32 of King Artaxerxes, Nehemiah the trusted servant and cupbearer of the king, returned to Babylon.³⁰⁶

At this point began the weeks of Daniel.³⁰⁷

Chapter Three: The beginning of the 490 Years from the rebuilding of Jerusalem until its total destruction

After Darius, in whose time Egypt rebelled against the Persians, Artaxerxes ruled the Persians 40 years. The Hebrews called him Ahasuerus. For this reason, John believes that the story of Esther took place in the time of Ahasuerus. If he was really Ahasuerus, then he should also be the Artaxerxes mentioned in the Hebrew version (The Septuagint.)

In the year 15 of Artaxerxes, Africanus the Roman dictator destroyed Carthage and applied his name to that region which came to known as Africa.

Nepherites ruled Egypt six years, Archealus ruled the Macedonians four years, Amyntas one year, Pausanias one year, and another Amyntas six months.

In the year 16 of Artaxerxes, Argeaus ruled the Macedonians 8 years.

In the year 20 of Artaxerxes, Psamouthis ruled Egypt one year. After him, Nepherites ruled one year, and then Nectanebus, 8 years.

³⁰⁶ See Henrich Gelzer, *Sextus Julius Africanus und die Byzantinische Chronography*, 1: 111-112 on Africanus and Nehemiah's rebuilding of Jerusalem.

³⁰⁷ Daniel 9:4-27. For an elaboration of the seventy weeks of Daniel, see *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, 467-470. For an interpretation of these weeks see p. 468, note 1.

In the year 35 of Artaxerxes, Alexander ruled the Macedonians one year. After him, Ptolemy ruled 3 years, followed by Perdicus who ruled 6 years.

In the year 40 of Artaxerxes, Teos ruled Egypt 2 years. He was followed by Nectanebos who ruled 12 years.

Ochos, who is Artaxerxes II, ruled the Persians 27 years. He controlled Egypt by force. Here ended the era of the kings of Egypt who became subjects to the Persians. The king of Egypt called Nectanebos, or Necotanebonis as some call him, saw by way of magic that huge armies advanced to attack him. It is said that he was the father of Alexander. Thus, the kingdom of Egypt ceased for 42 years until the arrival of Domitius, also called Ptolemy, one of Alexander's generals.

Ochos king of Persia subjugated the Jews and exacted tribute from them. He stationed them near the Caspian Sea in the city of Hyrcania.

In this period Philip, Alexander's father, ruled Macedonia 27 years. His wife's name is Olympia.

In the year 13 of the Ochos the Persian, Alexander was born. It is the second year of the reign of his father Philip.

After Ochos, Arses ruled the Persians 4 years. He was followed by Darius son of Arsam, surnamed Arzac who ruled 6 years. In this same year, Darius assumed the power of government, Alexander, son of Philip ruled the Macedonians at the age of 20. He first reigned in Hellade. He was of grand stature, three cubits tall. He gained glory more than the kings who preceded him. He occupied many countries and vanquished thirty-five kings. His army was 120,000 thousand strong.

In the sixth year of Alexander, and the sixth year of Darius, these two met in battle at Issus in Cilicia. Alexander triumphed and killed Darius, and the Persian kingdom was ended. After defeating the kingdoms of Persia and Babylonia, Alexander occupied Babylon and Hyrcania. He captured Syria and all of Asia Minor. He passed through the River Indus and occupied India and Saba. He took Darius' daughter Roxanne to wife and took her sister captive. He founded twelve cities. He installed an iron gate 12 cubits long and 8 cubits wide to prevent the Huns from getting out. He subdued the Jews who welcomed him and offered oblation to God. He honored the high priest Andromachus. However, when the Samaritans killed Andromachus, Alexander came from Egypt and destroyed them and stationed Macedonians in Samaria. He went up to the Temple of Ammon and built a praetorium. When he came to Babylon, having ruled twelve years and seven months, one of his great men gave him poison to drink and he died.

The Book of Maccabees considers Alexander the founder of the Greek kingdom.³⁰⁸ With him, the prophecy of Daniel about the he-goat, which killed the ram for 240 years, was accomplished.³⁰⁹

According to Andronicus, the total years from Adam to the Flood is 2456 years; from the Flood to Abraham 1801 years; from Abraham to the command give Moses to proceed with the Exodus, 505 years; from Exodus to the year 34 of Solomon in which he began to build the Temple is 610 years; from the building of the Temple to the Captivity 441 years; from the Captivity to the year 32 of Darius (no figure is given) to the second year of Darius to Alexander, 217 years. Thus, the total in years from Adam to Alexander is 5180.

The Great Alexandria

The Great Alexandria was built in Egypt in the year 7 of Alexander. He built 12 more cities, all of which were named Alexandria. They were surveyed by the skillful Athenian engineers Aristotle, Timaeos and Pericles. In a public treasury in Antioch, was discovered an inscription on the bronze base of Apollos' pillar stating that, "Bartella is 3011 feet larger than Ephesus, Ephesus is 1700 feet larger than Nicomedia, Nicomedia is 1820 feet larger than Antioch, and Alexandria is larger than all of them." It measures 14987 feet.

Alexandria contained 308 temples, 1655 squares, 5058 houses, 108 public baths, 237 taverns 112 porticos, all of which begin with the letter *Alpha*. The figures for those (structures) beginning with the letter

³⁰⁸ 1 Maccabees 1:1-7.

³⁰⁹ Daniel 8 3-8.

Beta: 110 temples, 1002 squares, 3990 houses, 145 baths and 107 taverns. Those beginning with letter *Gama*: 855 temples, 955 squares, 2140 houses... baths, 205 taverns and 78 porticos. Those beginning with the letter *Delta*: 800 temples, 1120 squares, 5515 houses, 118 baths, 178 taverns and 98 porticos. Those beginning with the letter *H*: 405 temples, 1420 squares, 5593 houses...baths, 118 taverns and 56 porticos. The total number of all these is 2393 temples, 8102 squares, 47790 houses, 1561 baths, 935 shops and 456 porticos. This is not to speak of Hadrian's quarters which were huge, the Lochias near the great lighthouse facing Rhodes, the hospice Serapeon, the island of Anotis, the Zephyrion, the Canopus, the new canal, Nicopolis, Eleusis, the plain of Manutius, and Bandidios. In sum, Alexandria was the biggest city in the inhabited world.

At this time, the Macedonians provoked war and sedition. The philosopher Theophrastes flourished in this time too. Demetrius and Phalerus achieved fame.

Menander was first to teach that the drama conquers anger.

In this period the Micos War was waged. Perdicas waged war against Egypt.

Agathocles became the tyrant of Syracuse.

The philosophers Menedemus and Speusippus flourished.

The Romans subdued completely the Saunites who were Arabs. They annexed the Morsians, the Turks and the Pelignians and set up a colony.

Theodore, who had no knowledge of God, was known at this time.

Demetrius Phalerus came to meet Ptolemy who gave the Athenians democracy, that is, rule by the people.

In this period flourished Claudius who is Ptolemy of Alexandria, the astronomer. He wrote a book on the science of astronomy entitled *Megistos*.³¹⁰

The city of Lysimachia was built in Thrace.

The Greek calendar begins with Seleucus Necator. The Book of Maccabees indicates that with Necator the Greek kingdom began. The Edessans are of same opinion. We (Syrians), in our church and books, follow this calendar known as the Alexandrian.

When Seleucus ruled Syria, Babylon and the entire lands of the East, he burned the ancient calendars of the earth and instituted a new calendar, which begins with the first year of his reign. Hence, this calendar was used in Syria until this day.³¹¹

Alexander preceded Seleucus Necator by three years according to Josephus and the Book of Maccabees. Others say thirty years, because Seleucus ruled in the year 30 of Ptolemy who ruled after Alexander. Still others say that the period between the two is 45 years, according to others, 12 years. Here we place the number of these periods by letters beginning with Alpha, indicating the first year of Seleucus, which is the year 700 of the first Olympiad. Know that the total of years from the first year of Seleucus is 469 years, and the number of Olympiads is 117 years with one year remaining, and from the burning of the Temple of Solomon the period is 280 years. If one wants to know what this remaining year in the Indiction (cycle) of solar calendar prior to Seleucus is, which begins the actual computation of our present solar calendar, and what year it is of the lunar calendar, and what is the year 19 and the year 4 without addition or subtraction, then subtract 28 years from the years of Adam which will be a total of 185 years of 273 Indictions (cycles) with ten years remaining. Then he should subtract 15 and the periods will then be 348 Indictions with 7 years remaining. Also, he should subtract these years in order that the years of the Olympiads from Adam will be 1299 years with one year remaining. The Olympiad, performed every four years, is always conducted after the leap year. Whatever is left of it is added to the years of Alexander. However, if one wants to begin from Adam, he does not need to add or subtract from these periods or the leap year because the years reckoned according to the Greeks is 5198. It is the year 2 of the 117 Olympiad. This year began on Monday. It was the second in the lunar calendar of the Romans and the eighth Indiction. For the Romans, the period of the lunar month is the second in the 8 period.

³¹⁰ This book was translated into Arabic with the title *Almagest* by the Harranian School of astronomy between 786 and 833.

³¹¹ This Greek calendar is 311 years more than the present Western calendar.

A census was taken in Rome and the population of the city was found to number 270,000.

Menander died in this period.

Seleucus settled the Jews in the cities he founded and offered them the same privileges of the Greeks.

The Romans vanquished the Celts and the Tyrrhenians and occupied the territory of the Sabins.

In this period Serapis came to Alexandria.

Demetrius surrendered himself to Seleucus as some say.

In this period Sostratus Cnidius, son of Dexiphanes, built a tower in the island of Pharos in Alexandria.

Milo delivered the Tarentians to the Romans.

The Romans controlled Calabria and Messina.

Antigonus Gonatas occupied Laacedemonia.

Seventy Hebrew sages went up to Alexandria and translated the Scriptures. Ptolemy was stunned when he saw that the books brought from Jerusalem were written in gold letters.³¹²

In Sicily, many cities surrendered to the Romans and the Romans founded colonies.

In this period, the philosopher Polemon died; after him flourished Acetas and Acrates.

In this same period died Zenon the Stoic; after him flourished Cleantes.

Chapter Four: On the period when the kingdom was partitioned into four parts and later into ten parts

When Ptolemy, one of Alexander's officers ruled after him, he brought Alexander's remains to Alexandria and buried them there. The great horn (Alexander) was shattered and instead four horns, meaning his commanders, emerged who assumed power after him. They were divided into ten.³¹³

Ptolemy son of Lagos, the Hare, who succeeded Alexander, ruled in Alexandria 40 years. In the same year in which Ptolemy ruled, he occupied Jerusalem by a stratagem. He took a great number of people captive and settled them in Egypt. This happened in the time of Jechonias the chief priest. From the beginning of Ptolemy's reign forward, the kings came to be known as Ptolemies.

Philip Arridaeus ruled the Macedonians 7 years. In Syria, Cilicia, Asia, Caria, the Hellespont, Thrace, Paphlagonia and Epiria, rose up rulers. Their total number was ten. With this, the prophecy of Daniel concerning the ten horns was fulfilled.

In the fourth year of Ptolemy, Antigonus ruled Asia 8 years. He rebuilt Antigonia on the Orontes River, which Seleucus had built and called it Antioch after his son Antiochus.

In the year 8 of Ptolemy, Cassandre ruled Macedonia 19 years.

In the year 13 of Ptolemy, after the year 12 of Alexander, Seleucus ruled Syria, the entire great Asia, and Babylon up to the confines of India 33 years. He built Antioch, Seleucia, Laodicea, Apamea, Beroe, Pella, and Germanicia, which is Mar'ash.

The Greek calendar begins from the first year of Ptolemy's rule in which he built Antioch. It is the calendar that we (Syrians) use. According to Eusebius, the total number of years from Adam until Seleucus is 4889; to Andronicus it is 5072 years, to Anninaus, 5181 years; to Gewargi (George), 5085, to a group of Greeks, 7915 and to Jacob of Edessa, 5149 years. The Syrians, however, assign the number 5180 for these years.

Seleucus captured Demetrius in Sicily and controlled Syria and Asia. After Demetrius, Pyrrhus ruled seven months. He was followed by Lysimachus who ruled five years. In Egypt, Ptolemy Philadelphus ruled in the year 29 of the Greeks. In the year prior to his rule, Ptolemy Ceraunus ruled Macedonia one year. He was followed by Meleagre for two months. Meleagre was followed by Antipater Sosthenes who ruled two years.

³¹² Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book Twelve, entire Chapter 2, pp. 313-320 of the English translation by William Whiston.

³¹³ Daniel 8:21-22; 1 Maccabees 1:1-9.

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In the year 6 of Ptolemy Philadelphus, Antiochus Soter began to rule Syria and Asia after Seleucus for 19 years.

In the year 4 of Philadelphus, Antigony ruled the Macedonians 36 years. In that year, the (Biblical) books were translated in Cyprus.

In the year 34 of the Greeks, the year 24 of Philadelphus, Antiochus who was called god, ruled 15 years. *End of Chapter Four.*

Chapter Five: The discourse of Jacob of Edessa concerning how the nations disobeyed and revolted against the Greek Kingdom, and how each of them set up its own king

The entire kingdoms of the nations of Asia, including the Persian Kingdom whose last King Darius was killed by Alexander, ceased. Thus, all the countries of the East came under the authority of the Macedonian Greeks. But the people whose kingdoms which were under the Persian domination, and now ceased, reasoned that if the kingdoms neighboring them and akin to them by race were for so long ruled by the Persians, and now the Persian kingdom is terminated, so will the Greek Kingdom which is remote from them ethnically and geographically, will cease. Moreover, the Greeks were divided into many factions and in constant turmoil. Some of them ruled in Macedonia; others in Epirus, Thessaly, Thrace and Asia and others in Egypt. However, the people thought that those who ruled in Syria were closer to them than other Greeks. After all, they were engaged in war with the other Greeks. For this reason, the peoples of the East who were previously subject to the Persians and were liberated by the Greeks, thought of distancing themselves from them. Each began to set up its own kingdom and authority. First, were the Parthians, the neighbors of the Medes. They set up their own kingdom after forty years of subjection to the Greeks. In the year 62 of the Greeks, they set up their own king named Arsace, in whose time the Parthian kingdom flourished. All of his successors assumed the name of Arsace and were called Arsacids. One of them, Arsapharnes, marched against Syria and Palestine in the time of the Roman Augustus and Hyrcanus the Jew. Following in their footsteps were the Hyrcanians their neighbors to the north. Seeing that the Parthians had gained independence, each of them established its own kingdom. Sometimes, they allied themselves to the Armenians against the Greeks, other times; they were in conflict with them. Feeling jealous of the Parthians, the Armenians set up a kingdom in Greater Armenia which extended to the Caspian Sea, the Caucasus Mountains and to a part of Iberia and Gorzan (Georgia). Nine kings of the same origin rose up in the Armenian kingdom. They are Khusrau, Dartad, Khusrau, Tiran, Ashaq, Paph, Orostat, Ashaq and Balanshaq.

As the kingdom of Persia grew in strength the second time, the Persians were worried that the Armenians might ally themselves to the Greeks by means of Christianity. They fought them, subdued them, and eliminated their power completely. They did not even allow them to work as laborers, but only as slaves. Thus, the Armenian kingdom ceased in their land and in the district of Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia) called Osrhoene (Edessa).

From the year 180 of the Greeks, before the kingdom of the Greeks faded in Syria in the time when Ptolemy Everete VII ruled in Alexandria, Antiochus Sidetos ruled in Syria, and Simon brother of Jonathan ruled in Judea, the Syro-Macedonians who were in Edessa had become weak. They had come to Edessa in the company of Alexander the Great and built Edessa, named after their native city. Because no Greeks were left to preserve the dignity of the Greek kingdom in Syria, the alien people who were descendants of Armenians living in the city, gained strength when they saw the high esteem the Parthians were enjoying. They set up from their own a king in Edessa named Abgar. He was courageous and expert in warfare. The kingdom of Abgar and his descendants extended to the confines of Babylon for 380 years, from the year 180 of the Greeks until the year 560. The Abgarite hegemony extended even to Armenia. Several of their kings assumed the name of Abgar in honor and love of the first great Abgar. However, the Edessans and their kings became subjects of the Romans in the year 477 of the Greeks/A.D. 166, which is the year 7 of Lucius, king of the Romans who fought them and placed them under his authority. Thus, the Edessan

kingdom was without a king and finally vanished. In the fifth year of Philip, king of the Romans,³¹⁴ and the year 560 of the Greeks, the kingship was taken from Abgar Soros. He tried to revolt against the Romans but was expelled by them. They appointed Aurelian, son of Habesai, a governor in his place. They subjugated the Abgarites. Therefore, the Edessan kingdom ceased after having existed, as I said, for 380.

In the year 560 of the Greeks and the fifth year of Philip, a thousand years had passed since the establishment of the city of Rome.³¹⁵ Eusebius does not mention these events. He only discusses Edessa briefly saying, "Abgar, the priestly man, ruled as mentioned by Africanus."³¹⁶

Twenty two years before the Edessan Kingdom became extinct, which is the year 538 of the Greeks, the first year of the reign of Alexander Mama and the emergence of kingdoms in different regions of the East, another Persian kingdom emerged with great power. Its authority extended to the confines of India. With its appearance, all the kingdoms in the region vanished in the year 538 of the Greeks. Indeed, it subdued all the nations of the Parthians, Hyrcanians, Caramanesans, Medes, the Margians, the Herat, the Houzites, the Chaldeans and the Assyrians. These audacious kings proceeded to invade and destroy Syria and Mesopotamia, which were under Roman authority. Such phenomenon was not even discussed, except succinctly, by Eusebius and only in his passing narrative about Sapur II who had invaded Syria, Cilicia and Cappadocia. These kingdoms emerged at this time in the countries of Great Asia and those established in the country of India. In addition, there are the northern kingdoms, which were established in Seriqia also called Turkistan. *Here ends the Chapter.*

Chapter Six: In the year 34 of Ptolemy, the Parthians revolted against the Macedonians and set up a king named Arsace. They came to be known as Arsacids. Beginning with this date, the Persians escaped the clutches of the Romans who had subdued them since the time of Alexander. Because the kingdom of the Persians was fragmented and incomplete, we did not include it in the chronology of years.

This small Arasacid kingdom began in the 133rd Olympiad, in the year 67 of the Greeks. In the year 67 of the Greeks, Ptolemy Euergetes ruled Egypt and Seleucus Callinicus ruled Syria. In the year 70 of the Greeks, Demetrius Philip ruled Macedonia. In this period Honiya (Onias), Bar (son of) Simeon the Just, was high priest of the Hebrews. He refused to pay the usual tribute to the king of Egypt. This outraged Ptolemy Euergetes who prepared to destroy the Hebrews. The Jews delegated Josephus, the courageous sage, to the king for whom he had affection. He met with him and pacified him. He obtained from him a decree permitting them to appoint a Jewish military governor over their entire cities.³¹⁷

In the year 87 of the Greeks, Seleucus II, surnamed Ceraunus, ruled Syria three years. Antiochus the Great who ruled 36 years succeeded him. At this point began the affairs of the Maccabees.

When Ptolemy Philopater ruled Egypt in the year 93 of the Greeks in the tenth Indiction, he oppressed the Jews. Seventeen years after his rule, Antiochus the Great, king of Syria and Asia, defeated him and took him captive. He then marched against Judea and subdued it. Hence, began the chronicles of the Jews mentioned in the First Book of Maccabees.³¹⁸

In the year 110 of the Greeks, Ptolemy Epiphanes ruled Egypt 21 years. According to another version, he ruled 24 years. He sent his general Scopas who subdued the cities of Judea and Syria. Antiochus the Great, however, resisted him, triumphed over him and wrested from him all their cities. However, the Jews subjected themselves to the authority of Antiochus with alacrity. Antiochus honored them, lavished on them gifts and praised them in his letters. He paved the roads, built arches and stone bridges across rivers for passengers. In the year 11 of his reign, he waged war against the Romans and was defeated at

³¹⁴ This must be Emperor Philip the Arab, A.D. 244-249.

³¹⁵ This occasion was celebrated with great pomp under Philip and his son Philip. Religious ceremonies were accompanied by spectacular games in the circus Maximus with an array of wild beasts. See Michael Grant, *The Roman Emperors, 318BC-AD 476* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1985), 153.

³¹⁶ This must be Abgar VII (177-212. See *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, 517.

³¹⁷ Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book Twelve, Chapter 4, Section 3-5, 322-323 of the English translation.

³¹⁸ 1 Maccabees, Capers 1-2; Josephus, *Antiquates of the Jews*, Book Twelve, Chapter 3, Section 3, 320-321 of the English translation.

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Thermopylae. His son, Antiochus Epiphanes, was taken hostage to Rome. He pledged to pay annually one thousand gold talents. Since then, the Greek kingdom became subject to the authority of the Romans.³¹⁹

In the third year of his (Ptolemy Epiphanes) reign, Philip ruled Macedonia 40 years, and Antiochus continued his war against Ptolemy, ruler of Egypt. The prophecy of Daniel elucidates the warfare of the kings of the north with the kings of the south, meaning Ptolemy and his successors who waged perpetual wars with the Egyptian kings.³²⁰ Antiochus journeyed to Elam, (Susa, Shushan) capital of Persia, where he died as said by the Prophet Daniel, "He will be destroyed, yet not in anger or in battle."³²¹ Others maintain that in the year 13 of his reign, Ptolemy reconciled with Antiochus the Great and gave him his daughter Cleopatra to wife. For a dowry, he gave her Syria, Phoenicia, Samaria and Judea.

In the year 17 of Ptolemy, the Persians stoned Antiochus the Great to death in the temple of the goddess Nanai. Seleucus ruled Syria, whose trusted deputy Heliodorus was chastised with a stroke from God for his cruel treatment of the Jews.³²²

In the year 131 of the Greeks, Antiochus Epiphanes, son of Antiochus the Great, was taken captive to Rome for 11 years. Immediately, he proceeded to meet Ptolemy in Egypt, but was prevented by the Romans. He diverted his route to Judea and bestowed the dignity of priesthood on Jason, brother of Honi (Onias). Later, he took it away from him and offered it to Onias, surnamed Menelaus. Thus, controversy caused immense trouble among the Jews from which they suffered a great deal.³²³

Antiochus liberated the Athenians.

In this period, the Carthaginians seized from the Romans 90,000 men in Sicily and forced the consul Mettulus to flee.

In this period flourished the physician Erasistratus who was immensely honored by kings.

In this period Epicurus died.

In this period, a census was conducted in Rome and it was learned that there were 260,000 citizens.

In this period Seleucus, surnamed Callinicus, king of Syria, founded cities on the Euphrates River. One of them was called Callinicus (al-Raqqa) after his name. The other city is Charsis (Cercesium).

In this period, the great temple dedicated to the goddess Vesta was burned down. Even the grand Colossus collapsed. It was a portentous event as fire broke out instantly and no one knew whether an activist did it or not. The fire melted the stones and even the dust, and nothing remained of the temple. The citizens gathered to save the temple but failed to rescue even a small part of it from the hand of justice.

In this period, a young woman was violated against her will by her father's slave, and committed suicide.

In this period during the entire reign of Seleucus Callinicus, earthquakes never abated in Caria and Rhodes until he fell (from power). Then they subsided.

In this period, Antigonus, king of the Macedonians, granted liberty to the Athenians and magnified them among the nations.

In this period, the Romans killed about 40,000 Gauls.

In this period, the Romans oppressed Syracuse by war when it was under the rule of the commander Marcellus.

In this period Erasthenes flourished.

In this period, a number of virgins in Rome were violated and were buried alive.

In this period the Romans subdued Capua.

In this period Scipio seized Roman cities in the region of Iberia.

In this period appeared a region called Hicra that was fertile.

The Romans granted freedom to the Greeks, and entire Iberia was returned to them.

³¹⁹ Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book Twelve, Chapter 3, Section 3, 320-322 of the English translation.

³²⁰ Daniel, Chapter 11.

³²¹ Daniel 11:20.

³²² 1 Maccabees 6:1-10 and 2 Maccabees 9:1-18. For the death of Heliodorus, see Maccabees 3:22-30.

³²³ 2 Maccabees 4:7-29.

After his defeat by the Romans, Antiochus agreed to pay them a tribute of 1,000 talents.

In this period, the Romans took many captives and sent them (to Rome).

After Antiochus and Ptolemy became friends, he gave him his daughter Cleopatra to wife. He yielded to him Cellesyria, and Samaria and Judea and Phoenicia by way of dowry.³²⁴

In this year began the second historical period of the Maccabees. From the destruction of Ilion (Troy) to this time, the interval is 1,000 years.

Simon, who was a superintendent of the Temple in Jerusalem, fled to Apollonius (of Tarsus), the governor of Phoenicia. He promised him enormous amounts of money if he (Simon) was set up as high priest. When Seleucus (IV Philopater who reigned from 187 to 175 B.C.) heard of this, he sent his minister Heliodorus to Jerusalem to expropriate the treasury (of the Temple). When Heliodorus arrived in Jerusalem, he committed enormous evils, and thus the Lord punished him with many blows.³²⁵

Chapter Seven: Commencement of the chronicles of the Maccabees

Mattathias, son of Yuhanon (John), the priest from the family of Jonadab (Joarib) who lived in Modein had five sons: Yuhanon (John), who was called Gaddi; Simon, who was called Thassi; Judas, who was called Maccabeus; Eleazar, who was called Avaran; and Jonathan, who was called Apphus.³²⁶ It was painful for them to see the law dishonored. They became especially outraged when they found a Jew offering a sacrifice on the altar. They killed him, along with an attendant of the king who forced him to offer the sacrifice, and destroyed the altar. Mattathias and those zealous for the law fled to the mountain where they preserved the law of their forefathers.

In the year 149 of the Greeks, the year 18 of Ptolemy, Antiochus Epiphanes died in Persia from an incurable disease inflicted on him by God. Epiphanes Eupator ruled two years. He was more evil to the Jews. In the next year, he dispatched Antiochus Gorgias with an army of 120,000 against Jerusalem. During the combat, Eleazar Avaran saw a huge elephant and thought that the king was sitting upon it. He sneaked out and struck the elephant with the sword in the belly. The elephant staggered about, fell upon him, and he died. After the battle, they placed his body in a coffin. As they were gathering the bodies, they found gold under some of their tunics, which was offered to idols of Jamnia. Judas sent three talents (equivalent to two thousand drachmas) of silver for an expiatory sacrifice for the souls who had fallen and asked mercy for them in the hope of the Resurrection.³²⁷

In this period, Onias built a magnificent temple for the Lord in Heliopolis, Egypt, among the heathens. The rituals were conducted in it according to Jewish customs. Worship in it ceased, however, when Vespasian and his son Titus subdued Jerusalem.

Judas, the high priest and army general, was succeeded by Jonathan who was killed together with Alexander by Trypho. After him came Simeon, who sent to Rome a shield of gold. The Romans made treaty of amity with him. It was inscribed on a brass tablet. Simeon dispatched his son John with an army to fight Kandebes, the commander of Antiochus's (Demitrius) army. Antiochus defeated Kandebes and scattered his troops. The Jews were freed from paying the tribute. In this year, the second chronicle of the Maccabees ended.

In the year 47, Ptolemy killed Simeon Bar (son of) Habobo, and was succeeded by his son Yuhanon.

In this period, leaders from the Abgarite family ruled Edessa. At the same time began the series of kings mentioned in the previous discourse of Jacob of Edessa.

In this period, the king of the Hyrcanians marched against the Jews, but was defeated by Yuhanon (John). For this reason, Yuhanon was called Hyrcanus. He opened the tomb of David, which was adorned by the kings and brought out of it 3000 gold talents. He gave 300 of them to Antiochus.³²⁸

³²⁴ Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book Twelve, Chapter 4, Section 1, 322 of the English translation.

³²⁵ This episode told by Michael Rabo is rather incomplete and mutilated. The full episode is detailed in 2 Maccabees, Chapter 3.

³²⁶ 1 Maccabees 2:1-6.

³²⁷ 2 Maccabees 12:40-46.

³²⁸ Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book Thirteen, Chapter 8, Section 4, 357 of the English translation.

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In this period Hyrcanus destroyed Samaria.

In the year 186 (of the Greeks), when Antiochus marched against Jerusalem, the history of the Tyreians (the people of Tyre) began.

In the year 196 of the Greeks, Ptolemy Soter ruled 17 years. Hyrcanus, the Jewish leader, marched with Antiochus and killed Indates the Parthian general.

In the year 198, the year 4 of Ptolemy Soter, Antiochus Cyzicenes ruled Syria.

In the year 205 of the Greeks, the year 11 of Ptolemy, Yuhanon (John) Hyrcanus passed away. Aristobulus, son of Jonathan, ruled one year.³²⁹ He had personally bound on his head a crown. He had two brothers: Alexander whom he killed out of malice and treachery; the other, in turn, shed Jonathan's blood. Their father had prophesied through divine revelation that these brothers would never succeed in their leadership. In the year 207 of the Greeks, Aristobulus succeeded his brother Yuhanon (John), who was called Jani, 27 years. He was very cruel to the people.

In this same period, Ptolemy (Ptolemy IV Philometor) was estranged by his mother Cleopatra. Ptolemy Alexander ruled ten years. In the sixth year of his reign, the rule of the Greek kings in Syria and Asia ended. They were conquered by the Romans who made them part of their empire.

In the year 218 of the Greeks, the history of the Ascalonians, enemies of the Greeks, began.

In this period, Shamuna (Shmuni) and her sons, and Eleazar the priest were martyred when Antiochus came to Jerusalem. He pillaged the Temple of God and the sacrifices in it, and set up an image to the Olympian Zeus. On Mount Gerizim in Samaria, he erected a statue of Zeus the Hospitable, as the Samaritans requested.³³⁰ When Eleazar refused to offer sacrifices to the idols, he was tortured and martyred rather than violate the law. Then they brought Shamuna and her seven sons into the presence of Antiochus. They cut off the tongue and all his limbs of the first one and threw them into the caldron. They tore off the skin of the second one and hair of his head. They cut off the tongue of the third one and did the same to the others one after the other. With such means, they were all tortured, and their mother was martyred. Their remains were transferred to Antioch. However, the Books of the Maccabees, of Josephus, Andronicus, the theologian (Gregory of Nazianzus) and Simon the Stylite, say that they were martyred in Jerusalem and their remains were moved to Antioch subsequently.³³¹

Mattathias, father of the Maccabees, and Abd Shallum, father of the sons of Shamuna, are brothers. When Antiochus killed the sons of Shallum with their teacher Eleazar, Mattathias called his sons after the name of his brother according to the law.

In this period, the Jewish Peripatetic philosopher Aristobulus was prominent. He wrote for Ptolemy Philometer the life story of Moses in Greek, and commented on the Torah.

Hyrcanus, son of Josephus, captain of the Jewish host, found favor with Ptolemy, but his brothers envied him and were a source of trouble to all the Jewish people.

Onias, the high priest, was killed by Andronicus at Daphne, near Antioch.

In this time, in the 153rd Olympia, Antiochus attacked Egypt and killed 80,000 men. He treated the people harshly to force them to embrace paganism.

In this same period the priest Mattathias, son of Asmonian from the village of Modiam, rebelled against the soldiers and made them flee.

Perses, king of the Macedonians, was killed and their kingdom ended after it existed for 674 years. The second (Macedonian) kingdom, which followed Alexander, began with Philip Aride, Alexander's brother, and continued for 158 years from the first year of the 114th Olympiad until the second year of the 153rd Olympiad.

In this time, another Jewish leadership other than the Maccabees began.

In this period flourished Aristarchus the grammarian.

³²⁹ Aristobulus is mentioned in 2 Maccabees 1:10.

³³⁰ 2 Maccabees 6:1-3.

³³¹ The entire story of the martyrdom of Shamuna, her sons and Eleazar the scribe, is in 2 Maccabees, Chapter 7.

In this time, the Samaritans and the Jews argued before Ptolemy concerning the priests to whom each group adhered. The Jews triumphed and won the high priesthood.

Jonathan the Maccabee chased after Bacchides, the army commander of Demetrius, and defeated him.³³²

In this time, Demetrius, son of Seleucus, left (fled) Rome and went to Syria and assumed the kingdom of his fathers.³³³ His army killed Antiochus and Lysias, his confidant.

Alexander son of Antiochus reigned. He killed Demetrius and then went to Egypt and captured it. The king of Egypt gave him his daughter to wife. Some writers are of the opinion that she was the daughter of Ptolemy Evergetes. Hippolytes says that with him (Alexander), the prophecy of Daniel was fulfilled which says that, "The daughter of the king of the south will go to the king of the north."³³⁴ Theodoret says that the prophecy (of Daniel) was fulfilled when Ptolemy Epiphanes gave his daughter to Antiochus the Great.³³⁵

Alexander, son of Antiochus Epiphanes, honored Jonathan the Maccabee and lavished gifts on him.

In this time, Oppius subdued the Celts. Scipio destroyed Carthage, which was founded 648 years before.

In this period, a census was conducted in Rome and established that the number of its citizens was 322,000.

Jonathan, high priest of the Jews, made an alliance of amity with the Romans and the Spartans.

Ptolemy had two children from Cleopatra: Ptolemy Soter and Alexander.

In this period, Pompey destroyed the Numidians. Trypho killed Antiochus son of Alexander. He also killed Jonathan the high priest and Trypho.

In this period, Brutus subjugated Roman provinces until the Ocean.

Ptolemy gave his daughter to Demetrius as wife, to magnify through her the status of the kingdom of Alexander.

After Demetrius, his brother Antiochus, surnamed Sidetes, ruled Syria.

Simon the high priest relieved the Jews from paying the tribute. The Roman leaders sent envoys to him and made a friendship alliance with him.

In this time war broke out in Sicily.

Antiochus Sidetes came to Jerusalem to fight. Simon the high priest was killed by the commander of the army and Ptolemy the governor of Jericho.

In this period, the slaves revolted in Sicily but were imprisoned in the city where they revolted. They were attacked from the outside and were so much distressed (by hunger) that they ate each other.

In this period, fire broke out in the island of Eoliennes, and the island that is now called Hera was discovered.

Arsace, the Parthian, killed Antiochus.

When Attalus neared death, he left his kingdom to the Romans.

Arsace, king of the Medes and the Persians, captured Demetrius.

John Hyrcanus, high priest of the Jews, came to Samaria and devastated it. Later, Herod rebuilt it and called it Sebastea.³³⁶

In this period, an earthquake took place in Rhodes, and its tower collapsed.

Antiochus and Hyrcanus defeated the captain of the Parthians' host, and in honor of their victory set up a memorial stele near the River Lycus.

³³² Cf. Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book Twelve, Chapter 10, Section 2.

³³³ According to Josephus, Demetrius took Tripoli and set the diadem on his own head. Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book Twelve, Chapter 10, Section 1.

³³⁴ Daniel 11:6.

³³⁵ *Patrologia Graeca*, 81, col. 1508 quoted in Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 111, p. 130, note, 4.

³³⁶ Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book Thirteen, Chapter 10, Section 2, 359 of the English translation.

BOOK FIVE

Antiochus Cyzicene drove Grypus out of Syria and occupied it. Later, Grypus vanquished Antiochus, but war never quieted down between them.³³⁷

In this period, Jugurtha fought against the Romans.

Gaius Marcus seized Cimbres near the Po River.

From Adam up to this point, 5100 years had elapsed.

The Romans subjugated the Thracians.

When Cleopatra eliminated her son Ptolemy from kingship, he fled to Cyprus.

In this period the slaves revolted in Sicily.

Agulius by his wisdom succeeded to quell the ferocious war in Sicily, and thus was honored by everyone.

In this period, Antiochus fled to the land of the Parthians. Finally, he surrendered to Pompey. Gabinius seized his successor Philip.

In this period, Antiochus Cyzicene captured Seleucus alive.

Here ends the table of the kings of Syria whose kingdom lasted 226 years.

Ptolemy Alexander had three daughters: Cleopatra, Tryphene and Bernice.

After the government of the kings of Asia in Antioch ended, Antioch became subject to the Romans.

Ptolemy Physcon, who had fled from his mother to Cyprus, returned from exile. He waged war, removed his brother Alexander from the kingship, seized Alexandria and its entire region, and killed the Athenians.

In this period, a census was conducted in Rome. Two years later ...lacuna...

An account of the beginning of the time of Herod (the Great)

In this time, there was a man of the Gentiles named Antipator. He was the son of a dignitary named Herod, who was taken captive by the Idumeans at the temple of Apollo, near the wall of Ascalon. His father Herod had no gold (money) to ransom him ...lacuna... When the Idumeans ruled ...lacuna... great ...lacuna... married ...lacuna... a wife who was the daughter of Aretas (al-Harith), king of the Arabs named Cypris. Then, he became a friend with Hyrcanus the high priest who assisted him greatly in war. ...lacuna... his brother and Pompey, the army commander, went instead of him. Thus, he (Antipator) also became a friend of the Romans. When they found it necessary, the Romans appointed him an administrator of the Jews' affairs. From Cypris (his wife) he had the sons: Joseph, Naphroua, Phasaël, Herod, and a daughter, Salome ...lacuna... As Joseph and Phasaël were helping their father in the administration ...lacuna... poison which was administered to them by (Herod) and he died with their father. Herod assumed the position of his father. Whenever it was necessary, he journeyed to Rome, and became well known.

In this time, Hyrcanus the high priest was taken captive by Phacos, king of the Parthians along with Herod's brother ...lacuna... Herod went up ...lacuna... There he usurped the kingship from the Jews illegally ...lacuna... Hyrcanus from captivity ...lacuna... and his son Jonathan.³³⁸ Thus, the prophecy has been fulfilled which says that, "The scepter shall not depart from Judah, no lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh comes; and unto him shall the gathering of the people be."³³⁹

Chapter Eight: On the prediction of the end of the Maccabees and the vanishing of the Greek Kingdom from Antioch and entire Asia

This happened in the following manner: When Alexander burned alive Cyzicenes (king of Syria), he ruled one year. Then Philip ruled (Syria) 2 years. He was deposed because of the burning of Cyzicenes. As a result, the people became subject to the Romans.

³³⁷ Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book Thirteen, Chapter 10, Sections 1-2, 358-359 of the English translation.

³³⁸ The entire career of Antipater and Herod is in Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book Fourteen, Chapter 1, Section 3, 371 of the English translation. The same Book Fourteen covers a great deal about Herod, plus *Wars of the Jews*, entire Book One.

³³⁹ Genesis 49:10.

The total years of the rule of the kings of Asia, from Seleucus Necator to the Roman occupation was 216 years.

In the year 222, Ptolemy Dionysius (Ptolemy XI. d. 51 B.C.) ruled 3 years. He was the son of Ptolemy Soter, Cleopatra's brother. In the year 5 of Ptolemy Dionysius, Yuhanon (John) Alexander died. His wife Alexandra, called Salina, who ruled 9 years, succeeded him. She was very meticulous in observing the law and punished those who violated it. This disturbed the conditions of the Greeks. Alexandra had two sons: Hyrcanus and Aristobulus. She set up Hyrcanus as a high priest, which caused a conflict between the brothers. After heated controversy, Hyrcanus was confirmed in his position as a high priest, and Aristobulus was made a king. The Roman general Pompey arrived in Syria. He arrested Aristobulus and sent him to Rome in chains. He confirmed Hyrcanus as high priest in the year 234. Hyrcanus ruled 34 or 33 years. According to another version, he ruled 24 years. He rebuilt the wall of Jerusalem, which Pompey had demolished.³⁴⁰

In this period, the Jews resumed the payment of tribute to the Romans. Pompey, out of greed, oppressed them. He conquered other countries like Greater Armenia, Iberia, Arabia and Isauria. Because of his magnificent accomplishments, he became so powerful that he was proclaimed an *Autocrat*.

In the year 229 of the Greeks and the year 43 of Ptolemy Dionysius, the Roman Consuls Gaius Julius and Marcus Antonius (Mark Antony) were removed from their positions. In this year, Ptolemy, king of Egypt died, and Cleopatra ruled 22 years. In the second year of her reign, Pompey was killed in war with Gaius Julius who had ruled the Romans.

Here the chronicles of the Maccabees finally ended.

The total number of the verses of 1 Maccabees is 2366 according to the Syriac version (Pshitto). The verses of 2 Maccabees are 5000.

In the year 5 of Cleopatra and the year 264 of the Greeks, in the first reckoning, the history of the Antiochians began. That year began on a Monday. Thus, the years from Adam to this date are 5461 years. In this year, they set up one of their consuls a king. Gaius ruled four years and was called in Latin, Caesar. This is because they opened his mother's belly and took him out after her death. He went down to Egypt and confirmed the royal reign of Cleopatra in the fourth month of Qlotilios (? Claudius). Some called him Qentilion or Qinian, who was called Julius.

Andronicus says that Gaius ruled five years and was then killed.

In this period, Augustus Caesar ruled 56 years and six months. In the year 8 of his reign, Herod ruled Judea, and abolished the priesthood and the kingdom of the Jews in the 186th Olympiad. He ruled 37 years following the Maccabee Mattathias and his sons.

Chapter Nine: The rise of the second kingdom of the Romans, and on Herod the first gentile to rule the Jews

The first Kingdom of the Romans known as Franks ended when the Gentile Herod began to rule the Jews. It lasted 462 years from the death of Tarquinius Superbus until Julius Gaius. The period from the founding of Rome until the rise of the second kingdom embraces 702 years.

In the third year of Herod, the Romans seized Samosata. The Parthians were defeated at the River Euphrates and were subjected by the Romans.

In this period, Antony, the army commander of Augustus, rebelled against Caesar. He fell in love with Cleopatra, queen of Egypt. Caesar fought against him, and after ferocious combat defeated him. However, they were reconciled by the mediation of the Senate.

In this time, the Romans sent captives (to Rome), and Caesar celebrated with pomp ...lacuna...

By deception, (Cleopatra) succeeded in extending her rule over the Jews and the Arabs. When she asked for authority from Antony to rule over them, Antony offered her Arabia. This created a conflict for the third time between Augustus and Antony. War began between the two and Augustus triumphed over

³⁴⁰ Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book Fourteen, Chapter 3, section 2.

Antony. Both Cleopatra and Antony took their own lives. Augustus killed Cleopatra's sons, 'Sun' and 'Moon'. Therefore, the kingdom of the Greek Ptolemies who ruled Egypt 296 years ended.³⁴¹ Porphyrios says that, "The Greek kingdom vanished in the second year of the 187th Olympiad. Cleopatra's sons were killed and Egypt became subject to the Romans." He also considers that Cleopatra ruled 22 years. He fixes her rule two years before her death was decreed. This agrees with the Alexandrians, who consider the period of the subjection of Egypt after the death of Cleopatra to be 43 years. The period in which the Ptolemies ruled is 294, beginning with Philip Arridaeus the Macedonian, who assumed power after the death of Alexander in the first year of the (195th) Olympiad.lacuna.... of one and a half pages.

Chapter Ten is not defined

The number of years recorded in the laws beginning with the first year of Abraham, are written in black characters. The Greek years until this point, are written in red. From now onward, the black characters point to the Greek years. The red characters point to the years of the Nativity of the Lord Jesus Christ.

What Josephus, the Jewish historian wrote about Herod, agrees with Eusebius who said, "When Herod received authority from the Romans over the Jews, he forbade the setting up of chief priests according to the ancient custom. He rather chose them from common people."³⁴² And God took revenge on him for this iniquity. He became sick and was consumed by a gentle fever whose vestiges could not be detected. Furthermore, he lost appetite and could not eat. Besides, he was afflicted with severe pain in the bowels and tumors in the legs. He began to stink and become worm eaten. The horrible smell that he exuded was unbearable. In brief, he was afflicted by disease all over his body." Josephus also says that, "Distemper seized upon his whole body, and greatly disordered all its parts with unbearable pain. He had severe pain in the colon, the intestines and the abdomen, dropsical tumors about his feet and a putrefaction of his privy members that produced worms. Besides, he had difficulty breathing, which the Greeks call Ortopia (asthma), and a convulsion of all his members. These diseases were a punishment upon him for killing the infants mercilessly. The physicians thought that he should bathe in warm oil by letting his body down in a large vessel full of oil. But his eyes failed him." Josephus goes on to say that, "He gathered the most illustrious men of the whole Jewish nation out of every village, to a place called the Hippodrome, and there shut them in. When he called for his sister Salome and her husband Alexas and said to them, 'I know that the Jews will keep a festival upon my death. However, it is in my power to be mourned on other accounts, and to have a splendid funeral, if you will be obedient to my commands. Take care to send soldiers to encompass these men that are now in custody and slay them upon my death.'"³⁴³ This is what Josephus said as quoted by Eusebius.³⁴⁴

Upon Herod's death, Archelaus succeeded him. Augustus made four members of his family tetrarchs: Herod Antipas, Antipater, Lysanias, and Philip, brother of Archelaus.

In this period, Tiberius Caesar subjugated Dalmatia and Sarmatia to Roman authority. Tiberius became sole emperor for 23 years. He lived 78 years.

In this time, a severe earthquake took place whose victims were thirteen cities. They were Sardis, Mosthene, Aegea, Philadelphia, Tmolus, Temus, Cume, Myrina, Apolonnia and Hyrcania. These destroyed cities were in Syria, Asia, Ephesus and Magnesia.³⁴⁵

³⁴¹ Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book Fourteen, Chapter 13, 392 of the English translation and Book Fifteen, Chapter 4, Sections 1-4, 409-410 of the English translation.

³⁴² See *Jerome's Chronicle* Part II, translated from Latin by Roger Pearse, 242-243 on the Internet.

³⁴³ See Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, translated by Christian Frederick Cruse (Grand Rapids Michigan: Baker Book House, 1962), Book One, Chapter 8, 36-38, and *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, 457.

³⁴⁴ I followed here Josephus as much as it comports with the narrative of our author. See *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book VII, Chapter 6, section 5, and entire Chapter 8, and *Wars of the Jews*, Book 1, Chapter 33, 469-471 and 605-606 of the English translation.

³⁴⁵ *Eusebius Chronicle*, Part II, 255

In this period, a dreadful famine occurred in Rome to the point that a measure of wheat was sold for 27 dinars.

In this period, the philosopher and naturalist Athenodorus of Tarsus was prominent.

In this period, a census was conducted in Rome under the supervision of Augustus Tiberias. It was found that the number of citizens was 4,500,597.

In this period the Alexandrian philosopher Sition flourished.

Following is an explanation of why the month of February is short two days:

In this period, in the time of the Roman army General Qapiton, a huge invading army attacked. Qapiton fought against it and triumphed over it. Frourios, a Roman leader, together with a band of brigands, opposed Qapiton and removed him from the leadership of the army. When the invading army learned of his removal, it attacked Rome at night and occupied it. The leaders together with Frourios fled to the Capitol. They sent an envoy to Qapiton apologizing and asking for his help. They pledged to set him up as king of the entire Roman armies. Qapiton attacked Rome at night from three directions. He surrounded the barbarians and annihilated them with their leader. He became a king over the Romans. He had Frourios wrapped in a mat and put him on a donkey. The men began beating him with sticks saying, "Agbe Frourier" i.e. "Get out 'O February," and they cast him into the sea. Qapiton ordered that this month should be called after Frourios for his bad memory in order to become a subject of derision of the entire kingdom. Therefore, one day was added to December and January during which the invaders occupied Rome. This, then, is the reason that February is two days short and that it was placed at the end of the year. Also, this was ordained in order that March would be the beginning of the year. It was called Julius after the name of Caesar. Another month was called Augustus (August).

Tertullian says that Pilate informed Tiberius about the teachings of the Lord Jesus. In turn, Tiberius informed the Senate. He did not accept the accusation about him (Jesus), but determined to kill the slanderers.

Phlegon, the heathen philosopher, says that the sun was darkened, the earth trembled, and the dead resurrected and entered Jerusalem and heaped woe upon the Jews. He says in Book Thirteen of his history concerning the Olympiads that, "In the fourth year of the 204th Olympiad, darkness occurred six hours on Friday. The stars appeared and Nicaea and Bithynia trembled from quakes, and many regions were destroyed."

In his Book Five, Ursinus says, "A terrible distress came upon us. We heard of horrible calamities in the Hebrews' cities. We have now known something about the letters sent by Pilate from Palestine to the heathen King Tiberius. In these letters Pilate says, 'Miracles happened upon the death of a man who was crucified by the Jews. When Caesar heard of this, he relieved Pilate of his position because he succumbed to the Jews and connived with them.'"³⁴⁶

In his *Antiquities of the Jews*, Josephus says, "There was about this time Jesus, a wise man, if it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works—a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him both many of the Jews and the gentiles. It is believed that He was (the) Christ, and not as the leaders of the people say. When Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal men amongst us, condemned him to the cross, those that loved him from the first did not forsake him, for he appeared to them alive again the third day, as the divine prophets had foretold these and ten thousand other things concerning him; and the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct to this day."³⁴⁷

The envoy the king of Edessa sent to Christ in the 19th year of Tiberius

The envoy was an artist named Hananya, the courier. By his good art, he drew up a portrait of the Lord Jesus and brought it to Abgar. The letter he carried read thus:

³⁴⁶ According to Bar Hebraeus, Abgar of Edessa wrote to Tiberius about everything the Jews did to Christ. Tiberius replied that because of this, he had dismissed Pilate in disgrace, and he would take vengeance on the Jews. See *The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus*, translated by Ernest A. Wallace Budge (1932), 48-49.

³⁴⁷ Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book Eighteen, Chapter 3, 487 of the English translation.

BOOK FIVE

“From King Abgar Ukomo (the Black), to Jesus the Savior who appeared in Jerusalem. Greetings.

I heard about the healings done by you without drugs or medicine. It is said that you make the blind see, the lame walk, the lepers become wholesome, and that you drive away evil spirits and devils, heal those afflicted with serious diseases and you raise the dead back to life. As I heard all these things, I reached the conclusion that either you are God who came down from heaven, or you are the Son of God. Therefore, I have written to you asking you to make an effort to come unto me and heal me of my disease. I have heard that the Jews complain against you and connive to do you evil. I have a small and beautiful city big enough for both of us.”

The reply sent by our Lord

“Blessed is he who has believed in me, though he has not seen me. It was written about me that not all those who saw me believed in me. But the majority of those who have not seen me believed in me. Concerning your invitation to come unto you, I say that it is necessary for me to fulfill the purpose for which I have been delegated. Afterwards, I will ascend to Him who has sent me. Upon my ascension, I will send you one of my disciples to heal your sickness and give you and those with your life.”³⁴⁸

To these two letters was added a postscript in Aramaic (Syriac), saying that after our Lord Jesus ascended into heaven, he sent Thaddaeus (Addai), one of the Seventy, to Edessa and began to heal in that city. Abgar heard of his healing work and remembered what Jesus had written to him. He sent for Thaddaeus and brought him unto him from the house of Tobias. He healed the gout he was suffering from. This happened in the year 350 of the Greeks/A.D. 39.³⁴⁹

In the 43rd year of Augustus and the 33rd year of Herod, the senate dispatched Quirinius to tax the Jewish people. The reason was the rebellion of Judah the Galilean, and others who refused to pay the tribute. They said, “We are not supposed to have masters whose destiny leads to death.” When such words were heard in Rome, Quirinius was sent and reduced the people to an unprecedented bondage.³⁵⁰

In this same time, the Savior was born in Bethlehem. The sage Longinus alludes to these events in the course of his conversation with Caesar concerning the war of the Romans with the Antiochians in Syria. He says, “The Persians (Magi) came from the east and went through your kingdom. They offered gifts to the born child in Judea, who till now no one knows who he is, and the son of whom he is. O Augustus, ask Herod who is in that region to apprise us of his identity.”

The Magi came in the 35th year of Herod whom God punished for killing the infants of Bethlehem and its environs.³⁵¹ He suffered for two years and died at the age of 70 after ruling 37 years. Augustus appointed his son Archelaus a governor who ruled 9 years. For his multiple iniquities, he was banished to Vienna, a city in Gaul and was succeeded by Herod the tetrarch.³⁵²

In that year, Augustus died and was succeeded by Tiberius Caesar 23 years.

Herod I, (also called the Great), married nine wives and had eight children. From his wife Doris, he had Antipater who killed thirty of his brothers. He was killed by the order of his father. From Mariamne, daughter of Hyrcanus the high priest, he (Herod) had Aristobulus and Alexander who were eliminated by Antipater and Herod Antipas. Herod Antipas is the one who slew John the Baptist and married Herodia. From Malcea the Samaritan, he had Archelaus who succeeded him. From Cleopatra the Jerusalemite, he had Herod called the Simple, and Philip who killed this Herod and married his wife. From his wife Pallas he had his son Phasaelus.³⁵³

³⁴⁸ *The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus*, 48.

³⁴⁹ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book One, Chapter 13, 43-47 of Cruse's translation.

³⁵⁰ At the opening of Book Eighteen, Chapter One of *The Antiquity of the Jews*, Josephus says that Cyrenius, a Roman senator and consul, was dispatched by Caesar to Syria and Judea, which was then added to the province of Syria, to judge that nation and to take account of their substance. Evidently, Cyrenius is the same Quirinius, governor of Syria of St. Luke 2:2.

³⁵¹ Matthew 2:1-2.

³⁵² Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book Seventeen, Chapter 13, 481-482 of the English translation; *The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus*, 48.

³⁵³ Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book Seventeen, Chapter 1, Section 3 458 of the English translation. In fact, the entire Book

Herod's grandchildren are Aristobulus, brother of Alexander, Herod who became king of Chalcis, and Herod Agrippa who slew Jacob (the Apostle James See Acts 12:2). Because of this, worms ate him. He is the one who launched a charge against his uncle Herod, and took hold of his kingdom. Herod Agrippa is the one who succeeded him.

Of the females (of Herod the Great) are Bernice and Drusilla, who married the governor Philip.

In the year 14 of Tiberius, the year 331 of the Greeks, Tiberius appointed Felix as his deputy in Judea.

In the next year, the year 5535 from Adam and the year 347 of the Greeks, John baptized the Lord in the River Jordan on January 6.

In this period, Germanicus triumphed over the Parthians. Tiberius made Drusus a partner in the empire (co-emperor). Afterwards, Drusus Caesar perished by poison.

Fire destroyed the theater of Pompey.

Herod built Tiberias and Liviade.

Pilate introduced the statue of Caesar into the Temple, and thus stirred up the Jews to revolt. What made things even worse, is that he expended all the treasure of the priests when the aqueduct came into the city, which became the cause of their second revolt.³⁵⁴

The period from Adam until the year in which the Savior suffered adds up to 5539 years. The dawn of that year was Sunday according to the reckoning of years. If one attempts to determine the exactness of these years, he will find a great difference in the tables as well as in the tables of years mentioned in the books of the prophets and of the Maccabees. Some reckon the period between Adam and the Nativity of the Lord to be 5550 years. Of this opinion is Hippolytus, Iyawannis (John) and Mor Jacob (of Edessa). In a source, we found that Eusebius is also of this opinion. In another place, he says that from Adam until the year in which the Lord suffered totals 5732 years. Still others say 4500 years. Africanus says 6032 years. However, the Hebrews say 4500 years, the Samaritans say 4865 years, and the Syrians say 4656 years. The table that many accept assigns 6019 years to this period.

Andronicus says that Christ suffered in the year 340 of the Greeks. Others say he suffered in the year 19 of Tiberius, which is the first year of the 503rd Olympiad.

From the return (of the Jews) from Babylon to the year 342 of the Greeks there are 602 years according to the first calculation. And from Adam to the Crucifixion the years are 6039; from the Flood 3304 years; from the Exodus 1058 years; from the construction of the Temple of Solomon ...lacuna... and from the burning of the Temple and the Captivity in Babylon, 624 years. *End of the narrative.*

In this time, when every year King Herod set up high priests for the Jews with the intention of confusing them and abrogating their laws, our Lord Christ shone forth and was born in Bethlehem in the year 33 of Herod. The Magians came in the year 45 of Augustus, when Christ was two years old. In fact, in the year 314 of the Greeks, on September 24 of the lunar month, John son of Zechariah, was conceived, and in June of the year 315, he was born. On March 25, of this year, Mary Mother of God received the message that she would have a child. On December 25 of the year 316 our Lord was born. Eight days later, he was circumcised in Bethlehem. At the end of forty days, they took him to the Temple in Jerusalem when Simeon carried him in his arms. From there they took him to Nazareth. In the year 318 of the Greeks, which is the second year of the birth of the Lord, they brought him to Jerusalem and to Bethlehem. It was there that the Magians came and worshipped him. On that same night, they (Jesus' parents) took him to Egypt and stayed there two years. After Herod's death, they returned to Nazareth where he was raised. He was four years old. Every year, his parents took him to the Temple in Jerusalem and then to Bethlehem where he was born, and for the miracles that had happened there. At the age of twelve, he conversed with the doctors of the law.³⁵⁵

Seventeen deals with Herod, his wife, his sons and his family affairs.

³⁵⁴ *The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus*, 48.

³⁵⁵ Matthew, entire Chapter Two, and Luke 2:25-35 and 41-51.

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Mary was thirteen years old when she brought forth the Savior. She lived five years after the Resurrection and died at the age of fifty-one.

Our Lord was born on December 25. Thirty years later, on Wednesday of January, John baptized him in the Jordan River. On Friday, he was crucified. The Armenians claim that he was born on January 6. Thirty years later and on this same day, he was baptized. They predicate their opinion on the change of the water, which happened at this time. On this same day, he was transfigured on Mount Tabor. This is why they call this day the Day of Epiphany. More correctly, the Nativity was on December 25.

Concerning the Magians, Eusebius and Gregory of Nyssa say that they were from the family of Balaam. Jacob of Edessa says that they were from the family of Elam, son of Shem.³⁵⁶ Others say they were of the kings of Sheba and Saba according to the prophecy of David,³⁵⁷ because they presented three gifts. Others say they were eight according to the prophecy of Micah who said, "We will raise against him seven shepherds; even eight leaders of men."³⁵⁸ Mor Jacob (of Edessa) said that they were twelve princes. He relied on Persian sources, which mentioned that in the Magians' company were three thousand cavalrymen and five thousand infantrymen. When they arrived in Callinicus, which is al-Raqqa, they heard that there was a severe famine in Judea, and left behind their host in that city, so that only few of their great men and thousand footmen reached Bethlehem. They worshipped and offered gifts and returned. Their names are: Dahdanador, son of Artaban; Washtaph, son of Goudpir; Arshak, son of Mahdouq; Zerond, son of Waroudoud; Ariwah, son of Khosrau; Artaxerxes, son Hamit; Eshtanbouzan, son of Shishrawan; Mahdouq, son of Hawahm; Ahasauers, son of Sapan; and Merodach, son of Bil. The king who sent them was called Firshabur.

Herod, who massacred the infants, burned the tables of the genealogies of the Hebrews in order that the records of the high priests would not be preserved, and that no one would know about his ungenuine origin.

After Hannan and Caiaphas, three high priests arose. They were Ishmael, Eleazar and Simon. They were followed by Josephus, who was the said Caiaphas. The reason is that Herod did not allow any high priest to serve more than one year.

In the year 15 of Tiberias Caesar and the year 5 of Herod the tetrarch, the word of God was upon John the Baptist, son of Zechariah. He began to baptize in the Jordan River. The Lord came and was baptized by him on January 6. After baptism, he went up the mountain (wilderness) and fasted for forty days. He was approached by Satan to tempt him, and he defeated him. He then proceeded to teach and perform divine miracles for three years.³⁵⁹

Andronicus says that our Lord taught only for three years. The first miracle he performed was the turning of water into wine at Cana.³⁶⁰ Then he selected the Twelve Apostles). He spoke the Beatitudes.³⁶¹ He taught how to pray.³⁶² He healed lepers.³⁶³ He healed Peter's mother-in-law.³⁶⁴ At the Passover Feast, he went to Jerusalem as John said in Canon 26. In his second year, as he passed through Galilee in February, he proselytized the Samaritan woman and the entire city.³⁶⁵ Simon the Potter says, "On Sunday he sat at the well and conversed with the Samaritan woman."³⁶⁶ In that year, he healed the servant of the centurion in Capernaum.³⁶⁷ He drove demons out of the Gadarenes.³⁶⁸ He healed the paralytic who was lowered down

³⁵⁶ Genesis 10:22.

³⁵⁷ Psalm 72:10-11.

³⁵⁸ Micah 5:5.

³⁵⁹ Matthew 4:1-11 and Mark 1:12-13.

³⁶⁰ John 2:1-12.

³⁶¹ Matthew 5:1-12.

³⁶² Matthew 6:9-13.

³⁶³ Matthew 8:1-4.

³⁶⁴ Luke 4:38-40.

³⁶⁵ John 4:1-41.

³⁶⁶ John 4:7-26.

³⁶⁷ Matthew 8:5-13 and Luke 7:1-10.

through the roof in Nazareth.³⁶⁹ He raised the daughter of Jairus from the dead.³⁷⁰ He healed the woman with a blood issue.³⁷¹ He healed the dumb and blind possessed by a demon.³⁷² He healed the man with the withered hand.³⁷³ In this same year, John was slain in prison.³⁷⁴ In it, he brought back to life the son of the widow (of Nain).³⁷⁵ He entered the house of Simon the Pharisee.³⁷⁶ He went up to Jerusalem in the Passover Feast and healed the invalid. In the spring of the third year, he multiplied he bread and 12 baskets were left over.³⁷⁷ He multiplied it once more.³⁷⁸ He opened the eyes of Timaeus who was blind from his mother's womb.³⁷⁹ In the fourth year, he went up the mountain where his vestments became very white.³⁸⁰ He healed the son of the servant and the one who was afflicted with dropsy. He raised Lazarus from the dead.³⁸¹ In March, he caused the fig tree to dry up.³⁸² He told the parables of the rich man and Lazarus,³⁸³ the vineyard,³⁸⁴ the laborers,³⁸⁵ the tower,³⁸⁶ the man who held a banquet,³⁸⁷ the hundred sheep,³⁸⁸ the ten coins,³⁸⁹ and many similar parables. Whatever was not recorded exceeds what was recorded.

The teaching of our Lord Christ was done in the time of the pontificates of Hannan and Caiaphas, beginning with Hannan and ending with Caiaphas. It is not possible to determine the middle of the four years. This is because the Lord was crucified in the first year of Josephus Caiaphas, the year 12 of Tiberias Caesar, the year 22 of Herod the tetrarch, the sixth year of Pilate, in the fourth Indiction at the end of the 202nd Olympiad, the year 79 of the Antiochians, the year 158 of Tyreinians and the year 127 of the Ascalonians. The beginning of this year was Sunday. Easter was on Saturday, March 24, the Resurrection on May 3, and Pentecost on 13 of this month.

After the Resurrection, the Apostles chose Matthias in place of Judas.³⁹⁰ Ten days later, they received the Holy Spirit and laid hands on Jacob (James) who became the first bishop of Jerusalem. He served thirty years. They chose seven deacons, one was Nicolas.³⁹¹ Men envied him because his wife was beautiful. Therefore, he let her go and chose to live in chastity. Other men followed his example and came to be known as Nicolasians.

³⁶⁸ Luke 8:26-33.

³⁶⁹ Luke 5:18-29.

³⁷⁰ Luke 8:54-56.

³⁷¹ Mark 5:25-34 and Luke 8:43-48.

³⁷² Matthew 12:12-13.

³⁷³ Luke 6:6-11.

³⁷⁴ Matthew 14:10; Mark 6:28.

³⁷⁵ Luke 7:12.

³⁷⁶ Matthew 26:6-13.

³⁷⁷ Mark 6:35-43.

³⁷⁸ Matthew 15:33-39; Mark 8:1-9.

³⁷⁹ Mark 10:46-53.

³⁸⁰ Matthew 17:1-7.

³⁸¹ John 11:1-44.

³⁸² Matthew 21:18-22.

³⁸³ Luke 16:19-31.

³⁸⁴ Matthew 21:33-44.

³⁸⁵ Matthew 20:1-16.

³⁸⁶ Luke 13:4.

³⁸⁷ Matthew 22:1-14; Luke 14:15-24.

³⁸⁸ Matthew 18:12-14; Luke 15:4-6.

³⁸⁹ Luke 15:8-9.

³⁹⁰ Acts 1:26.

³⁹¹ Acts 6:3-5.

The Twelve Apostles

Simon (Peter): He was from the tribe of Naphtali. He set up an altar (church) in Antioch in the first year of Claudius. Then he journeyed to Rome to preach and became its bishop for twenty-five years. He was martyred in the year 13 of Nero.³⁹²

Paul: He was from the tribe of Benjamin. He preached 27 years from the sixth year of Claudius to the year 13 of Nero. He was martyred with Peter.³⁹³

Andrew: He preached in Nicaea, Nicomedia, Scythia and Achia. He was first to occupy the throne of Constantinople. He died in this city.

James He was son of Zebedee and from the tribe of Zebulun. He was killed by Herod Agrippa in Jerusalem and was placed in Aqar Marmariqa (*arce Marmarica*).³⁹⁴

John: James's brother. He preached in Ephesus and Asia until the seventh year of Trajan. He was buried in Ephesus.

Philip: He was from the tribe of Asher, from Beth Saida. He preached in Phrygia and was buried in Pisidia.

Bartholomew: He was from the tribe of Issachar and the village of Aroer. He preached in Armenia where he was crucified.

Thomas: He was from the tribe of Judah. He preached to the Parthians and the Medes. He was martyred in the city of Galmuna in India. His remains were transferred to Edessa.³⁹⁵

Mattai (Matthew): He was from the tribe of Issachar, and from Nazareth. He died in Jabala and was buried in Antioch.

Simon (of Cana): He was from the tribe of Ephraim. He died in Hama. According to another copy, he was buried in Qurush (Cyrus).

Jude: also called Thaddeus and Lebbeus from the tribe of Judah. He was called Lebbeus because of his wisdom. He was buried in Berytus. According to another copy, he was buried in Aradus (Arwad).

James: son of Alphaeus, from the tribe of Manasseh. He died in Batnan Sarug.

Judas: (the betrayer) He was from the tribe of Dan and the town of Saqra.

Matthias: He was from the tribe of Reuben.

Extract From Bar Salibi (Metropolitan Dionysius of Amid, d. 1172)

Simon (Peter) preached one year in Antioch where he built a church. Then he journeyed to Rome and preached for 27 years. When Paul came to Rome, disturbances were provoked in the city and Nero ordered that both be killed. Peter asked to be crucified upside down in order to kiss his master's feet. As to Paul, his head was cut off by the sword.

Andrew preached in Beth Kalbin and throughout the entire seacoast. He was eaten by dogs. **James** the son of Zebedee and John his brother, are from the tribe of Zebulun. They were from the village of Beth Saida. James preached in Jerusalem and was martyred by the Jews who struck him with a fuller's pole.

John preached in Antioch together with Peter. Then, he went to Ephesus accompanied by the mother of our Lord. Both were banished to the island of Patmos. Upon returning from exile, he preached in Ephesus where he built a church. He was ministered unto by Ignatius and Polycarp. He is the one who buried the Blessed Mary. He lived 73 years. He died after all the other apostles, and was buried in Ephesus.

³⁹² Cf. Eusebius' *Chronicle via Jerome*, 179 and Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Two, Chapter 17, 63-64 of Cruse's translation and *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, 480.

³⁹³ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Two, Chapter 22, 74-75 of the English translation; *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, 486.

³⁹⁴ See Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Two, Chapter 22, 75-79 of the English translation and the account of Hegesippus, the disciple of the apostles concerning the holy James, the brother of God (Christ) in *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, 488-490. According to Josephus, Ananus, the high priest, assembled the Sanhedrin and brought James the brother of Jesus, who was called Christ. James and his companions were accused of breaking the law and Ananus delivered them to be stoned. See Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book Twenty, Chapter 9, Section 1, 545 of the English translation.

³⁹⁵ See E. M. Philip, *The Indian Church of St. Thomas* (1906 and 2009), 44-46 and Ignatius Yacoub III, *History of the Syrian Church of India*. Translated by Matti Moosa (Gorgias Press, 2009), 9, footnotes 42-46.

Philip and Bartholomew were from the tribe of Asher. Philip was from the village of Beth Saida. He built a church in Pisidia and passed away in it. Others say that he was stoned in Mabug, Phrygia and then crucified. Bartholomew was from the village of Aroer. He preached in Armenia three years. He was killed by King Herostni. He was buried in the church that he built.

Matthew, the publican, was from the tribe of Issachar and from the village of Nazareth. He preached in Palestine and then in Parthia. He died in Jabala and was buried in Antioch.

Thomas was from the tribe of Judah. He preached to the Parthians, the Medes and the Indians. He was pierced to death by a lance in the city of Galmuna by order of King Mazdai. His remains were transferred to Edessa.

James, son of Alphaeus, was from the tribe of Manasseh. He preached in Callinicus and Cercesium. He built a church in Sarug where he also died and was buried.

Simon the zealot of Cana, who is also Nathaniel, was from the tribe of Ephraim and from Cana of Galilee. He preached in Syria, Aleppo and Mabug, even in Claudia. He built a church in Cyrus where he died and was buried.

Lebbeus-Thaddaeus, who is also Jude the son of Jacob, is from the tribe of Simon. He preached in Laodicea but was stoned to death in Aradus (Arwad) and was buried there. Others say that he was stoned to death in Akka. Still others say that he died in the city of Bernice in the country of Magdala.

Matthias was from the tribe of Reuben. He was chosen instead of Judas Iscariot. He built a church in Seleucia where he was buried.

Six of these apostles shared three names and two shared one name as follows: Simon Cepha and Simon of Cana, James son of Zebedee and James son of Alphaeus, Judah son of Jacob and Judas the Iscariot. Two of them were publicans: Matthew and James, son of Alphaeus. Four were fishermen, and one a betrayer of his master. *Here ends this account. Anyone who reads it let him pray for the sinner.*

In addition, we append below the names of the seventy evangelists and their martyrdom:

1. **Addai** preached in Edessa and baptized King Agar. He died in this city.
2. **Aggai** preached in Cophanaya, Beth Hozai and outer Armenia. The heathens broke his legs and he died.
3. **Sirinos**, son of Abgar. He died in Edessa.
4. **Hananya**, who baptized Paul. He preached in Damascus and Elad. He was killed by Balash the army general of Aretas. He died in Arnael.
5. **Lazarus**, brother of Mary, preached in Cyprus where he also died.
6. **Melea** preached in Homs, Ba'lback, Rustan and Hama. He died at Shayzar.
7. **Cepha**, about whom Paul wrote preached in Rhodes and was cast into the sea.
8. **Sosthines** preached in Pontus and was cast into the sea by order of the prefect Nonus.
9. **Qriscos** preached in Kalandia. He starved to death while imprisoned in Alexandria.
10. **Barnabas** preached in Italy and Claudia. He died in Samos.
11. **Joseph of Arimathea** preached in Galilee and the Decapolis. He died in his own house.
12. **Nicodemus**, who received the apostles, preached in Jerusalem where he also died.
13. **Nathanael** preached in the Hawran Mountain. He was stoned to death there.
14. **Justus** preached in Tiberias and Caesarea where he also died.
15. **Judah**, brother of James, preached in Bashan and died in Ludd.
16. **Shila** preached in Galatia where he died.
17. **Ammonios** preached in Melitene where he died.
18. **Migla** preached in Tyana and died.
19. **Jason** was cast to beasts.
20. **Olympas** who is Manaël was burned by fire in Akka.
21. **Rufus** preached to Beth Dalmaya who killed him.
22. **Alexander**, who Heracleopolis cast to death into the pit.

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23. **Simon the Cyrene**, who was killed by the sword.
24. **Lucius**, who was dragged by horses and his bones were broken up.
25. **Cleophas**, who preached in Ludd where he was killed.
26. **Simon son of Cleopa**. He became a bishop of Jerusalem. He was crucified by the governor Irenaeus when he was an old man about hundred years old.
27. **Jusi** was killed in Dar'a while preaching.
28. **Jacob**, was killed with his brother in Tarsus. 20
29. **Bitarsus**. He was cast into the furnace in Laodicea and died.
30. **Mamatos**, who preached in Ethiopia and died there.
31. **Andronicus** preached in Ilyria and died there.
32. **Junias** was captured and killed in Samos.
33. **Titus** died in Crete.
34. **Junas Probus** died in Chalcedon.
35. **Hermas**, the shepherd, died in Antioch.
36. **Qrisis** preached Birilon and died in Chersone.
37. **Socrates** went to Beth Houzaye where he died.
38. **Krispan** preached in.... and died there.
39. **Narcissus** died in Greece.
40. **Aristobulus** preached and died in Isauriya.
41. **Demas** was cast into a fiery furnace in Cilicia.
42. **Timothy** became a bishop for Ephesus and was buried in Tutania.
43. **Luke**, the evangelist, preached in the Greek language in Alexandria and was killed in the great city of Thebes.
44. **Mark**, the evangelist, preached in the city of Rome in the Latin language and was killed in the country of Phanios.
45. **Levi** preached in Phanios and was killed by Chronos.
46. **Ephraim** died in Baisan.
47. **Nicetas** died in Tiberias.
48. **Herod** was killed in Akka.
49. **Silwanus** was killed in Akka.
50. **John** was cast to the beasts in the theater of Ba'lback.
51. **Theodore** died in Ba'lback.
52. **Stephen** was stoned in Jerusalem.
53. **Nigeos** was killed by Caiaphas in the Temple.
54. **Morotolos** preached to the Barbarians and was killed in Niktamotos.
55. **Laison** died in Apamea in the lime storehouse.
- 56-57. **Zacchaeus and the young man**, son of the widow who was raised from the dead. Both were killed in Hawarin in the wilderness.
58. **Simon** the leper was flogged to death by the Jews in Rama.
- 59-60-61. **Cleophas, Esphana and Stelios** died in prison in Tarsus.
62. **Apollon** was burned by the judge Sparacleus in Apamea.
- 63-64 **Euphistan and Simon** were killed by the prefect in Byzantium.
65. **Theophilus** died in peace and was buried in Egypt.
66. **Prismus** died in peace in Galilee.
67. **Barnabas** preached in Arnoun and died in prison.
- 68-69 **Zabdai and Malael** were suffocated by smoke by the heathens in Seleucia. They died and were buried. *Here ends the table of names of the holy seventy evangelists taken from the commentary of Jacob Bar Salibi.*

Here ends Book Five, in ten chapters collected in a correct form from trustworthy books. It treated the period from the year 20 of Darius the Persian, which is the beginning of the sixth millennium, to the death of Tiberius Caesar. The number of years is 476 and the Olympiads, 133 in which the Lord Jesus Christ suffered. To Him is the glory forever and ever. Amen.

BOOK SIX

WITH GOD'S HELP, WE PROCEED TO WRITE DOWN BOOK SIX, BEGINNING WITH THE PERIOD FOLLOWING THE PASSION, RESURRECTION AND ASCENSION OF THE SAVIOR OF ALL CREATION, JESUS CHRIST. IT COVERS THE YEARS 5542 OF ADAM, 349 OF THE GREEKS AND THE FIRST YEAR OF THE 203RD OLYMPIAD.

Chapter One: In the year of the Resurrection of our Lord and His Ascension, the believing Ethiopian, the first of the gentiles, was converted. At the end of this year, the great Paul was called. At the beginning of the next year, he proceeded to preach. At the end of the reign of Tiberius, Cornelius was converted in Caesarea.

Names of the Evangelists:

1-Addai, 2-Aggai, 3-Eleazor, 4-Hananya, 5-James, 6-Elijah, 7-Barnaba, 8-Sostanis, 9-Cyriacus, 10-Joseph, 11-Nicodemus, 12-Nathanael, 13-Judah, 14-Justus, 15-Shila, 16-Bar Saba, 17-John Mark, 18-Omius, 19-Niga, 20-Jason, 21- Manael, 22-Dophikimio, 23-Alexander, 24-Simon Cyrene, 25- Lucius, 26-Cleophas, 27-Simon, 28-Josi, 29-Phodosios, 30-Qatastrios, 31-Zebadion, 32-Titus, 33-Pagtrobas, 34-Hermas, 35-Asynelitus, 36-Triscus, 37-Lucas, 38-Aristobulus, 39-Demas, 40-Timothy, 41-Levi, 42-Ephraim, 43-Herod, 44-Silvanus, 45-Nicetus, 46-John, 47-Theodorus, 48-Nigeus, 49-Mortolus, 50-Lasion, 51-Zechariah, son of the widow. 52-Simon the leper, 53-Stephen, 54-Estabus, 55-Appolo, 57-Jaston, 58-Joseph, 59-Barnabas, 60-Orosus, 61-Amimaus, 62-Eulius, 63-Philip, 64-Prochorus, 65-Nicanor, 66-Timon, 67-Parmenas, 68-Agabas, 69-Cephas (Peter), whom Paul chided when he came to Antioch,³⁹⁶ Tholmai instead of Judah, and Thaddaeus and others. Their number was more than seventy as Paul said, "After that, he appeared to more than five hundred brothers."³⁹⁷

In the first year of his reign, Herod Agrippa killed James, not the Lord's brother. Paul mentions that James, brother of the Lord,³⁹⁸ was martyred being struck with a fuller's rod.³⁹⁹ However, this James perished by Agrippa's sword,⁴⁰⁰ who also had Peter arrested. Peter was saved by the angel and left Jerusalem. He spent two years preaching on his way to Antioch. He laid down the foundation of a church, built a sanctuary and ordained Evodius as the first bishop of Antioch. Then he went to Rome.⁴⁰¹ It is mentioned in another copy, that when the persecution of the disciples in Jerusalem intensified and James was killed, Stephen was stoned to death and Peter was imprisoned, the majority of the disciples scattered, except the Twelve, throughout Judea, Samaria and unto Phoenicia and Cyprus.⁴⁰² Then they reached Antioch. They confined their preaching to the Jews.

Simon Peter, who was preaching to the gentiles, was transported to Antioch and preached there. He set up a bishop for that city. He then journeyed to Rome and became its bishop for twenty-five years. As to Mark, his son and disciple, he was sent to preach in Egypt. He served as a bishop in that country twenty-two years.

After he was exposed in Samaria, Simon the magician went to Rome. He was the first heretic after the appearance of the Lord. He was from the village of Gitton. He manifested himself to the Jews as the "Father," to the Samaritans as the "Son," and to the heathens as the "Holy Spirit." He denied the resurrection of the dead. He set up an image of himself in Rome. His magical works deceived many people.

³⁹⁶ Galatians 2:11.

³⁹⁷ 1 Corinthians 15:6.

³⁹⁸ Galatians 1:19.

³⁹⁹ *The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus*, 49.

⁴⁰⁰ Acts 12:2.

⁴⁰¹ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, translated by Frederick Christian Cruse (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1962), 63 and 79.

⁴⁰² Acts 8:1.

It is reported that when Peter went to Rome, he said to the dog standing at the door of Simon's house, "Go and tell your master that Peter has come." The people were astounded to see the dog speak. Simon told them not to be surprised. He asked for a bull to be brought unto him. Simon drew near the bull and whispered few words into his ear, and immediately the bull exploded. Peter prayed and life returned to the bull. Then Simon, by the power of the demons, began to levitate in the air. Peter rebuked him and he fell down and was destroyed.⁴⁰³

Others say that a notable man died, and the people placed him in their midst. Simon (Magus) called him, but the dead man did not respond. Peter prayed and the man came alive. Simon fled. Cyprian, the dead man's father, invited Peter to his house.

The Queen Protonice, wife of Claudius, believed in the teaching of the apostles. She went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem to search for the wood of the Cross. She confided her affairs to Bishop James. Upon entering the Sepulcher, her daughter dropped dead at that moment. They brought three crosses and placed those of the two thieves on her body but nothing happened. When they placed the Cross of the Lord on her body, she came back to life. They knew that this was the Cross on which the Savior was crucified.

When the Apostle James was imprisoned in Jerusalem, Herod (Antipas) sent an attendant to bring him to the tribunal. When the attendant heard James' testimony for Christ, he, moved by the Spirit, cried out, "I am Christian." When James and the attendant were on the way to be executed, the attendant asked the apostle to pray for him. The apostle said, "Peace be to you my son," and kissed him. Both of them received the crown of martyrdom in the same place.

James, brother of the Lord, was the first bishop ordained by the apostles. As to Paul, he sustained no harm in his first visit to Rome. In his second visit, however, he performed many miracles and presented his first testimony. He declared that no one was with him except Aristarchus,⁴⁰⁴ who, like him, was a captive and was delivered from the lion's mouth, that is, Nero.⁴⁰⁵ In his second attestation (of the faith), he was accompanied by Luke. It is known that Luke wrote the Book of Acts until the time he was with Paul. We say this in order to show that Paul was not martyred during this visit to Rome. It also seems that at the beginning, Nero was no threat to the apostles. Therefore, Paul was delivered from him in his first visit to Rome. However, when Herod Agrippa rose to power and assumed the title of Caesar, he sent Paul to Rome in chains. When the Jews saw that he escaped their hand, they demanded from James, brother of the Lord, to deny his faith in Jesus in public before the people. But James confessed that Jesus is the Son of God, and the Jews could not harm him because, to all the people, he was of righteous deeds. Also, he was chosen by God from the womb. He drank no wine or fermented liquor and ate no animal as food. A razor never came upon his head. He never anointed his body and never took a bath. He never wore woollen, but linen garments. He entered the temple alone. He knelt on bended knees, and interceded for the forgiveness of the people until his knees became as hard as that of a camel. However, when Festus died and the Jews had no leader, they found it opportune to fulfill their wicked intentions. They said to the holy James, "We know that you are righteous. But we want you to prevent the people from following the error of Jesus." The Scribes and the Pharisees placed him in the wing of the Temple. They said, "You are worthy of obedience. Tell us, what do you think of the crucified Jesus?" He cried out, "Why do you ask me respecting the Son of Man? He is now sitting in heavens on the right hand of the Almighty, and he is about to come and judge the Scribes and the Pharisees." They cried out "The righteous has erred." Immediately, they cast him down and then stoned him while he prayed saying, "Lord of all, forgive them for they know not what they are doing." One of them took a fuller's rod on which he drained clothes and hit him on the head with it. In this way, he received martyrdom.⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰³ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, 62-63 of the English translation.

⁴⁰⁴ Colossians 4:10.

⁴⁰⁵ 2 Timothy 4:17.

⁴⁰⁶ This whole episode is written by Hegesippus, who flourished in the days of the apostles, in the fifth book of his Commentaries. See Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Two, Chapter 23, 76-77 of the English translation by Cruse.

BOOK SIX

James wrote a universal letter. However, there were many doubts about it because ancient writers did not mention it. The same is with the letter ascribed to Jude and to the Second Peter. They were accepted because they are good and appropriate. As to the doctrine of the apostles, and the Gospel and Revelation ascribed to Peter, they are not accepted. In addition, not accepted is the Revelation attributed to Paul. *This narrative is ended with God's help.*

In the year 19 of Tiberias, Christ the Savior suffered Passion, died, was buried, resurrected and ascended into heaven. In this year, the procurator Pilate set up an image of Caesar in the Temple. It was an objectionable act according to Josephus, who also mentioned that a violent quake shook up the priests on the day of Pentecost.⁴⁰⁷ They heard a voice from the inside saying, "Let us move from here." Sejanus, the prefect, was appointed a consul and representative of Tiberius with the intention of annihilating the Jews. Philo mentions this in his second book.

Agrippa, son of Herod,⁴⁰⁸ went to Rome to present charges against his uncle Herod. Tiberius had him arrested and thrown into prison in chains.⁴⁰⁹

It was a divine dispensation that Tiberius did not harbor ill thoughts against the teachings of Christ, lest the message of the gospel be hindered.

Abgar of Edessa wrote to Tiberius about everything the Jews did to Christ. Tiberius replied, "It is because of Christ that I removed Pilate, and I am about to take revenge against the Jews."⁴¹⁰ Tiberius lived seventy-eight years. He ruled twenty-two years and died. Likewise, Herod (Antipas) ruled twenty-two years. He killed John (the Baptist) and married his brother's wife, Herodia, while her husband was still living.⁴¹¹ Because of his abundant iniquities, he and Herodia were banished and killed in the city of Vienna as divine justice.⁴¹²

When Gaius (Caligula, A.D. 37-41) succeeded Tiberius, he released Herod Agrippa who was in chains in Rome and made him a king of the Jews.⁴¹³ At the same time, he made Felix a prefect of Egypt, and he oppressed the Jews for seven years. He filled their altars with sacrifices and defiled their synagogues. Because of this, the Jews sent ambassadors to Gaius asking to reconcile with him. One of them was Philo, the Hebrew philosopher who was from Alexandria.

In his fourth year, Gaius commanded Petronius, the Eparch of Syria, to set up images of himself in the Temples and the synagogues of the Jews.⁴¹⁴ Thus, was fulfilled the prophecy of Daniel concerning the abomination of desolation which stood in the holy place.⁴¹⁵ The Jews suffered great distress to prevent Petronius from doing so. While they were in such agony, a eunuch killed Gaius, who lived 39 years.⁴¹⁶

In the year 357 of the Greeks 46 A.D., Claudius ruled fourteen years. As to Agrippa, who is Herod, when three years elapsed after his reign, he came to Caesarea, which in ancient times was called Strato's Tower.⁴¹⁷ There, he celebrated a festival in honor of Caesar and offered supplication for his long life. On the second day of the celebration, he put on a garment sewn with silver threads.⁴¹⁸ He came (to the theater) at the dawn of the day. When the first rays of the sun fell upon the silver it sparkled in a most surprising

⁴⁰⁷ Josephus says that Pilate brought the images of Caesar to Jerusalem and set them up there. See Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book Eighteen, Chapter 3, 487 of Whiston's translation.

⁴⁰⁸ Agrippa was grandson of Herod the Great.

⁴⁰⁹ Cf. Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book Eighteen, Chapter 7, Section 2, 500 of the English translation.

⁴¹⁰ *The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus*, 48-49.

⁴¹¹ Matthew 14:1-12; Mark 6:16-29; Luke 3:19-20; Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book Eighteen, Chapter 7, Sections 1 and 2, 499-500 of the English translation.

⁴¹² Josephus mentions Lyons, a city of Gaul as the place of banishment. See Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book Eighteen, Chapter 7, Section 2, 500 of the English translation.

⁴¹³ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, Book Two, Chapter 10, 619-620 of the English translation.

⁴¹⁴ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, Book Two, Chapter 10, 619-620 of the English translation.

⁴¹⁵ Daniel 9:31.

⁴¹⁶ Cf. Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book Eighteen, Chapter 8, 501-504 of the English translation.

⁴¹⁷ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, Book 1, Chapter 21, 584 and Book Nineteen, Chapter 8, p. 531 of the English translation.

⁴¹⁸ Josephus says the garment was made wholly of silver. See Josephus, *Antiquity of the Jews*, Book Nineteen, Chapter 8, 531 of the English translation.

manner. Seeing this, the people were astonished and the hypocrites called him “god” who does not die.⁴¹⁹ And because he did not rebuke them an angel appeared above him and he became disturbed. He told his favorite men that he was smitten with a stroke. Five days later he perished.⁴²⁰ He lived 54 years, seven of which spent as a sovereign, four years under Gaius and three years under Claudius. He managed the tetrarchy of Philip three years. In the fourth year, the tetrarchy of Herod (Antipas) was added to his authority. This is attested to by the Holy Scriptures and by Josephus.⁴²¹ If anyone has doubts about his name, time and actions confirm his identity. Perhaps, for sheer deception, he changed his name, or he had two names.⁴²²

In the time of Claudius, a revolt took place in Jerusalem, on the day of the feast of the Passover. Three myriads of Jews were trampled underfoot because of the dense crowd at the exits of the Temple. Josephus attested to this.⁴²³

Claudius appointed Agrippa's son, Agrippa II, a king over the Jews. He sent the procurator Felix as his deputy to Samaria and Galilee. Claudius died in his palace having ruled thirteen years and eight months.⁴²⁴ He was followed by his son Nero (by adoption), who also ruled for thirteen years and eight months.⁴²⁵ Nero removed Felix and appointed Festus as governor of Judea before whom Paul stood.⁴²⁶ Also, Nero removed Festus and appointed Albinus as governor of Judea. However, no sooner had he appointed Albinus, than he removed him and replaced him with Florus as governor of Judea.⁴²⁷ Under Florus, the Jews revolted. Fires broke out in Rome and a great number of notable men perished.

Some are of the opinion that the historian Josephus is Caiaphas, but this is incorrect. Josephus Caiaphas was a different person. In fact, the only relation between the two is the name and that they were contemporaries.

Josephus mentions seven religious parties of the Jews. They are:

1. The Scribes also called the Scribes of the truth.
2. The Levites who maintain the tradition of the elders.
3. The Pharisees who, like the Scribes, believe in the resurrection, angels and spirits. They fast two days of the week. They clean cups and plates (before meals) and predict the future and good fortune.
4. The Sadducees who deny the resurrections, angels and spirits. They derive their teaching from a priest called Zaduk.
5. Those who maintained that there is no salvation without purification by water (a kind of baptism).
6. The Nazirites who do not eat anything animate. Also, they do not accept the Books of Moses (The Pentateuch) and the books of the prophets. But they accept other than these books.
7. The Jews who observe the Law and the Prophets and believe in one God.⁴²⁸

⁴¹⁹ Acts 12:23.

⁴²⁰ Josephus says it was an owl sitting on a rope over his head. Agrippa understood that it was a messenger of ill tiding. See previous note, and Eusebius in *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Two, Chapter 10, 59-60 of the English translation of Cruse, who does not mention an owl; he says that Agrippa saw an angel sitting above his head.

⁴²¹ Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book Nineteen, Chapter 5, 526-527 of the English translation. See previous note.

⁴²² In the above passages, two Agrippas are mentioned. One is Agrippa I son of King Herod the Great, of Acts 12:23 who was struck by the angel because he did not give praise to God and was eaten by worms and died. The other one is Agrippa II, grandson of King Herod the Great before whom and before Festus, the procurator of Judea, Paul appeared pleading for the faith in Acts 26:1-23.

⁴²³ Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book Twenty, Chapter 5, 539 of the English translation. Josephus says that no fewer than twenty thousand perished.

⁴²⁴ Claudius ruled from 41 to 54.

⁴²⁵ Claudius was emperor from 54 to 68.

⁴²⁶ Paul defended his teachings in the time of King Agrippa II. See Acts entire Chapters 25 and 26.

⁴²⁷ Eusebius' *Chronicle*, Part II, 182-183; *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, 487

⁴²⁸ Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book Eighteen, Chapter 1, 483-485 of the English Translation. Cf. Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Four, Chapter, 22, 158 of the English translation.

In this time flourished Philo the Jewish philosopher of Alexandria. He wrote books about the Jews at that time. He also wrote about the foolishness of Gaius (Caligula) who deified himself, and about the life of the ascetics in Egypt. He penned a commentary on Genesis, twenty treatises on taking care of utilizing the earth, on the mind which blesses and curses when it awakes, on the confusion of tongues, on assembling for learning, on the difference of names mentioned in books, on the Two Testaments, on dreams, fifteen tracts on Exodus, seventy treatises on the contents of the Law (of Moses), and many other writings.

In the time of Claudius, a library was established in Rome. At this time, many commissioners and senators were killed. Gaius (Caligula) married Memmius Regulus, whose father forced her to marry him.

When Agrippa was detained in Rome, he prayed that Gaius would become emperor. When Gaius did become emperor, he offered him the tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias.⁴²⁹ For this reason, Herodia upbraided Herod saying, "Because you did not go to Caesar, you were deprived of the kingship. If Agrippa won this kingship through common people, how much more you of noble origin should have won it." Gaius was outraged (against Agrippa) and banished him, and he and his wife died (in exile). When trouble encompassed Pontius Pilate, he committed suicide. Thus, God punished him as a result of his iniquity.⁴³⁰

In the time of Claudius, famine spread all over the earth (meaning the entire Roman world), and the prophecy of Agabus mentioned by Luke in Acts was fulfilled.⁴³¹

Queen Helen bought grain from Egypt and distributed it to the needy. She ruled Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia). She was famous for her philanthropy. Until this day, magnificent steles are erected in her honor at the gates of Jerusalem.

At this time, the disciples in Antioch provided help, each according to his ability, to the poor people in Jerusalem as mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles.⁴³²

Thrace became a province (diocese), and is still under the authority of the government.

In this time flourished Simon the magician, and Cerinthus and Menander.

The sage Philo met Peter in Antioch while he was preaching. Philo wrote about many subjects including the anchorites of his time in Egypt. He called them solitaries and ministers. He also called the solitary women nuns and ministers. He said that, "They were called ministers either because they healed people by ministering to them medicines, and healed their souls from severe pains as physicians do to the bodies, or they served God by the purity of their lives and deeds." Perhaps, Philo himself attributed to them this nickname. Or, as he says, that the ancients were thus called because the term "Christians" was not yet popular. The believers were detached from owning possessions or the cares of this world as said in the Acts of the Apostles. They distributed their possessions among themselves.⁴³³ Philo also wrote about them that, "No one of them had meal before sunset. This is because they believed that the works of wisdom to be like unto the day (light), and the cares of the body to be like unto darkness. Thus, they devoted the day for the works of wisdom and a part of the night to fulfill the needs of the body. Some of them never touched food for three days. Others did not touch food for six or seven days."⁴³⁴

At this time, an Egyptian imposter came to Judea and seduced 30,000 people. He took them through the desert and then to the Mount of Olives. Finally, he was obliged to enter Jerusalem. The Roman guards were alert. Felix arrived and a skirmish took place, at the end of which the Egyptian was defeated and fled, but many people perished. It is in relation to this event that the commander said to Paul, "Aren't you the Egyptian who started a revolt and led four thousand terrorists out into the desert some time ago?"⁴³⁵

⁴²⁹ Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book Eighteen, Chapter, 7, 499 of the English translation.

⁴³⁰ See Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Two, Chapter 7, 57 of the English translation.

⁴³¹ Acts 11:27-28.

⁴³² Acts 11:29.

⁴³³ Acts 4:34-35.

⁴³⁴ See *The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus*, 50.

⁴³⁵ Acts 21:38 and *The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus*, 50.

At this time, the Jews revolted in Caesarea, Cappadocia and many of them perished. There was also an eclipse of the sun and a great earth tremor in Rome ...lacuna... (Nero) killed his mother Agrippina and his wife Octavia and a group of illustrious men of Rome were massacred. Nero won the prize playing the cithara in Rome.⁴³⁶

In this period, the 251st Olympiad did not take place in Rome by Nero's order, but was held in the following year. As Nero achieved victory in this Olympiad, he was surrounded by singers and lyrists, and was crowned in a carriage drawn by ten red horses.⁴³⁷

In this time the heathen philosophers Musonius and Plutarchus flourished.

Nero expelled the philosopher Cornutus.

The Books (of the Scriptures) accepted by the Church as canonical

The five Books of Moses (Pentateuch), Job, Joshua son of Nun, Judges, four Books of Kings, two Books of Chronicles, Ruth, Judith, Ezra, Esther, Tobit, two Books of Maccabees, Psalms of David, five Books of Solomon, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obediah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zechariah, Haggai, Zephaniah, Malachi, Isaiah, (Jesus) the son of Sirach, the blessed Four Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, the letters of Peter, fourteen letters of Paul, three letters of John, the letters of James and Jude, and two letters of Clement. These are the books that were commanded by the apostles to be observed in addition to Revelation. Also added to them, is the *Didiscalia* (Doctrine of the Apostles). These books, written by skillful learned men following the time of the apostles, are drawn from the only sweet fountain of the apostles' teaching. *Here ends the Chapter.*

Chapter Two: Concerning the martyrdom of the apostles, the destruction of Jerusalem and the total dispersion of the Jews

...lacuna...

On December 28, the two Apostles (Peter and Paul) were martyred together. Paul's head was cut off by the sword and Peter was crucified upside down according to his own wish.⁴³⁸

In Rome, Linus became the first bishop after Peter for 2 years. In Jerusalem, Simon Cleophas was succeeded by his cousin James II, and continued in his position for 42 years. In (Alexandria), Mark the evangelist preached first and built a sanctuary. He was succeeded by Annianus as a first bishop for 22 years. He died in the fourth year of Domitian (emperor from 81 to 96), and was succeeded by Billus in Alexandria. In the year 12 of his episcopate, Anacletus was set up in Rome and administered the office 12 years, and died. Then Clement received the seat of Rome. He had a great letter which was accepted (by the church), addressed from the Church of Rome to Corinth because of the trouble there.⁴³⁹

The Apostle John lived until the time of Domitian. He is the author of the Book of Revelation as testified by Irenaeus and Hippolytus, bishop of Bostra. He wrote this book in the time of Domitian. After six years of exile at Patmos, he returned to Ephesus. Clement says that he returned to Alexandria.⁴⁴⁰

In Antioch, Ignatius succeeded Evodius as the second bishop, Evodius being the first bishop of that city.

After six years of exile in Patmos, John returned to Ephesus. Clement, however, wrote that he returned to Alexandria. Upon his return from Patmos to Ephesus, John went around the neighboring country of Ephesus. When he reached the city of Fariqa, and somehow consoled with his teaching the brethren in it, he saw there a strong and handsome young man and he loved him. He said to the bishop of

⁴³⁶ See Suetonius, *The Lives of the Twelve Caesars*, translated by Joseph Gavorse (New York: Random House, the Modern Library, 1931, 263-265).

⁴³⁷ Cf. Suetonius, *Ibid.* 247-248.

⁴³⁸ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Two, Chapter 25, 79-80 of Cruse' English translation.

⁴³⁹ See Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Three, and Chapters 13-16, 100-101 of the English translation.

⁴⁴⁰ See Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Three, Chapter 18, 101 of the English translation, and Chapter 31, 116 of the English translation.

the town, "I entrust to you this brother in the presence of the church and Christ." He kissed the young man ...lacuna of two lines... the bishop accepted and promised. Sometime later, the holy John returned. He said to the bishop, "Hand to me the trust I have kept with you in Christ." Surprised, the bishop thought he had kept with him money as a trust. When John told him that he meant the young man, the bishop cried saying "He died without God for he became a murderer." Hearing this, John tore his clothes and beat his face. He said, "Alas, alas. The soul of the young man is abandoned in the mountain." He, forgetting his old age, asked for a riding beast and a guide. He took with him a band of men and went up the mountain. A band of robbers, the companions of the young man, saw him and the young man was in the vanguard. The holy man (John) said, "It is for this young man I have come. Take me to your leader." When the young man saw the saint, he felt remorseful and fled. The saint followed him saying, "Son, why do you flee from your father. Have pity on my old age. Do not torment me and do not be scared for there is hope in life. If you come back, I will be ready to defend you. I will even die for you as the Lord died for us. I will be your ransom." When the young man heard this, he dropped his arms and fell with his face to the ground. Approaching him, the saint embraced him, kissed his head, and brought him back to the church. The young man continued fasting and praying with tears of repentance.⁴⁴¹

In his teaching, Papias, after mentioning John the Evangelist and John the Elder, says that in this period there were two persons with the name of John. Their graves are in Asia. He maintains that the Book of Revelation and the two letters, of which there is some controversy over their origin, and the incident of the young man, belong to John the Elder. In this context, Irenaeus says that, "This John was a friend of Polycarp and of John the Apostle and he frequented Hierapolis."⁴⁴²

In his fifth treatise, Papias treats the interpretation of the words of the Lord. He also talks about Justus, surnamed Bar Selat who is called Joseph Bar Saba ...lacuna of few lines... regardless of what he heard and did not declare it as false. Eusebius says there are five books of Papias that bear the title "Interpretation of our Lord's Declarations."⁴⁴³

Papias was convinced by the testimony regarding the letters of John and Peter. He also wrote about the woman taken in adultery when the Lord was still on earth.⁴⁴⁴

Peter and Philip had sons and daughters. Philip gave his daughters in marriage to husbands as attested by Clement.⁴⁴⁵ This is attested by Polycarp, bishop of Ephesus, who told Victor, bishop of Rome, that Philip was buried in Hierapolis in Asia, that two of his daughters had become old and were still virgins, and that a third daughter lived a spiritual life with the guidance of the Holy Spirit and died in Ephesus. Concerning John, he said that he also died in Ephesus.⁴⁴⁶

Luke says in the Books of Acts, regarding the daughters of Philip the evangelist that they were in Caesarea and were prophesying.⁴⁴⁷

Simon, son of Cleophas was betrayed to Trajan for being a Christian and from the family of David. He was martyred in the year 90, two years after the death of the Apostle John. He lived almost 120 years. He astonished the judge for the severe pains he had suffered until he was crucified like Christ. He was one of those who witnessed the Lord and learned from him.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴¹ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Three, Chapter 23, 104-107 of the English translation.

⁴⁴² See Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Three, Chapter, 39, 125 of the English translation.

⁴⁴³ See Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Three, Chapter 39, 124 of the English translation.

⁴⁴⁴ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Three, Chapter 39, where he says that "He (Papias) also gives another history of a woman, who had been accused of many sins before the Lord, which he also contained in the gospel according to the Hebrews." For an exposition of the case of the woman who was caught in adultery and brought before the Lord, see Leon Morris, *The Gospel According to John* (WM. B. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1977), 882-891.

⁴⁴⁵ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Three, Chapter 30, 115 of the English translation.

⁴⁴⁶ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Five, Chapter 24, 208-211 of the English translation.

⁴⁴⁷ Acts 21:9.

⁴⁴⁸ The whole passage comes from Hegesippus. See Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Three, Chapter 32, 117 of the English translation.

Hegesippus said that until this time the church remained without defilement. However, the generation that was worthy to listen to the divine wisdom was no more, and heresy began to spread. Hadrian says that there were fifteen successions of bishops in Jerusalem before it was destroyed. They were all Jewish converts to Christianity.⁴⁴⁹ All of these bishops were Jews converted to Christianity. They are:

1. James, brother of the Lord, 3 years.
2. Simon Justus, 5 years.
3. Abai, 2 years.
4. Tobias, 3 years.
5. Benjamin, 1 year.
6. John, 3 years.
7. Matthais, 2 years.
8. Philip, 4 years.
9. Sonicus, 2 years.
10. Justus, 1 year.
11. Levi, 4 years.
12. Ephraim, 3 years.
13. Judah, 1 year. Jerusalem was then destroyed.

I entreat every brother who personally reads this, to pray for me.

In this period, the Senate decided to appropriate 1,000,000 a year for Nero's living expenses. However, Nero added more wickedness to his already wicked deeds by being the first to begin the persecution of the Christians, in which Peter and Paul were martyred in Rome. In the year 13 of Nero, the Jews revolted, and Nero dispatched Vespasian and his son Titus (against them). In June of that year, Titus occupied the city of Jotapata because he heard that the historian Josephus, son of the priest Matthais, who was the commander of the Jewish army, was there.⁴⁵⁰ From his histories, some thought that he was Caiaphas (the High Priest) because of the same name. In fact, Caiaphas was called Josephus. But this Josephus, (the historian) was an army commander. He was about to lose his life during the war with the Romans. He predicted Nero's death and that Vespasian would succeed him. Therefore, they (Vespasian and Titus) did not kill him. Then the Romans besieged Jerusalem.

In this war the illustrious Placidus was martyred; the story of his martyrdom with his wife and children is recorded. Vespasian triumphed in the two campaigns he conducted against the Jews and shut them up in Jerusalem.

As the news of Nero's cruel deeds burst up from every direction, he committed suicide in Eustache.⁴⁵¹ After his death, the Roman affairs were in turmoil. Galba reigned seven months in Iberia and was killed in the midst of Rome. Vitellius took hold of Germany and Otho took hold of Rome. Three months later, Otho committed suicide and Vitellius reigned 8 months (in 69 A.D.). However, his opponents rallied against him and killed him in the midst of the city.

While Vespasian was busy in the war against Jerusalem and his army was about to capture it, a report arrived of the death of Nero and the events that followed. The Roman troops of Vespasian proclaimed him an emperor. When he was declared an emperor in Judea, Vespasian committed the army command in

⁴⁴⁹ The author is incorrect injecting here the name of Hadrian (Roman Emperor, A.D. 117-138) who said these words. These words are those of Eusebius who said, "I have learned from writers that down to the invasion of the Jews under Hadrian, there were fifteen successions of bishops in the church." Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Four, Chapter 5, 130 of the English translation.

⁴⁵⁰ Jotapata was captured by Vespasian. See Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, Book III, Chapter 7, 656-665 of the English translation. Josephus was discovered by a woman and Vespasian used him afterwards. Josephus, *Ibid*, Chapter 8.

⁴⁵¹ This is incorrect. Eustache is the town in which Placidus was martyred. See J. B. Chabot's French translation entitled *Chronique De Michel Le Syrien*, 1 (Paris 1899, reprinted *Culture Et Civilisation*, Bruxelles, 1963), 161, note 3.

Jerusalem into the hand of his son Titus and left him enough army contingents. He went to Alexandria and subjugated the Egyptians. Then he set sail to Rome and ruled 9 years, 11 months and 22 days. Titus army occupied Jerusalem on April 14 of the year 382 of the Greeks (71 A.D.). The number of victims in Jerusalem totaled 1,260,000 as attested by Josephus. Jerusalem was completely destroyed on September 18, four months after its occupation by Titus. On August 10, the Temple was burned on the same day in which it was burned first. In addition, the temple of Zeus Capitolinus was burned when Titus destroyed the Jews.⁴⁵²

From Adam until the total destruction of Jerusalem are 5437 years, but according to others, 5270 years. From Adam to the year 50 of Abraham, in which Jerusalem was founded, are 3386 years, and from the Flood, 1130 years. From the founding of Jerusalem to the time David became king there are 1054 years, and from the time David made Jerusalem his headquarters to the building of the Temple, 43 years. From the construction of the Temple to its burning down the first time, there are 434 years. The period from the burning of the Temple in the year 11 of Zedekiah to its rebuilding in the sixth year of Darius, is 74 years, and from that time to the time when it was completely burned down, is 584 years. From the founding of Jerusalem to its last destruction, are 2192 years, and from the construction of the Temple to its destruction, 1905 years. From the crucifixion of our Lord to this destruction are 40 years. According to the calculation of others, from the return from Babylon to the second year of Vespasian in which Jerusalem was ruined, are 639 years. Jerusalem was totally destroyed in the year 303, that is, 33 years after our Lord's Passion. Therefore, from Adam to the devastation caused by Titus, are 5585 years. And if, as Josephus says, the Passover took place on April 12, that is the same year of destruction (of Jerusalem), adding to it two years and three months since Nero's death, it must be the years 381 of the Greeks/A.D. 70. If it is reckoned from the reign of Vespasian, then, the destruction of Jerusalem would have occurred in the third year, and not the first year of his reign, because that year began on Sunday, and the Passover took place on April 12, the Resurrection on 15 of the same month and Pentecost on June 23. Many people perished on that day.

Josephus says, "On the day of Passover, the Jews offered 250,000 rams as sacrifice, one ram for ten ceremonially purified men. But the unclean, the people with fluxes, and the children did not eat. The total number of those who ate was 2,500,000. Formerly, 60,000 men were killed in the war, 1,100,000 perished through hunger, 100,000 were sold as slaves, and the rest were distributed about as menials for service. Those who were seventeen years old or older were sent as prisoners to work in the mines in Egypt. Those under seventeen were enlisted in the army. Thus was the end of the Jews in Jerusalem."⁴⁵³ *End of this account.*

In this time, the procurator Albinus came from Rome. When he learned that Annianus (Ananus), the high priest, had killed James, brother of the Lord, he removed him from office and appointed Joshua, son of Ramai (Damaï) in his place. Ananus was of the sect of the Sadducees.⁴⁵⁴

The First Book of Josephus

Josephus wrote two volumes about the Jews, seven volumes about the Roman war, and two more answering Apion who was accompanied by Philo the Hebrew in welcoming Gaius. He also wrote a treatise against Justus of Tiberias and 62 letters addressed to Agrippa, king of the Jews. His entire writings were deposited in the library at Rome. After his death, a statue was erected in his honor. His history was written in Greek and Latin as he testifies himself. In all this he is worthy of credit.⁴⁵⁵

In his first book, Josephus says, "We may have among us innumerable books that disagree and contradict each other. But there are twenty-two books that are canonical and believed to be from God. Of these are the five books of Moses (The Pentateuch), which contain the law and the tradition of the genesis of humankind, and the generation until the death of Moses, or perhaps, three years or less than his death.

⁴⁵² The entire story of the Romans' war against Jerusalem and its destruction is in Josephus's *War of the Jews*, Books Four and Five.

⁴⁵³ This passage is taken with liberty from Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Three, Chapter 7, 92-93 of the English translation.

⁴⁵⁴ Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book Twenty, Chapter 9, 545-547 of the English translation, and Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Two, Chapter 23, 78 of the English translation, and *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, 490

⁴⁵⁵ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Three, Chapter 9, 96-97 of the English translation.

However, from Moses until the death of Artaxerxes king of Persia, the prophets, after Moses, wrote the events of their day in thirteen books.⁴⁵⁶ Josephus said, "The whole body of the church at Jerusalem, having been commanded by a divine revelation, removed from the city before the Roman invasion and dwelt at a certain town (beyond the Jordan) called Pella. They did this in order that divine justice would come upon the Jews alone."⁴⁵⁷

In his histories, Josephus explains that three million Jews assembled at Passover and decided to kill our Savior. But they were imprisoned on the same festival day in which they shut up Christ in prison. Starvation began and no one could openly set a table because people snatched the food from the fire, and swallowed it raw mingled with pain and tears. Those strong snatched the food from the weak. The sick cried and lamented. Indeed, the distress of hunger was more cruel than any other distress. Nothing like it removes modesty.⁴⁵⁸

On the other hand, despicable things happened. Men abused their women and children their parents. More abominable was that mothers snatched food from the mouths of their babes. When they (the hungry) saw a door locked ...lacuna... this was a sign that those within were taking food, and then immediately bursting open the doors, they rushed in and choked them, almost forcing the morsel out of their very throats.⁴⁵⁹ Women were torn by the hair, if they concealed what they had in their hands. The tormentors (the Roman guard), taking up the infants clinging to the morsels, dashed them to the ground. They beat them with harsh instruments on their rumps (to prevent the relief of nature). As hunger intensified and consumed most of the people, those still alive fell on the dead bodies and died. With tearless eyes did they who were yet struggling with death, look on those that had gone to rest before them. A deep silence and deadly gloom also prevailed in the city. However, more oppressive than these, were the robbers who spoiled the dead, and tore the garments off their bodies. At first, they ordered the dead to be buried in the interior chamber. Afterwards, when they were not able to continue this, they threw the bodies over the walls into the ditches below. As Titus went around the ditches, and saw them filled with the dead, and the deep gore flowing around with the putrid bodies, he groaned heavily, and raising his hands called God to witness that it was none of his work. Indeed, because of famine, people chewed belts, shoes, and shields. Some gathered the stubble and sold a very small weight of it for four Attic drachmas. (A drachma is worth sixty cents).

An example of the incredible horror of the famine is the following: A woman who dwelt beyond the Jordan named Maria, the daughter of Eleazar, of the village of Hazor, took refuge in Jerusalem among the rest of the multitude and was shut up in the city with them. When her husband was killed and her possessions stolen, a dreadful indignation overpowered the woman. She seized her little son whom she was nursing and said, "Miserable child! For whom shall I preserve you in this famine and this sedition?...lacuna... As to the war with the Romans, if they preserve our lives we must be slaves. Come and be my food, and be a fury to these seditious rouges, and a tale to the world, which is all that now wants to complete the calamities of us Jews." She slew her son and roasting him, she ate one-half of him. Shortly afterwards, the seditious came and, smelling the fumes, they threatened to kill her if she did not tell them what food she had ready. She replied that she has saved a very fine portion of it for them. She uncovered what was left of her son and said "This is my own son, eat." Horror and amazement immediately seized them and they went away trembling.⁴⁶⁰

⁴⁵⁶ This and the former passage are taken with liberty from Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Three, Chapters 9-10, 96-97 of the English translation.

⁴⁵⁷ This passage is taken with liberty from Eusebius, Book Three, Chapter 5, 86 of the English translation.

⁴⁵⁸ See Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Three Chapter 6, 87-92 of the English translation. He writes about the famine, which oppressed the Jews. On p. 85, he says, "For famine surpasses all other evils, but it destroys nothing as effectually as shame." His account is derived from Josephus, *War of the Jews*, Book Five, Chapter 10, sections 1-5, 729-731 of the English translation.

⁴⁵⁹ I have completed this passage from Eusebius, *Ibid.* and Josephus, *Ibid.*

⁴⁶⁰ The above narrative is taken from Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book III, Chapter 6, 87-92 of the English translation. It is paraphrased by Eusebius from Josephus, *War of the Jews*, Book VI, Chapter 3, 748-749 of the English translation.

God gave the Jews forty years of opportunity after the crucifixion and they did not come to the right path. They witnessed miraculous signs before the destruction (of Jerusalem) but never ceased their stubbornness. First of these signs was the appearance of a star which shone like fire and lasted one hour. In addition, when the people gathered at the feast of unleavened bread, on the ninth hour (of the night), light shone above the altar for half an hour. The people regarded it a good omen. A cow was brought for sacrifice, but it gave birth to a lamb in the midst of the Temple. Also, the eastern gate of the inner Temple, which was of brass and immense weight, scarcely shut by ten men (more correctly twenty men), resting on ironbound hinges, and secured with bolts sunk deeply in the ground, was found in the ninth hour (more correctly sixth hour) of the night open by itself. Also, on May 21, before sunset, a chariot appeared in the sky, and (celestial) powers were celebrating there in the midst of the clouds as they surrounded the city. At the festival called Pentecost, the priests entered the temple at night to perform the service. A quake took place. They heard a voice saying, "Let us remove hence." Four years before the war began, a man named Yeshu (Joshua), son of Ananias, came to the festival (of Tabernacles). Suddenly, he began to cry aloud, "A voice from the east, a voice from the west, a voice against Jerusalem and the holy house, a voice against the bridegroom and the brides, and a voice against this whole people." He went about crying night and day. The people were enraged and scourged him with many severe lashes. He did not complain but kept on with his cries until the war kindled. As he was going round upon the wall he cried out, "Woe, woe to the city and to the people and to the holy house." And, just as he added at the last, "And woe, woe to myself also," he was struck to death by an arrow.⁴⁶¹

Commentary

Know you, lover of wisdom that this narrative that is written on the back of this folio concerning the famine and the killing, which took place at the destruction of Jerusalem, is taken from the book of the historian Josephus? It happened exactly at that time. Josephus wrote seven books on the complete destruction of Jerusalem. We have abbreviated it as much as it concerns the stories mentioned therein. He, who desires to know about all these stories and their occurrences, should read the books of Josephus. Whatever I gathered here is sufficient for the purpose of writing this book, which contains a compendium of books of the same nature. It is also arranged clearly and properly.

Chapter Three: Concerning the aftermath of the total destruction of Jerusalem and the beginning of the reign of Vespasian's two sons, Titus and Domitian

Hegesippus says that King (Emperor) Domitian feared that the Jews might gain control a second time, so he issued an order that all descendants of David be killed. The sons (grandsons) of Judah, brother of the Lord, were brought into his presence as if they were descendants of David. He asked them about Christ and his kingdom. They said that his kingdom is not from this earth as you think. However, the one who was crucified, died and ascended into heaven is expected to come at the end. Domitian, delighted for this report did them no harm. However, he asked them whether they had money and wealth. They showed him their hands that were thickened by working on the land. Then, he stopped the persecution of the church.⁴⁶²

Bretius reports that many martyrs lost their lives during Domitian's persecution. They were particularly disciples of the evangelists and women who served the saints. Of them was Flaviana Domitia,

⁴⁶¹ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Three, Chapter 8, 95-96 of the English translation, and Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, Book Six, Chapter 5, 752-754 of the English translation. Michael Rabo relied on Eusebius who unfortunately left out many significant parts of Josephus's account.

⁴⁶² Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Three, Chapters 19 and 20, 102-104 of the English translations. On p. 103, Hegesippus, via Eusebius, says that when the grandsons of Judah were asked whether they had money or wealth, they said they had only nine thousand dinarii, and this was not in silver, but in the value of a piece of land containing only thirty acres from which they raised taxes and supported themselves by their own labor. Then they showed their hands as evidence of their own labor. When they professed their faith of Christ and his second coming, Domitian despised them and treated them with contempt as simpletons. He issued a decree to stop the persecution.

daughter of the sister of the consul Flavius Clement, who confessed the Christian faith. Her brother killed her on the island of Pontia.

In Rome, Celestus became the second bishop for 18 years. He was succeeded by Clement as third bishop for 9 years.⁴⁶³ Paul mentions that the church accepts Clement and his assistants and his letter to the Corinthians.⁴⁶⁴ However, the book that mentions his journey to Rome with Peter, where he found his relatives, and contains his disputation with Apion, is not accepted.⁴⁶⁵

The first bishop whom Paul ordained for Ephesus was his disciple Timothy. He ordained Titus for Crete. Luke, the physician from Antioch, was his traveling companion. Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, says that Dionysius the Areopagite was the first bishop of Athens.⁴⁶⁶

In this period, a heretic named Cerinthes appeared in Corinth. He claimed that he saw the Apostle Paul in a vision. He wrote that the angels told him that Christ would rule the earth after the Resurrection, and that all men inhabiting Jerusalem would be subject to lusts and pleasures for a thousand years. Afterwards, a banquet would be held in Jerusalem and men would indulge in eating, drinking and marriage. Irenaeus, based on Polycarp, says, "The Apostle John entered a public bath. When he sensed that Cerinthes was inside, he leapt out of the place."⁴⁶⁷

In this period appeared the heresy of the Nicolaitans, which spread as John mentions in his Revelation.⁴⁶⁸ Nicolaus was one of the seven men chosen together with Stephen.⁴⁶⁹ He had a beautiful wife whom he left to marry whomever she liked. The foolish men thought that Nicolaus taught that we should gratify the lusts of the body. Therefore, they committed adultery without shame. However, this heresy was soon obliterated. Nicolaus, however, lived in chastity, and his sons and daughters preserved their virginity. He taught that we should subdue the body and never follow its whims. As to the soul, we should nourish it with the fear of God.⁴⁷⁰

When Vespasian became emperor, he destroyed Jerusalem and massacred the Jews. He ended the kingdom of the Hebrews, which began with the Maccabees, and ended with the Philistines. However, it vanished completely at the hands of the Romans. The Roman Empire alone flourished.

In this period, small kingdoms appeared in remote regions. We have indicated them in the Explanation of Jacob of Edessa. However, the Roman Empire still dominated Gaul, Syria and Egypt. As a sole empire, it had no equal in the entire world. For this reason, historians relied on its establishment in determining the calendar. He, who wishes to know the history of those small kingdoms that appeared in this period, should consult the Explanation (of Jacob of Edessa). He will find how and when they were founded, when they vanished, how many kings they had and who they were.

Vespasian lived thirty years, ten of which were spent as an emperor (A.D. 69-79), and then died. His son Titus, who occupied and destroyed Jerusalem, succeeded him. He ruled in the year 395 of the Greeks (81 A.D.). Actually, Titus ruled between 79 and 81). Two years and ten months after assuming power, the Senate proclaimed him a god.⁴⁷¹ Because he accepted this deification, he died immediately being not even forty-five years old. In the year 397 of the Greeks (86 A.D.), his brother Domitian ruled fifteen years and five months.⁴⁷² He expelled from Rome the magicians and the philosophers, and forbade the planting of vines in the city.

⁴⁶³ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Three, Chapter 15, 100 of the English translation.

⁴⁶⁴ Philippians 4:3.

⁴⁶⁵ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Three, Chapter 28, 124 of the English translation.

⁴⁶⁶ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Three, Chapter 4, 84-85 of the English translation.

⁴⁶⁷ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Three, Chapter 28, 113-114 of the English translation.

⁴⁶⁸ Revelation 2:6

⁴⁶⁹ Acts 6:3-6.

⁴⁷⁰ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Three, Chapter 29, 114-115 of the English translation.

⁴⁷¹ Writing about Vespasian and Titus, Suetonius calls them The Deified Vespasian and The Deified Titus. See Suetonius, *The Lives of the Twelve Caesars*, translated by Joseph Gavorse (New York: Random House, The Modern Library, 1931), 321 and 337.

⁴⁷² Domitian ruled between 81 and 96.

BOOK SIX

When Christ's teaching spread with vigor, the philosopher Patrophilus asked his teacher Ursinus, "What is this? The majority of people believe in a crucified man. Even Theodore, the chief philosopher of Athens, Africanus of Alexandria and Martinus of Beirut and many others believe the same. They do not even have any consideration for wealth. They are strong by words and deeds." Ursinus replied, "Don't be surprised if all people will be subject to him (Christ). I believe that the gods and those who worship them will become his disciples. Indeed, his disciples do not allow themselves the practice of repugnant sin. This is a proof that their teaching is better than any other." When Domitian heard this, he marveled and halted the persecution.

Of the heretics who appeared in this period, was Simon the Magician and his disciple Menander the Samaritan who was well versed in magic. Simon claimed that he was the Savior, and thus misled many. He told them that they would never die if they became well versed in magic and would live long. Ebion, and in Hebrew poor, wretched, maintained that Christ was a simple man who was born by the association of man and woman... lacuna of two lines...

In this period, Vespasian ordered that those of David's race should be killed wherever they were found.⁴⁷³ Many Christians were also martyred for the sake of Christ, because all believers in Christ were considered of David's race.

In this period, Vespasian built the Capitol and erected the Light House in Alexandria, 125 foot tall.

A revolt took place in Alexandria.

In this time, plague swept Rome and thousands of people perished.

In this time before his death, Vespasian repatriated the Jews who were in exile.

In this time, the mountain (Lesebios) in the region of Rome erupted, and fire gushed out of it, which burned down the towns and regions in their neighborhood.

When Titus was proclaimed a god in Rome, a strong fire broke out in the city. When Domitian assumed power, he ordered that no man should be castrated.⁴⁷⁴ However, he killed many people of noble origin and banished others.⁴⁷⁵

In this time, three virgin servants of the goddess Vesta were caught in adultery. They were divested of the priesthood and delivered to death.⁴⁷⁶ In this time, Nasamonies and Daces were annihilated because of their war against the Romans.

Domitian built a temple without wood. He changed the name of the month of September into Germanicus, and the name of October into Domitianus.⁴⁷⁷

Cornelia, the chief priestess of the goddess Vesta, was accused of corruption and was buried alive.⁴⁷⁸

In this time, Domitian was proclaimed an emperor in Dacia and Germania.

In this year, Flavius Josephus finished his book *Antiquities* in twenty books.

In this time, the philosophers Apollonius of Tayne and Euphrates flourished. Apollonius performed works of magic influenced by demons in the name of the son of Mary. For this, some call him Phlanius.

In this time, Abgar the king of Edessa built a sepulcher.

In this time, many divine miracles appeared in Rome and everywhere else.

Emperor Domitian was killed in his palace.⁴⁷⁹

Here ends the era of Vespasian and his two sons Titus and Domitian. He who reads let him pray for me.

⁴⁷³ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Three, Chapter 12, 99 of the English translation.

⁴⁷⁴ Suetonius, *The Lives of The Twelve Caesars*, translated by Joseph Gavorse, 349.

⁴⁷⁵ Suetonius, *Ibid*, 351-353.

⁴⁷⁶ Suetonius, *Ibid*. 350.

⁴⁷⁷ According to Suetonius, Domitian changed the names of these months "because in the former he had come to the throne and was born in the latter." See Suetonius, *Ibid*. 355.

⁴⁷⁸ Suetonius, *Ibid*, 350.

⁴⁷⁹ Domitian was slain in his bedroom. See Suetonius, *Ibid*. 358.

Chapter Four: On the time of Trajan and his sons Hadrian and Antoninus

In the year 413, Nerva (96-98) ruled one year in Rome. All the people also proclaimed him a god. Because of this, he was afflicted by a malady that spread throughout his body. He died in the garden of Sallust.

In the year 414, Trajan ruled 19 years and 6 months. The Senate decided to divest Domitian of the honor of royalty after his death because of his multiple crimes.⁴⁸⁰

Trajan stirred up persecution against the Christians. Among the victims were Simon Cleophas, bishop of Jerusalem and Ignatius of Antioch. In addition, Plinius Secundus, (Pliny) the Eparch, killed many Christians. While a great number of Christians were condemned to death, others were removed from their positions. When he saw how many the believers were, he became troubled and did not know what to do. He (Pliny) wrote to Trajan saying, "I found no offence by the Christians except that they do not sacrifice to the gods. They pray when they rise in the morning. They worship Christ as God. They abhor adultery, murder and every disgraceful act." When Trajan learned of these things, he issued a decree not to punish the Christian sect, except those already condemned." Tertullian discusses these things.⁴⁸¹

At the end of Trajan's rule, the Jews revolted in Egypt and set up a king called Lukuas who led them to Judea. Trajan sent Lysias who killed myriads of them and was appointed a governor of Judea.⁴⁸²

Trajan lived 66 years, 19 of which as emperor, and then died.

In the year 433, which is the year 436 of the Greeks, Hadrian ruled.⁴⁸³

The sovereignty of Edessa came to an end. The Romans set up governors there as in every other place.

In the fifth year of Hadrian, the River Cephisus inundated Elusinia, which prompted Hadrian to build a bridge over it. He wintered in Athens. In this same period, he established libraries furnished with the books of law by Solon and Dracon. Since then, science developed in Athens.

In the eighth year of Hadrian, the Jews revolted again in Jerusalem. They were deceived by a man nicknamed Bar Kowkba. He claimed that he had come down from heaven like a *kowkab* (star) to deliver them, and many followed him. He imprisoned and killed his opponents. When the emperor learned of him, he sent an army that killed the Jews and destroyed Jerusalem. On its ruins, they built a city called Elia in honor of the Emperor Aelius Adrian (Hadrian). They settled strangers in it. Hadrian cut off the ears of the Jews and made a law forbidding them to behold that country (about Jerusalem) even at a distance.⁴⁸⁴

The period from Vespasian to the total destruction (of Jerusalem) is 62 years, and from the Resurrection of our Lord, 102 years.

Hadrian accepted the apologetic message the philosophers presented about the Christian doctrine. Serenius, the prefect, also sent him messages about the Christians saying, "It is not fair to kill the Christians just for their name without charge or trial." Accordingly, the emperor addressed a letter to Minucius Fundanus, proconsul of Asia, instructing him not to kill the Christians without a charge or trial in conformity with the letter. Until now, Christian kings remember the order of Hadrian not to persecute the Christians.⁴⁸⁵

Hadrian died in Biena (Vienna) from dropsy having ruled 21 years.

⁴⁸⁰ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Three, Chapter 20, 103 of the English translation.

⁴⁸¹ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Three, Chapter 33, 119-120 of the English translation. Cf. Bernard F. Henderson, *Five Roman Emperors* (Barnes and Noble, 1927, repr. 1969), 42-43.

⁴⁸² There were several rebellions of the Jews in this period. One of them was the rebellion of the Jews of Cyrenaica led by Andreas Lukulus which was savagely crushed. Another rebellion of the Jews in Judea itself was harshly suppressed by the cavalry commander Lusius Qunitus, a Mauretanian. See Michael Grant, *The Roman Emperors* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1985), 73.

⁴⁸³ Hadrian was emperor from 117 to 138.

⁴⁸⁴ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Four, Chapter 6, 131-132, of the English translation. Eusebius does not say that Hadrian cut off the ears of the Jews. In Book Four, Chapter 8, 135 of the English translation, Eusebius produces a passage of Justin Martyr's apology for the Christians to Antoninus Pius saying that, "Barchochebas, the leader of the Jewish revolt, commanded the Christians alone to be led to severe and dreadful tortures, unless they would deny and blaspheme Jesus Christ."

⁴⁸⁵ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Four, Chapter 8, 136-137 of the English translation.; *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, 503, where the name of Fundanus appears as Funanus.

In his time, the First Council met in Nicaea attended by 43 bishops. They condemned Sabellius who blasphemed, saying that the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit are one *qnumo* (Syriac, person, substance, essence) known in three. In addition, they condemned Valentinus who said that, "The Lord brought down a body for himself from heaven." Hegesippus wrote with accuracy about this heresy. By the power of the true teaching of the disciples, he exposed the foolish and corrupt teachings of these miscreants.⁴⁸⁶

Some relate that the Apostle John remained in exile at the island of Patmos until the time of Nero. He was then released and, with other persecuted men, returned to Ephesus. He was martyred in the time of Trajan. Among his disciples were Papias of Hierapolis and Polycarp of Smyrna.

Evaristus became the fourth bishop of Rome for 10 years. Cedron became the third bishop of the Church of Alexandria for 11 years. The Apostle Andrew was the first bishop of Byzantium, Stycius the second bishop, Onesimus the third bishop for 24 years, Polycarp was fourth bishop for 14 years, Polytorus was a fifth bishop for 15 years and Cedekion was the sixth bishop for 8 years.

In the fifth year of Trajan, Diogene was made a bishop for 8 years.

In the seventh year of Trajan, John (the Apostle) died and was buried in Ephesus. He was succeeded by Timothy. John lived 74 years after the Resurrection of our Lord. Of his disciples ...lacuna... on the way he sent every believer ...lacuna... who met him in the cities of Syria ...lacuna... he sent them supplied with letters ...lacuna... and he wrote to Rome before he arrived ...lacuna... he said that he expected to become a food for animals. He implored them not to dissuade him from winning the crown of martyrdom. He said, "I welcome the animals which are ready to devour me." He rejoined, "I am God's grain to be ground by the teeth of animals in order to become pure bread on the heavenly table." He is the one who saw the angels sing in two choirs and instructed the church to do the same.⁴⁸⁷

In Edessa, after Addai the evangelist, Aggai became bishop. He was succeeded by Phalut, who received (the ordination) from Aggai. Phalut was succeeded by Bar Smayya, who converted the priest Sharbil, who, together with the virgin Euphemia, was martyred in Chalcedon in the time of Trajan.

In his fifteenth year, Trajan ordered that all foreigners be expelled from Rome because they had become a burden for the city. The foreigners requested permission to take with them the bones of Sts. Peter and Paul, because they were foreigners too. Trajan allowed them their request. As they were about to take the bones, the whole city trembled and was encompassed in dense darkness and fog, and Trajan let the foreigners return to the city.

In Alexandria, the fourth bishop was Primus for 11 years.

In Rome, the sixth bishop was Xystus for 11 years. He is the one who laid down these chapters. The seventh bishop was Telesphorus for 11 years.⁴⁸⁸

In this period, Drosis, daughter of Emperor Trajan, was martyred with many others.

In the Church of Alexandria, Justus was the fifth bishop for 11 years.

In Antioch, Cornelius who succeeded Ignatius was the fourth bishop.

In Ephesus, Timothy was succeeded by Onesimus and Gaius, another Gaius, Philologos and Lucius. In addition, Apollonius and Possidius the teachers became bishops.

In this time, the Christian philosophers Quadratus, a disciple of the Apostles, and Aristide submitted an apology about the faith to the Emperor Hadrian. It was accepted and the emperor halted the persecution.⁴⁸⁹

In this time (Saint Sophie) was martyred with her three daughters.⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸⁶ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Seven, Chapter 6, 274 of the English translation; Adolph Harnack *History of Dogma*, translated by Neil Buchanan, II (New York: Dover Publication, Inc., nd.): 81-101 and J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*, revised ed. (Harper and Row, Publishers, 1978), 121-123; Henry Bettenson, *Documents of the Christian Church*, second ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), 54-55.

⁴⁸⁷ See *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, 501.

⁴⁸⁸ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Four, Chapter 2, 129 of the English translation.

⁴⁸⁹ See Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Four, Chapter 6, 129-130 of the English translation.

⁴⁹⁰ See J. B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, I, 176 of the French translation.

In this time, Jerusalem was destroyed and Aelia was built. Its first bishop from the gentiles was Marcus (Mark). He is sixteenth in the succession of bishops.⁴⁹¹

In this time flourished Hegesippus, a Jew who believed in our Lord. In his five books, he expounded the deeds and apocalypses of heretics. He wrote that Antonius (Pius), a slave of Emperor Hadrian, made for himself an idol. People worshiped it while knowing who he was and where he was from.⁴⁹² He also wrote about how he found the Lord and rejected the teaching of heathens.⁴⁹³

In Alexandria, the sixth bishop was Ammonius for 13 years.

The life of Telesphorus of Rome ended with martyrdom after serving 11 years as a bishop. In Rome, Hyginus was the eighth bishop for four years. He was succeeded by Pius for 15 years.

In Antioch, Orus was the fifth bishop for 16 years.

In Alexandria, the seventh bishop was Marcianus for 10 years.

In Byzantium, Athenodorus was bishop for 13 years. He was succeeded by Euzoius for 5 years. In Jerusalem, after Marcus the gentile, Cassianus was the seventeenth bishop for 3 years. His successors were Poplius the eighteenth bishop for 4 years, Maximus the nineteenth bishop for 5 years, Julius the twentieth bishop for 5 years, Gaius the twenty-first bishop for 2 years, Symmachus the twenty-second bishop for 4 years, Gaius II the twenty-third bishop for 8 years, Julius the twenty-fourth bishop for 17 years and Capition the twenty-fifth bishop for 15 years.

In Alexandria, Celadion was the eighth bishop for 14 years.

In the Church of Rome, Anicetus was the tenth bishop for 17 years. In his time, Polycarp came to Rome and brought back many heretics to the orthodox faith. About Polycarp, Irenaeus says that he was converted by the Apostles and received the laying on of hands as the bishop of Smyrna in Asia. Irenaeus saw him when he was a child. Polycarp lived too long. *Here ends this Chapter.*

In this period flourished the philosophers Favorinus and Polemon the rhetorician. In addition, the philosophers Arrianus of Nicomedia, Maximus of Tyre, Apollinorius the Stoic of Chalchide, and Basilides of Scythopolis flourished. All of these were celebrated philosophers who taught the Caesar Verisimus.

In this period flourished Justus the Jewish chronicler. In the same period too, those whom Domitian had persecuted returned, and their possessions were given back to them. Along with them, the Apostle John returned from exile.⁴⁹⁴

In this period, Trajan subjugated the Dacians and the Scythians. In Rome, the Golden Mansion was destroyed by fire. Trajan made Dacia a province.⁴⁹⁵

A terrible earthquake took place destroying many cities. In Asia, the four cities of Elea, Myrina, Pytane and Cume were destroyed. In Greece, the two cities of Opyntium and Myrion were destroyed, and three cities of Galatia were destroyed.

The Pantheon of the temple of gods was destroyed by lightning.

In the same period, an earthquake, not so strong, took place in Antioch and devastated the city.

In this period, Saturninus appeared in Antioch after Meander. He claimed that seven angels created the world. God said to them, "Let us create man in our own image, in our likeness." They are the ones who instituted the law. Saturninus further taught that marriage was a work of the devil, and since the devils help the wicked, Christ came to help what is good.⁴⁹⁶

In Alexandria, Basilides proclaimed the heresy of Serpent Worshipers who were known as Gnostics. He said that the year consisted of 365 days. He also advocated immoral acts.⁴⁹⁷ ...lacuna...

⁴⁹¹ See Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Four, Chapter 6, 130 of the English translation.

⁴⁹² See Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Four, Chapter 8, 135 of the English translation.

⁴⁹³ The reference here is to Justin Martyr's apology to Antoninus Pius and his disenchantment with Greek philosophers and his admiration of Christian teaching. Eusebius, *Ibid.*

⁴⁹⁴ See Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Three, Chapter 20, 103 of the English translation.

⁴⁹⁵ Trajan annexed Dacia in A.D.106. See Bernard W. Henderson, *Five Roman Emperors* (New York, Barnes and Noble, 1927, repr. 1969), entire Chapter XI, entitled The Conquest and the Annexation of Dacia, 273-307.

⁴⁹⁶ Cf. Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Four, Chapter 7, 132-133 of the English translation.

⁴⁹⁷ Eusebius, *Ibid.*

In this period the Jews ...lacuna... against the Greeks who were there ...lacuna... and Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia) rebelled ...lacuna...⁴⁹⁸

The Senate proclaimed Trajan a god.

Upon assuming power, Trajan abolished liability for debts, remitted many tributes to many peoples, and burned the documents on which the debts of the cities were recorded.⁴⁹⁹

In this period flourished the philosopher Secundus the Silent, who astonished Hadrian, and he tried to break his silence. However, he resisted until death.

In this period flourished the philosophers Plutarch, Cheroneus, Sextus Agathobolus and Cenomaus. In this same period, the Stoic philosopher Euhrates passed away.

In this period, an earthquake took place and completely destroyed Nicomedia and most of Nicaea and its ancient buildings. Hadrian offered compensation to these cities and rebuilt them.

In this period, a Jew named Bar Kowkba rebelled and forced the people to follow him and fight the Romans. He killed many Christians.

In this period too, Antonius, son of Qetis died in Egypt. Because he was handsome, he was celebrated as a god.

A strange phenomenon appeared to Menander, the disciple of Simon, in the form of a two-headed serpent representing the heretics Saturninus of Antioch and Basilides of Alexandria. Saturninus, like Basilides, spoke falsehood about matters that have no truth. Basilides spread a heresy in Egypt and wrote twenty-four books against the Gospel. Therefore, the prophets (teachers) called him Barcaba and Barcoph. Others called him barbaric names, which do not provoke astonishment. He allowed the eating of sacrifices offered to the idols and apostasy to heathenism in time of persecution. He ordered his followers to remain silent for five years like the Pythagorians.⁵⁰⁰

In this period appeared Carpocrates, chief of the Gnostics, who followed in the footsteps of Simon the magician. They praised the recovery (of diseases) they received from demons. They rejoiced in abominable and obscene things.⁵⁰¹

In this period, the abuses of false prophets unleashed against the Christians intensified. They accused them of having relations with their mothers and sisters. Soon, however, their falsehood was exposed and the truth became evident.⁵⁰²

In this period, Mesonides of Crete, the poet and composer of the melodies of the kithara (cithara, zither), and the Platonic philosopher Taurus of Beirut⁵⁰³ became noteworthy.

The Kalbite (Cynic) Criscus (Crescens) of Cyzicus, planned the death of the Christian philosopher Justin, because he rebuked him for his gluttony and hypocrisy.⁵⁰⁴

Chapter Five: On the period of the reign of Titus Antoninus and his sons

After the death of Hadrian, the Roman Empire was ruled by Titus Antoninus, surnamed Pius.⁵⁰⁵ He was also called Justus. He began his reign in the year 450 of the Greeks (A.D. 129). He and his sons, (Marcus) Aurelius and Lucius (Verus), ruled for twenty-two years and three months.⁵⁰⁶ In his time,

⁴⁹⁸ These lacunas were filled by Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*, translated into English by Ernest A. Wallis Budge, I (Oxford University Press, 1932): 52. I refrained from doing the same.

⁴⁹⁹ Bar Hebraeus, *Ibid.* 52-53.

⁵⁰⁰ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Three, Chapter 7, 132-134 of the English translation.

⁵⁰¹ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Three, Chapter 7, 133 of the English translation.

⁵⁰² Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Four, Chapter 7, 134 of the English translation.

⁵⁰³ *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, 506.

⁵⁰⁴ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Four, Chapter 14, 150-152 of the English translation and *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, *Ibid.*, 506.

⁵⁰⁵ He ruled between 138 and 161. The title Pius was conferred upon him by the Roman Senate for his religious and patriotic sense of duty.

⁵⁰⁶ Antoninus Pius adopted Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus who both succeeded him. Marcus Aurelius ruled from 161 to 180, and Lucius Verus from 161 to 169.

Antoninus was called Father of the Country.

In Antoninus' time, Justus (Justin) of Neapolis⁵⁰⁷ near Jerusalem, went to Rome and presented an apology for the Christians. The emperor accepted the philosopher's apology and wrote to Asia instructing them not to persecute the Christians. As a result, peace prevailed.

In this time, the heretics Marcion and Cedron proclaimed that they were eternal and denied the resurrection. Cedron, who is Marcion (this is apparently an error, for Cedron was not Marcion but preceded him), journeyed to Rome in the time of Hyginus, the ninth bishop. He taught that the God who is known in the law (of Moses) and the prophets is not the Father of Jesus, for this God is known (revealed), but that God is unknown. This God is just, the other is good. Cedron and Marcion were immersed in magic. They baptized their followers with water saying, "In the name of the Father of all, the incomprehensible. In the name of that one who descended upon Jesus." They further mentioned Hebrew names in order to provoke the wonderment of those who would accept their mysteries.⁵⁰⁸

The Story of Marcion

Marcion was the son of a bishop of Pontus. His father expelled him because he violated a virgin and fled to Rome. From there, he removed to Asia and became an adherent of Aristinus, bishop of one of the cities, who ordained him a priest. When Aristinus was dying, Marcion was not present (at his deathbed). Therefore, Aristinus called Saturnilus and said, "I will keep with you the trust of the priesthood until Marcion should be present. Place over his head what you will receive from me, and he will become your principal head because he is a priest and older than you." Shortly afterwards, Aristinus died. When Marcion came back, Saturnilus informed him of what happened, and Marcion said, "I am an old man and have preached and baptized people, how should I lower my head before you, only a child?" Saturnilus replied, "You are not lowering your head before me but before the Lord of the priesthood, the ancient of days." Marcion did not obey. Saturnilus said to him, "I will never abandon what you have rejected."

Marcion went back to his rounds preaching his corrupt teaching, which is alien to the true teaching of the apostles. He denied the resurrection and the judgment. Formerly, his name was Barcion, meaning a "barking dog" But his disciples called him Marcion as a matter of deference. He taught that there were three eternal persons, the Good, the Just, and in between, the Matter, which symbolizes evil in the earth. He further taught that when the creator wanted to overcome evil, he created everything from matter. From the immaculate elements, he created the sun, the four elements and Paradise. He took mud from Paradise, made man, and instilled in him a soul from his proper nature. From sediment, he made Sheol, Tartatus, and all evil things. This wretch (Marcion) used to insult the Creator and the Prophets. He only accepted the Gospel of Luke. He also said that the Good One instituted the New Testament and the Just, the Old Testament. He claimed that Christ took body and suffered, while in fact, he did not suffer. In the year 446 of the Greeks/135 A.D., Marcion was anathematized.⁵⁰⁹

In this time flourished the church historian Hegesippus, and Justus (Justin) and his disciple Tatian.⁵¹⁰ Tatian was orthodox when he was a disciple of Justus (Justin). However, after the martyrdom of his master, he deviated and followed the error of Saturninus and Marcion. Like Valentinius, he became a Phantasiast who believed in invisible worlds. He considered marriage an adultery and defilement. He compiled the four

⁵⁰⁷ Present day Nabulus.

⁵⁰⁸ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Four, Chapter 11, 137-138 of the English translation. On p. 139, Eusebius gives an account of Justin about the same heresy of Cedron and Marcion.

⁵⁰⁹ There is no indication where Michael Rabo derived his information about Marcion and the Marconites. He may have used with great liberty the discourses of St. Ephraim (d. 373) against Marcion. Even if he derived his information from another source, it is not certain whether he produced the exact ideas of Marcion, be they theological or philosophical. For a thorough and illuminating account of the system of Marcion, see F. C. Burkitt, Introductory Essay in *S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion, and Bardaisan*, translated from the Syriac by C. W. Mitchell, Vol. II (London, William Norgate, 1921), cxvii-cxxii, and Rev. Henry Wright Phillott, "Marcian," in *A Dictionary of Christian Biography*, Vol. III (London: John Murray, 1882), 816-824. On p. 818, the author mentions what St. Ephraim says about Marcian.

⁵¹⁰ See Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Four, Chapter 8, 135-136 of the English translation. The name Justus should be Justin.

BOOK SIX

Gospels into one called *Diatessaron* (the mixed Gospels). He became the advocate of the heresy of the Encratites. He composed verses showing that Christ came from the seed of David, and twisted the words of the Apostles to prove his own words.⁵¹¹

In this period, the philosopher Pregrenius kindled a fire in an assembly and burned himself.

In this period too, a deadly plague broke out and reached as far as Rome.

In this period, a false prophecy appeared among the Cataphrygians.

By the power of our Lord Jesus (this account) is finished.

About this time, Marcion approached Polycarp and said to him, "Acknowledge me." Polycarp answered, "I acknowledge that you are the first born of Satan."⁵¹² This is how the holy apostles and their disciples were so cautious not to communicate even one word with those who distort the truth.

When persecution broke out in the time of King (Emperor) Antoninus, the blessed Polycarp never ceased praying for the peace of the church. Three days before his martyrdom, as he was praying, he saw a vision that fire suddenly kindled in his bed and consumed it. When he woke up, he interpreted the vision saying, "I will by fire leave this world for the sake of Christ." When the persecutors chased after him, and caught up with him, he spoke to them kindly. He prepared food for them and asked their permission to let him pray, and he remembered them in his prayer. Some of them said to themselves, "How righteous and God-fearing is this man who is about to be killed?" They brought him to the city. A great altercation took place in the palace because of him. While he was about to enter the palace, a voice came down from heaven saying, "Be courageous, Polycarp!" The judge said to him, "I ask you to revile Christ." Saint Polycarp said, "For sixty-eight years I have been worshipping him and no harm came to me. How can I revile my king?" The judge said to him, "Swear by the genius of Caesar." Polycarp replied, "You must be joking, or pretending that you don't know who I am. Hear this. I am Christian. If you wish to know what the doctrine of Christ is, grant me one day's opportunity and listen to me." The proconsul said, "Convince the people." The saint said, "I address my speech to you. God commanded us to obey and honor the leaders. They do not need an apology addressed to them." The judge said, "I will throw you to the beasts." The saint said, "Call them. We will never alter the understanding of repentance from good to evil." Immediately, they lit a fire and tied his hands to his back. As he entered the fire, the flames turned into something like a ship's sail filled with air surrounding the saint. When the persecutors saw that the fire did not harm him, the commander ordered an executioner to cut off his head with the sword, and he did. However, plenty of blood poured out of it and extinguished the fire. After he died, they burned the body in the fire to prevent the faithful from gathering his bones. Whatever was left of his remains, the faithful collected and took with them.⁵¹³

After Justin the philosopher addressed a second apology to the emperor about our teachings, and penned many writings including a commentary on the Old Testament, he received the crown of martyrdom.

In Rome, Soter became the eleventh bishop for 8 years.

In this time, the persecution of the Christians continued until the time of Marcus (Aurelius), brother of Antoninus who fought against the Alemanes (Germans) and the Sarmatians. His army almost perished from thirst as it camped in a waterless place. The Christian soldiers prayed to God for rain; immediately it began to rain and the army was saved. When the heathens saw this, they joined the Christians and confessed Christ. For seven days, they walked through the wilderness without water. However, whenever they reached a place without water, they prayed and rain began to fall on the camp. When the army commander witnessed this miracle, he wrote to the emperor and the emperor stopped the persecution of the Christians.⁵¹⁴

⁵¹¹ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Four, Chapter 14, 142 of the English translation.

⁵¹² Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Four, Chapter 29, 162-164 of the English translation.

⁵¹³ See Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Four, Chapter 15, 143-148 of the English translation.

⁵¹⁴ See Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Five, Chapter 5, 184-185 of the English translation.

In this time, Theophilus became the sixth bishop of Antioch. He penned several writings about the orthodox faith. After serving for 15 years, he was transferred to the eternal life. Maximus succeeded him for 8 years.

Chapter Six: Concerning the reign of Marcus, Antoninus and Lucius

In the year 477/A.D. 166, Marcus Aurelius began to reign as the seventeenth emperor of the Romans.⁵¹⁵ He and his (adopted) sons Antoninus Verus and Lucius ruled 19 years and 1 month. At the beginning of their reign, Vologeses, king of Parthia, marched against Roman territory and destroyed many villages. Antoninus (Verus) and his brother Lucius went and subjugated the Parthians to the Romans. As a result, Lucius triumphed and gained the title of Caesar. He held the government together with his brother Antoninus.

When Lucius was offering sacrifices in Athens, there appeared to him a fire from heaven moving from west to east. War began between the Romans, the Germans, and the Quadi, and between the Sarmatians and the Dacians. For his triumph, Lucius was proclaimed an *Autocrat*.⁵¹⁶

Lucius ruled nine years and then died.⁵¹⁷ Antoninus made his son, Commodus, a joint emperor who accompanied him in his campaigns against the invaders. The Roman Empire was constantly engaged in war. Antoninus fell ill (in Pannonia,⁵¹⁸ where he died. His son Commodus ruled 13 years (from 180 to 192). He was strangled and died in the house of Vestilianus.⁵¹⁹

In this period flourished the Cilician poet Oppianus who wrote about the fishing trade and Atticus the Platonist.

In this period, the emperor distributed presents and established many spectacles. He remitted the debts incurred by the emperor's treasury and burned the debt documents in the streets of Rome. He revised the laws and ordinances and kept what was appropriate of them.

In this time was also known a man named Severus. He supported the heretics Valentinus and Marcion. His adherents were called Severians. They accept the law (of Moses) and the Prophets.

In the year 475 (A.D. 162), the year 15 of Sahroq, during the reign of the son of Narses king of Persia, Nuhama and his wife Nahshiram fled to Edessa called Orhoi. While crossing the river near the city, Nahshiram gave birth to a son, and they called him Bar (son of) Daysan, after the river. From Edessa, they went to Hierapolis (Mabug, Manbij) and lived in the house of Anodouz, son of the chief of the city. Anodouz raised Bar Daysan and taught him the heathen songs. When he was twenty-five years old, Anodouz sent him to Edessa to buy some merchandise. While passing by the church that was built by Mor Addai (Thaddeus), Bar Daysan heard Hystasep sermonize from the Scriptures. Hystasep was the successor of Yazni in the episcopate of Edessa. He was very impressed by his words and he became attracted to Christianity. When he revealed to the bishop his yearning for Christianity, the bishop accepted him, baptized him, instructed him and ordained him a deacon.

Bar Daysan wrote several treatises against heretics. Soon, however, he became inclined toward the teaching of Valentinus. He believed in three natures and four substances: Mind, Force, Judgment and Conscience. He also believed in four forces: Fire, Water, Light and Wind.⁵²⁰ From them were generated

⁵¹⁵ Marcus Aurelius was emperor from 161 to 180.

⁵¹⁶ Michael Grant, *The Roman Emperors*, 94.

⁵¹⁷ Lucius died in 169 from apopleptic fit. See Michael Grant, *Ibid.* 94.

⁵¹⁸ A region today partly in Hungary and partly in Yugoslavia.

⁵¹⁹ According to John Malalas, Commodus died from a sudden hemorrhage in the house of his relative Faustinus. See *The Chronicle of John Malalas*, translated by Elisabeth Jeffreys, Michael Jeffreys and Roger Scott (Melbourne, 1986), 154, and *Chronicle of John Malalas Books VIII-XVIII*, Translated from the Church Slavonic by Matthew Spinka (The University of Chicago Press: Chicago, Illinois, 1940), 72, but does not mention Faustinus. After him, Pertinax ruled six months (January-March 193) and was then assassinated. For a description of Pertinax, see the *Historia Augusta* quoted in Michael Grant, *The Roman Emperors*, 104-105.

⁵²⁰ See *St. Ephraim's Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion and Bardaisan*, translated from the Syriac by C. W. Mitchell and completed by A. A. Bevan and F. C. Burkitt, 11 (London: Williams and Norgate, 1921), 72-74. For a thorough analysis of Bar Daysan's system, see in this same Vol. F. C. Burkitt, Introductory Essay, cxxii-cxxxi.

other substances estimated to be 360 in number. Bar Daysan maintained, that the one who spoke to Moses and the prophets was the chief angel, and not God, and that the Lord took an angelic body. He also maintained that the Virgin was endowed with a luminous soul and assumed a form of a body, that the dominions (angels) created man and provided the superior creatures (angels) with a soul and the lower or inferior ones with a body. The dominions gave the sun a brain, they gave Jupiter bones, they gave Mercury sinews, they gave Mars blood, they gave Venus flesh and they gave moon ...lacuna... As the moon takes off its rays every thirty days and enters unto the sun, thus, the Mother of Life takes off her clothes and enters the chamber of the Father of Life once every two days. He cohabits with her and she gives birth to 84 sons every year. All of these are the gods of Bar Daysan.

Bar Daysan further maintained that Christ, son of God, was born in Babylon. In the hour of Mars he was crucified, in the hour of Mercury, he was buried and in the time of Jupiter, he rose from the dead. He denied the resurrection from the dead. He claimed that dreams are true. He sanctioned sexuality saying, "Cohabitation with women is a better means of purity." When one of his disciples seduced a virgin, he would say, "She has completely purified him." Bar Daysan had sons Abgaron, Hasdo and Harmonius, who followed his teaching. Bishop Aggai, successor of Hystasep, advised him to come to the truth, but Bar Daysan did not obey. Therefore, he condemned him. Bar Daysan lived sixty-eight years and died in the year 533 of the Greeks/222 A.D. May his memory be accursed forever. Amen.⁵²¹

In this time, an earthquake destroyed Smyrna in Asia. Therefore, it was exempted from taxes for ten years in order to be rebuilt.

In this time, the temple of Serapis in Alexandria was burned down.

The Senate conferred the title Augustus upon Commodus. He removed the image of Collooses and set his own image instead. He massacred many prominent men, and made many grants to spectacles.⁵²²

In this time, thunder hit the Capitol causing great fire that consumed the library and other places. In Rome, the Palatine, the special place of Virgins, was destroyed.

In this period flourished Priscilla and Maximilia the false prophetesses.

In this period, dysentery, which is a kind of strange pernicious malady, spread.

In this period flourished the poets Apialus and Lycus who wrote about water contents.

In this period appeared in Phrygia in Asia a kind of poisonous and deadly reptile, of which I mean Montanus, who claimed to be the Paraclete. Of his supporters were Priscilla and Maximilia. They spoke these things whenever they were motivated by evil spirits inside them.⁵²³

In his Fifth Book, Eusebius says, "Learning grows with man beginning from childhood and unites firmly with his soul."⁵²⁴

In this period, Papias was martyred in Gaul. In addition, the struggle of a great number of noble and triumphant martyrs was recorded.

In Alexandria, Agrippinus became the twenty-ninth bishop for 12 years.

In this period, Melito of Asia, bishop of the Sardisians (the church of Sardis), addressed a discourse to the Roman Emperor Antoninus.⁵²⁵

⁵²¹ For more on Bar Daysan, see Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Four, Chapter 30, 167 of the English translation; and the most informative article by Rev. Fenton John Anthony Hort, "Bardaisan," in *A Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects and Doctrines*, edited by William Smith and Henry Wace, 1 (Boston: Little Brown & Company, 1877), 250-260, and Rev. William Cureton, *Spielegium Syriacum* (London: Rivington Waterloo Place, 1855), i-vi of the Preface and 1-34 which contains an English translation of Bar Daysan's *Book of the Laws of Countries*. On page 40, one finds Bar Daysan's idea of the celestial bodies, and that according to his calculations; this world will stand only six thousand years.

⁵²² There were several conspiracies and coups against Commodus to capture his throne. He, being a megalomaniac, preferred to be called Hercules son of Jupiter rather than Commodus. See Michael Grant, *The Roman Emperors*, 96-98.

⁵²³ See Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Four, Chapter 27, 165 of the English translation, and Book Five, Chapter 16, 195-199 of the English translation; J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*, 59-63, 199-200 and 427, and Henry Bettenson, *Documents of the Christian Church* (Oxford University Press, 1963, repr. 1981), 77-79.

⁵²⁴ The author here paraphrases the words of Irenaeus addressed to the schismatic Flornius. He says, "As the studies of our youth growing with our minds, unite with it so firmly, etc. See Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Five, Chapter 20, 204 of the English translation.

In this period were martyred a group of skillful writers, first of whom were Pontus, bishop of Crete; Hegesippus; Philip; Apollinarus, bishop of Hierapolis; Galatia; Irenaeus; and Dionysius, bishop of Corinth. Dionysius had a letter addressed to Poblus, his successor as bishop of Lacaedemonia and Athens, who was martyred during the persecution, which caused the Athenians to slacken. He was succeeded by Quadratus who addressed letters to Nicomedia concerning Marcion, and letters addressed to Crete and Pontus. He also addressed a letter to Soter, bishop of Rome informing him that the heretics had corrupted his letters.⁵²⁶

Polycarp was 120 years old when he was martyred. He spent 86 years in serving the episcopate, 74 years after the death of his master John, and 12 years in the company of his master.⁵²⁷

Justin composed writings as mentioned earlier, but we did not find any of them. They were quoted by Irenaeus, 4th bishop of Lyon and by Eusebius.⁵²⁸

In this period, Phothius (Pothinus), bishop of Lyons, was martyred being 90 years old.⁵²⁹ He was succeeded by Irenaeus, the disciple of Polycarp. Irenaeus had many treatises that pointed to the apostolic talents of many (men). He accepted the Book of Revelation of John and the Shepherd of Hermas. He said that Theodotus, bishop of Pontus, and Aphola of Ephesus were profligate Jews, and they were the cause of the perversion of the Ebionites.⁵³⁰

In Edessa, Neron succeeded Bar Smayya, who converted the heathen priest Sharbil.⁵³¹ He was succeeded by Tiridate, who was succeeded by Bouzni, who was succeeded by Shaloula, who was succeeded by 'Abda, who was succeeded by another 'Abda, who was succeeded by Yazni, who was succeeded by Hystasep who was succeeded by Aqqi (Aggai), in whose time the heresy of Bar Daysan appeared and Aqqi condemned him.

In the Church of Jerusalem, the twenty-sixth bishop was Maximinus, the twenty-seventh bishop was Antoninus, the twenty-eighth bishop was Valens, the twenty-ninth bishop was Dolichianus, the thirtieth bishop was Narcissus, the thirty-first bishop was Dius, the thirty-second bishop was Germanion, the thirty-third bishop was Gourianos (Gordius) and the thirty-fourth bishop was Narcissus II. All of them were bishops of Jerusalem. We have not found duration of the years in which they served.

In Alexandria, Julianus was the tenth bishop for eleven years, and Demetrius the eleventh bishop for 23 years.

In the Church of Antioch, Maximinus was the seventh bishop who was succeeded by Serapion for 21 year.

In the Church of Rome, Elutherus was the twelfth bishop for 15 years, and Victor the thirteenth bishop 12 years.⁵³²

Photius had passed 90 years of age when he was martyred for the sake of Christ, along with the martyrs of Gaul.

Irenaeus mentions that the Apostle Matthew wrote his Gospel in the Hebrew dialect at the time when Peter and Paul preached in Rome. Mark wrote his Gospel after their martyrdom, as mentioned earlier. Luke wrote his Gospel dictated to him by Paul.⁵³³

⁵²⁵ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Four, Chapter, 26, 162 of the English translation.

⁵²⁶ See Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Four, Chapter 23, 158-160 of the English translation.

⁵²⁷ On Polycarp, See Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Four, Chapters 14 and 15, 141-150 of the English translation; *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, 507-508 and Rev. George Salmon, "Polycarpus," *A Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects and Doctrines*, ed. William Smith and Henry Wace, 1 (London, 1887), 423-431.

⁵²⁸ See Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 62, 112, 135, 139, 151-153, and 155 of English translation.

⁵²⁹ See Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Five, Chapter 1, 174 of the English translation.

⁵³⁰ Eusebius take this passage from Irenaeus, which evidently Michael Rabo has misquoted. The original passage reads thus, 'But not as some say, that now presume to interpret the Scriptures. 'Behold a young woman shall conceive and bear a son' as Theodotain of Ephesus and Aquila of Pontus, have translated, both of them Jewish proselytes. Whom the Ebionites following, assert that Jesus was begotten of Joseph" See Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Five, Chapter, 18, 189 of the English translation.

⁵³¹ On Bar Smayya and Sharbil, see William Cureton, *Ancient Syriac Documents* (Amsterdam: Oriental Press, 1967), 41-72.

⁵³² Eusebius mentioned some of these bishops and others were not. See the table of names of these bishops appended to Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*, 479-480 of the English translation.

In Byzantium, Protonicus was bishop for 18 years.

In Jerusalem, Maximus was bishop 4 years. He was succeeded by Antoninus for 3 years, and then by Valens for 4 years.

Theophile was in Caesarea, Palestine, and Polycarp was in Ephesus.

In Alexandria, the philosopher Pantenus and Clement surnamed *Stromateus* who was a bishop there, excelled in church doctrine.

At this time the question of Easter was raised. In Asia Minor, Easter was observed together with the Jewish Passover, while in Rome, Alexandria and Palestine, it was observed on the Sunday following the Passover in accordance with the apostolic tradition. For this reason, in Jerusalem met its Bishop Narcissus, Theophile, bishop of Caesarea, Cassianus, bishop of Tyre and Cyril bishop of Acre (Akka). They resolved to celebrate the Day of Resurrection after the Jewish Passover and circulated their decision to all the churches. Victor, bishop of Rome, and Irenaeus, bishop of Lyon, approved the resolution based on what they had received from the Apostles Peter and Paul. But Polycarp, bishop of Ephesus, and the bishop of Asia, did not accept the resolution. This prompted Victor to have them imprisoned on the grounds that they had violated the general consensus of the Universal Church. However, when he realized that his action would cause a serious sedition, he had them released. However, they remained holding their tradition until the convention of the Council of Nicaea. *End of the narrative.*

Chapter Seven: On the reign of Severianus, the 17th Emperor of the Romans

In the year 509/A.D. 198 of the Greeks, Severianus ruled 18 years.⁵³⁴ In his first year, a ferocious war waged between the Jews and the Samaritans. In the year 19 of his reign, he stirred up a violent persecution of the Christians all over the Roman Empire. Many were martyred and suffered various kinds of death because they confessed the divinity of Christ. The ferocity of this persecution was intensified until the death of Emperor Severianus.

In his time emerged the Barbarians and the people who inhabited the northwestern region at the foot of the mountain. Severianus marched against them, especially when they antagonized the Romans who were living within their borders. However, he died there among the Barbarians. According to another version, he was killed after having reigned 18 years.

In the year 528 of the Greeks/A.D. 217, Antoninus⁵³⁵ son of Severianus, succeeded him seven years in the second Indiction (cycle). He ordered the repatriation of those who were banished for the faith. One of these was Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem who was sent into exile when Narcissus was still living. After Antoninus ruled seven years, he was killed in Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia) between Harran and Edessa. He was succeeded by Macrinus (217-218) one year during which the circus of the church of Hephaistos in Rome was burned. The emperor was killed at Chalcedon. He was succeeded by another Antoninus for seven years. He was nicknamed Elgabalus.⁵³⁶ In his time Nicopolis in Palestine, that is to say Emmaus, was built. The chronicler Julius Africanus supervised its building.⁵³⁷

In the year 540 of the Greeks/A.D. 229, ruled Alexander⁵³⁸ son of Mamma (Mamaea), the pious woman who believed in Christ and extended help to the Christians.⁵³⁹ In the third year of his reign, the year 542 of the Greeks/231 A.D., Ardashir son of Pabak ruled the Persians. This was the beginning of the late Persian kingdom called the Sassanian, and it continued for 408 years. Twenty-five kings arose in it successively. It endured until the Arab kingdom emerged and put an end to it.

⁵³³ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Five, Chapter 8, 187-188 of the English translation.

⁵³⁴ He is Septimius Severus, who ruled from 193-211. See *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, 511.

⁵³⁵ He is Caracalla who ruled from 211 to 117. See *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, 514.

⁵³⁶ Elgabalus is a manifestation of the chief Semitic deity El. He claimed to be the natural son of Caracalla and the senate accepted his claim. He ruled between 218 and 222.

⁵³⁷ On Caracalla, Macrinus and Elgabalus, see Michael Grant, *The Roman Emperors*, 117-120, and 123-129.

⁵³⁸ Severus Alexander, 222-235.

⁵³⁹ Mamea was an exceedingly religious woman. It is said that she studied with Origen when she was living in Antioch. See *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, 516.

In this period appeared the heresy of Artemon, Theodotus, Asclepiades, Hermphilus and Apolloides. They maintained that Christ was merely an ordinary man.⁵⁴⁰

We found from predecessors that in the year 12 of Severus, he observed the Jubilee. It was the year 251 of the founding of Antioch.

In this period flourished Musanus who is one of us.⁵⁴¹

The philosopher Porphyry, having comprehended the teaching of Origen, declared it invalid. He censured him for cutting off his male member, which he considered a shameful act. He said that when Origen went to evangelize the heathens in one village, the people told him, "First worship with us (the idols) and then we will follow you." Upon hearing this, he worshiped with them. However, they deceived him and did not obey him.

Porphyry also said about Origen, that he believed that souls were created before the bodies. Furthermore, his doctrine of the Trinity was convoluted.⁵⁴² Therefore, many considered him a heretic. However, Eusebius greatly praised him. In his Sixth Book he says, "I believe that Origen deserves praise since childhood."⁵⁴³

In this period Judah, a Jewish teacher, was prominent. He wrote extensively on the Weeks of Daniel.⁵⁴⁴

In Book Six, Eusebius says, "The life of Origen, indeed, appears to me worthy of being recorded even from his tender infancy."⁵⁴⁵ In the year 10 of Emperor Severianus, persecution was intensified and many were martyred. Origen willingly desired to die and become a martyr. However, taking into consideration the interest of others, he refrained from doing so. His father, however, was martyred during the persecution. Origen studied under his father and became well versed in the Scriptures before delving deep into Greek philosophy. He started teaching at eighteen and applied his teaching with practicality. He was always with the martyrs to encourage them. All day long, he was engaged in performing arduous deeds and seldom slept the whole night. He never slept in a bed.⁵⁴⁶ He was meticulous in observing the words of the Lord who said, "Take no extra tunics."⁵⁴⁷ He fasted constantly following the path of the ascetics. He walked bare-footed. He never tasted wine. When he taught in Alexandria, he was sure to replace foolishness with wisdom. He took literally the words of the Gospel, "And there be eunuchs, which have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake."⁵⁴⁸ Accordingly, he castrated himself in his youth to avoid suspicion because he was teaching young men and women. Bishop Demetrius admired his courage and regarded his act as a manifestation of piety. Later, however, he became jealous of him because of his fame and the praise he received from men. He wrote censuring him and considering his act as unlawful. Afterwards, the bishops of Caesarea and Jerusalem performed the laying of hands on him and became his disciples.⁵⁴⁹ Eusebius said, "When Origen, also called Adamanus, noticed that he was in need of someone to assist him in teaching, he chose Heraclas, a conversant in theology, and entrusted him with the teaching of

⁵⁴⁰ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Five, Chapter 28, 213-214 of the English translation.

⁵⁴¹ According to Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Four, Chapter 28, 165 of the English translation, Musanus addressed a discourse to some brethren who swerved to the heresy of the Encratites.

⁵⁴² As usual, the author quotes at random from Eusebius. In order to get a picture of what Porphyry said about Origen, the reader is advised to check Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Six, Chapter 19, 237-240 of Cruse's translation.

⁵⁴³ In order to understand what Eusebius exactly said about Origen, it is better to read his *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Six, Chapters 2 and 3, 217-222 of the English translation.

⁵⁴⁴ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Six, Chapter 7, 25 of the English translation.

⁵⁴⁵ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Six, Chapter 2, 217 of the English translation.

⁵⁴⁶ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Six, Chapter 3, p. 222 of the English translation.

⁵⁴⁷ Matthew 10:10.

⁵⁴⁸ Matthew 19:12.

⁵⁴⁹ Of those who studied under Origen, is Plutarch the martyr who succeeded Demetrius as patriarch of Alexandria, Dionysius who succeeded Heraclas who became a bishop of Alexandria after Demetrius, Dionysius who succeeded Heraclas, Gregory and Athanasius who became bishops of Pontus and Theodore the Great. Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Six, Chapter 3, 220 of the English translation.

beginners.⁵⁵⁰ However, he dedicated himself to the teaching of the more learned. He went to Arabia in response to its governor and at the behest of the bishop of Alexandria, to teach the governor. After spending sometime in Arabia, he returned to Alexandria.⁵⁵¹

Mamea, mother of the emperor (Severus Alexander), also studied under Origen, and became affirmed in the faith. The historian Africanus asked Origen about the veracity of the story of Susannah, and he said, "It is a true story." He also informed him of many matters.⁵⁵² He died at the age of 69.

All of these things were recorded by Eusebius as a testimony in favor of Origen.⁵⁵³

Although we have detailed these things, we have not been remiss to mention that the Fathers (of the church) have rejected Origen's teaching. Particularly, when he said that torment is not eternal, meaning that sinners are tormented in hell for a while according to the enormity of their sins and then become saved. Such ideas are not accepted as a part of the sound teaching. It is also reported that Origen denied the resurrection of the dead. He also said that the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit were created. For this reason, he was expelled from Alexandria and went to Palestine.

In this time, Maximinus (235-238) reigned because of hatred to his predecessor. He stirred up persecution against the faithful.⁵⁵⁴ Sergius and Bacchus were crowned with martyrdom, who had been sent to Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia). In addition, Bishop Cyprianus and many others in Alexandria were martyred. Others remained in Iconium until the death of the accursed Maximinus. Mor Azazael was also martyred in Rome in this period. May his prayer and the prayers of his companions protect us. Amen. *This account is ended with the help of God.*

In this time, Clement of Alexandria was renowned for his true teachings. He said, "We do not present this significant event in an ostentatious book, but as memoirs. It is the gift treasure of old age to childhood. It is an imperfect picture of strong and living images by which I mean the words of blessed men which I have heard."⁵⁵⁵

In the twelfth year of Severus, Origen came upon a translation of the Scriptures different from those found by Aquila, Symmachus and Theodoton in Samosata (that is Nicopolis). It is even different from the copy of the scriptures found in a jar in Jericho. He collected the five versions with the Septuagint translation and composed five books, the *Hexapla*, and collated them with the Hebrew version. He was assisted in the copying by seven men.⁵⁵⁶

In Antioch, Asclepiades was the ninth bishop for 12 years. He was firmly established in the faith. The tenth bishop was Philip.⁵⁵⁷

In Rome, Zephyrianus was the fourteenth bishop for 18 years, Calixtus the fifteenth bishop for 5 years, Urbanus, the sixteenth bishop for 8 years.

In Byzantium, Marcus was bishop for 13 years.

In Ephesus, Onesimus was succeeded by Pisidius and then followed by Alucius and then Proclus.

In Antioch, Zebina was the eleventh bishop.

In Rome, Pontinaus was the seventeenth bishop for 5 years and 8 months; Anterus was the eighteenth bishop for 8 months and Fabinaus the nineteenth bishop for 13 months.

In the church of Alexandria, Heraclas was the twelfth bishop for 16 years. In Jerusalem, Narcissus left for the desert and was succeeded by Dius for 3 years. He was succeeded by Germaneson for 7 years,

⁵⁵⁰ Eusebius, Book Six, Chapter, 15, 235 of the English translation.

⁵⁵¹ Eusebius, Book Six, Chapter, 19, p. 240 of the English translation.

⁵⁵² Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Six, Chapter 31, 250 of the English translation.

⁵⁵³ George Synkellos does not have much respect for Origen. He even has less respect for Eusebius who praised him and championed him. He criticizes Eusebius for lavishing words of praise on him while making only brief remarks about the holy and blessed fathers of that time. See *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, 525-526.

⁵⁵⁴ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Six, Chapter 28, 248 of the English translation, and in the same *The Book of Martyrs*, Chapter 13, 375-377 of the English translation.

⁵⁵⁵ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Five, Chapter 11, 191 of the English translation.

⁵⁵⁶ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Six, Chapter 16, 235-236 of the English translation.

⁵⁵⁷ Eusebius mentions Asclepiades as Acebiades in *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Five, Chapter 17, 199 of the English translation.

and then by Gordius for 2 years. It is reported that many miracles are attributed to Narcissus during the life of Alexander as related by Eusebius. Eusebius says, "In the Passover, oil became scanty. Some wicked men did not like him (Alexander) for fear of being condemned by him. They concocted a plan affirmed by oath. One of them said, 'if the case of the oil is not true, I should be burned by fire'. Another said, 'May my body be afflicted by a disease.' A third said, 'May my eyes be blinded.' No one, however, believed them. The saint (Alexander) endured them patiently. Then, he left the meeting and lived in the desert for a long period during which he executed the punishment these men imposed on themselves. A spark fell upon the house of the first one and burned his household. The second was afflicted by a vicious skin disease (leprosy) from the top of his head to the bottom of his feet, and he was extremely tormented. When the third one saw what happened, and their devilish work was exposed, he confessed before the entire people the vicious stratagem that had been planned. Still, his eyes were blinded from weeping and lamenting. Thus, each of these men received his punishment. When the people failed to find the place the blessed Alexander went to, they set up Dios in his place. However, Alexander appeared three years later and the bishop implored him to resume his service. Old age, however, prevented him from doing so. Then it dawned on Bishop Alexander of Cappadocia, to serve as a suffragan of Narcissus. When he came to Jerusalem to worship, the people did not let him return to his country. Apparently, God had revealed to them that he should serve in Jerusalem. In the letter he addressed to the Antinonites, he said, 'Narcissus salute you, the same who before me held the episcopate here, and is now colleague with me in prayers, being now advanced to the hundred and tenth year.'

Here ends this narrative. I appeal to, and implore any brother whomever he is, who reads this to pray for me by the love of the crucified one. Yes, and Amen.

Chapter Eight: On the time of six Roman Emperors

In the year 562 of the Greeks/A.D. 251, Philip ruled 7 years. (More correctly, he reigned from 244 to 249. He is called the Arab because his father was an Arab chieftain named Marinus).⁵⁵⁸ In his time, the Christians enjoyed peace and safety.⁵⁵⁹ His associate in government was his son also called Philip. In his first year, Sapor son of Ardashir, ruled the Persians 31 years. According to Andronicus, the reign of Philip marks a millennium of the foundation of Rome. A great number of animals were killed in the Great Circus for this occasion. In addition, the spectacle of Mars was celebrated which took place on three moonlit nights for three days. The theater of Pompeii of the seven columns was burned. Four hundred horsemen lancers competed in the celebration of the founding of Rome.

Decius⁵⁶⁰ killed Philip (for hatred of him) and his son, and ruled one year.⁵⁶¹ He, in turn, was killed in Atriton in the Forum of Tembronios, and Gallus ruled 2 years.⁵⁶²

In this time, a vicious malady spread throughout the countries, especially Egypt.

Gallus and Volusianus⁵⁶³ were killed in the Forum of Flaminius, and Valerian⁵⁶⁴ ruled 15 years. He stirred up persecution against the Christians.

Sapor, king of Persia devastated Syria, Cilicia and Cappadocia.

When the Goths crossed the Danube, they seized the inhabitants of the provinces and those of the isles of Cyclades, and took them captive to Persia.

Gallienus,⁵⁶⁵ died after relieving the Christians from persecution.⁵⁶⁶

⁵⁵⁸ See Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Six, Chapter 34, 252 of the English translation, and Michael Grant, *The Roman Emperors*, 152.

⁵⁵⁹ Eusebius, *Ibid.*

⁵⁶⁰ Trajanus Decius, 249-251.

⁵⁶¹ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Six, Chapter 39, 254 of the English translation.

⁵⁶² Emperor Trebonianus Gallus 252-253.

⁵⁶³ Gallus's son.

⁵⁶⁴ Emperor, 253-260.

⁵⁶⁵ Son of Valerian. Emperor, 253-268.

BOOK SIX

In these times, the true faith was spreading by heavenly dispensation that is divine grace and astounding miracles.

He, who meticulously contemplates the persecution inflicted by these kings (emperors) on the Christians, will learn that they were punished for their actions. For example, Decius who killed the Christians was himself killed less than one year from his rise to power.⁵⁶⁷ As a result, peace prevailed in the church of God. In addition, Valerian, who halted the persecution of Christians for 14 years, resumed it in the year 15. In this same year, he himself was murdered in Milan.⁵⁶⁸ *End of the account.*

In this period appeared the heresy of the Helcesaites, who asserted that there is no punishment for the person who denies (Christ) outwardly by mouth.⁵⁶⁹ They have a spurious book, which they believe anyone who listens to it (believes it) will receive forgiveness of sins. They also reject saints.⁵⁷⁰

In this time, Eusebius said that Cyril (more correctly Beryllus), bishop of Bostra in Arabia, dared say about our Lord that, "Before he was Incarnated, he had no proper divine essence, except for the divinity of the Father which dwelt in him."⁵⁷¹ Origen and the bishops disputed with him and won him back to the true path. They also exposed the heresy of those who maintain the corruption and the annihilation of the soul with the body, and that it will regenerate immediately on the Day of Resurrection and rise with the body. This heresy particularly spread into Armenia. Origen journeyed to that country and put an end to it.

Until this time, the custom was that the heretics who were restored to the faith were to be purified by prayer and the laying on of hands. However, when in this time, there was a need to test (the true faith) of bishops, twenty-four bishops met with Cyprian (d. 258), bishop of Carthage, and resolved that these heretics should be baptized before being accepted. They issued 20 canons in this regard. However, Stephen, bishop of Rome, contested this, saying, "Nothing new should be made contrary to traditions which have prevailed from ancient times." As a result, a heated controversy took place among them.⁵⁷²

In this period, the presbyter Novatus denied the forgiveness of sins after baptism. A council of sixty-four bishops in the neighborhood of Rome met to discuss his allegation.⁵⁷³

In the meantime, Sabellius of Ptolemais appeared in Pentapolis, a city of Libya, a province of Egypt. He maintained that there is one *qnumo* (Syriac for person, essence, substance) of the Holy Trinity. He appeared to the prophets as the Father in the Old Testament, was incarnated as the Son in the New Testament and spoke through the Apostles as the Holy Spirit. Dionysius of Alexandria refuted him.⁵⁷⁴

In this same period appeared Nepos in an Egyptian city. He taught like the Jews saying that, "The righteous will reign a thousand years on earth, and will eat and drink."⁵⁷⁵

In this same period too, Paul of Samosata deviated from the faith by renewing the corrupt teachings of Artemon, bishop of Caesarea of Cappadocia. Theotecnus of Caesarea in Palestine; Gregory, bishop of Neo-Caesarea; Theodore, bishop of Petra; Alexander, bishop of Tarsus; Nikomas, bishop of Iconium; Maximus, bishop of Bostra; and Hymenaeus, bishop of Jerusalem convened a council and censured Paul and he repented. With this, the council dispersed. Four years later, he (Paul) returned to his vomit. The council reconvened and anathematized him because he said that Christ was a mere man. In fact, he fell

⁵⁶⁶ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Seven, Chapter 13, 285-286 of the English translation.

⁵⁶⁷ For Decius' persecution of the Christians, see Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Six, Chapter, 39, 254 of the English translation.

⁵⁶⁸ See *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Seven, Chapter, 10, 278 of the English translation.

⁵⁶⁹ This heresy reminds us of the Islamic *taqiyya*, which permits Muslims to deny their faith outwardly in order to save their lives.

⁵⁷⁰ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Six, Chapter 38, 254 of the English translation.

⁵⁷¹ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Six, Chapter 38, 254 of the English translation.

⁵⁷² Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Seven, Chapter 3, 272 of the English translation.; Philip Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom*, II (New York: Harper & Brother, 1882), 20-21 and Rubens Duval, *La Littérature Syriaque*, translated into Arabic by Rev. Louis Qassab as *Tarikh al-Adab al-Suryani* (Baghdad, 1992), 182-183 where Duval states that the German Orientalist Paul Anton La Garde (d. 1891) had published the canons of the Third Council of Carthage according to Paris MS (Syriac) 62.

⁵⁷³ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Six, Chapter 43, 263 of the English translation and Book Seven, Chapter 8, 276 of the English translation.

⁵⁷⁴ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Seven, Chapter 6, 274 of the English translation.

⁵⁷⁵ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Seven, Chapter 24, 295 of the English translation.

because of his association with Zenobia (Queen of Palmyra) especially when the Persians defeated the Romans and controlled Syria. Zenobia maintained the Jewish doctrine. The wretched Paul tried to get close to her, and thus fell into Artemon's heresy. A number of women followed him who sang for him. It is said that he committed adultery. When he was divested from his Episcopal dignity, he leaned on that woman (Zenobia), whom the Persians granted power over entire Syria. The bishops informed Emperor Aurelian, who although himself a heathen, ordered Paul expelled from the church.⁵⁷⁶ *End of the account.*

In this period, Cornelius, as the twentieth bishop, occupied the Episcopal See of Rome for 3 years, Lucius, the twenty-first bishop for 8 months, and Stephen, the twenty-second bishop for 2 years.

In Alexandria, Dionysius was the thirteenth bishop for 17 years. He was a pupil of Origen but was not inclined toward heresy. He was an eloquent speaker. He had many writings on doctrine.

In Antioch, Babula (Babylas) was the thirteenth bishop. After eight years, the governor tried to enter the church but Babula stopped him. The governor became outraged and killed many Christians, among whom was the bishop and three of his disciples.⁵⁷⁷

In this period, Gregory of Neo-Caesarea flourished. He achieved fame for his teaching and multiple miracles. He received the episcopate from Phedimus, bishop of Amasia.

In this time, and during the persecution of Decius, the forty martyrs of Sebastea were crowned with martyrdom. In this time, too, the monasteries of the solitaries began to appear in the Egyptian desert through the blessed Paul of Thebes and Antony.

In Antioch, Demetrianus was the fourteenth bishop and Paul of Samosata the fifteenth bishop. He fell into heresy and was removed from office.

In Rome, Xystus was the twenty-third bishop for eleven years; Dionysius was the twenty-fourth bishop for nine years.⁵⁷⁸

In Jerusalem, Mazabanus was the thirty-seventh bishop and Hymenaeus the thirty-eighth bishop.⁵⁷⁹

In the time of Emperor Decius, who hated the Christians, these men were martyred: Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem; Fabianus, bishop of Rome; Fabius, bishop of Antioch who succeeded Babula (Babylas); and Christophorus with a group of faithful. He also murdered Emperor Philip and his son because they were Christians.⁵⁸⁰

In Decius' time, seven young men fled Ephesus and hid in a cave, because Decius oppressed the Christians immensely and forced them to apostatize. Some did apostatize out of fear of him. However, they repented after he was killed, and the persecution ended. Some of the apostates went to Rome asking for forgiveness. Novatus said that for them there is no remission of sin. Thus, he was branded as chief of the Cathari. Cornelius wrote about him to Fabius of Antioch that, "Novatus was seduced by Satan when he came to Rome. He was baptized when he was sick in bed (which is unlawful). In fact, he had apostatized in front of many during the persecution. Having made the oblation (Communion), and distributed a particle to each one, he would grab hold of the person receiving (the Communion) and would not let him go unless he swore not to desert him and follow Cornelius. He did this because he was intoxicated with the love of the episcopacy. He even deceived three bishops who ordained him secretly. He pretended that he was not ordained because of desire, but in spite of himself. For this reason, Dionysius wrote to him, "If you were truly forced to do this (accept the episcopate), you are free to leave it. You should not suffer anything because of it lest you tear up the church of God. Such action is no less evil than the worship of idols. I say that the worship of idols is far better. Why? Because for idols man sacrifices himself alone, but in this case, he offers himself for the church. Now, if you force the brethren to sustain harmony, know, then, that your

⁵⁷⁶ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Five, Chapter 28, 213-216 of the English translation, and Book Seven, Chapter, 29, 302 of the English translation; Adolph Harnack, *History of Dogma*, translated by Neil Buchanan, III (New York: Dover Publications, 1961), 81-101, and (J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*, 117-119 and 158-160.

⁵⁷⁷ Babylas succeeded Zebinus to the See of Antioch. See Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Six, Chapter 29, 249 of the English translation.

⁵⁷⁸ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Seven, Chapter, 14, 286 of the English translation.

⁵⁷⁹ Eusebius, *Ibid.*

⁵⁸⁰ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Six, Chapter 39, 254-255 of the English translation.

success will overwhelm their sins. But if you failed, then you should save yourself. I pray that you feel well and follow Christ."⁵⁸¹ *This narrative is ended. Brothers who read it pray for me.*

Chapter Nine: On the period of Claudius and the five emperors who ruled after him

In the year 588/A.D. 277, Claudius reigned one year. (Claudius II Gothicus was emperor from 268 to 270).⁵⁸²

At this time, Bruchion was convicted and imprisoned in Alexandria.

A sign like a crown appeared in the sky.

In Alexandria, warfare disturbed Bruchion.

Claudius died in Sirmium. (He died in 270 from the plague, which broke out in his army).⁵⁸³ In the year 589/A.D. 278 Aurelian ruled five years and five months.⁵⁸⁴ In the first year he destroyed the Palmyrians and the Gauls. He rebuilt the wall of Rome.⁵⁸⁵

After Bruchion was imprisoned for a few years in Alexandria, he was released to wreak more devastation in the fifth year of Aurelian. Aurelian died after being struck by lightning, after he persecuted the Christians.⁵⁸⁶

Tacitus ruled six months and was killed in Pontus.⁵⁸⁷

In this period Hormizd ruled in Persia.

Florian ruled only two months and was killed in Tarsus.⁵⁸⁸

In the year 593/282 A.D., Constantine was born.⁵⁸⁹ It is the fifth year of Aurelian who was struck by lightning.

In the eighth Induction (cycle),⁵⁹⁰ Probus reigned seven years, or six, according to Andronicus.⁵⁹¹ In the same year, Varaharan, son of Varahran, ruled in Persia seven years.

Saturnilus, in an attempt to rule over the Romans, rebuilt Antioch. He was killed in Apamea. Also, Probus was killed in Sirmium.

Carus and his two sons Carinus and Numerian, ruled two years and a few months. Carus died in Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia), Syria. His son Numerian, died in Africa where he was a consul.⁵⁹² Carinus, the second son, was haphazardly killed in the war with the Germans. *End of this account.*

In the fourth year of Aurelian, which is the year 592 of the Greeks (A.D. 281), Manes (Mani), who was twenty-three years old, appeared. This is his story:

A man named Patiḡ from Laphat, had a son from Taqshit whom he called Corbicus. When he was four years old, the wife of Arab lineage named Scytianus bought him. Scytianus was educated under the Egyptians and introduced the heresy of Empodectes and Phythagorus into Christianity. He had a disciple named Bodus who was formerly called Terbintos. It happened that Terbintos journeyed to Babylon with Scytianus's wife. He claimed that he was born of a virgin. He penned four books: one of them he called *The Mysteries*, the second, *The Gospel*, the third, *The Treasures* and the fourth, *The Disputation*. While practicing

⁵⁸¹ These passages are paraphrased with great liberty from Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Six, Chapters 43, pp. 263-267 of the English translation and Chapter 45, pp. 268-269 of the translation.

⁵⁸² See Michael Grant, *The Roman Emperors*, 179.

⁵⁸³ See Michael Grant, *The Roman Emperors*, 180.

⁵⁸⁴ Aurelian was emperor from 270 to 275. See Michael Grant, *The Roman Emperors*, 183.

⁵⁸⁵ Michael Grant, *Ibid.* 185-186.

⁵⁸⁶ A Thracian officer named Mucapor struck down Aurelian. See Grant, *Ibid.* 187.

⁵⁸⁷ Tacitus, 275-276.

⁵⁸⁸ Florian, 276.

⁵⁸⁹ Constantine was born about A.D. 285.

⁵⁹⁰ The induction is a kind of levy used in the time of Emperor Diocletian, and it was paid in kind. As a system, it was subject to reassessment every fifteen years. By the end of the fifth century, it was commuted to a cash payment. However, the period of a fifteen-year cycle remained as a means of dating events. See *The Chronicle of Theophanes Anni mundi 6095-6305* (A.D. 602-813), edited and translated by Harry Turtledove (The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), 1, note 2.

⁵⁹¹ Probus was emperor from 276 to 282.

⁵⁹² Carus, 282-283; Carinus, 283-285 and Numerian, 283-284.

works of magic, he was struck by the spirit and died. The woman who was living with him buried him after taking all the gold he had accumulated. She bought the child Corbicus as mentioned earlier. She educated him with those books and then died. Corbicus took the gold and the books and went to Laphat and was called Manes (Mani). With these books, he deceived many people in the name of Christianity. He manipulated Christian teachings and was ordained a priest. He began to interpret the Scriptures. He disputed with the Jews and heathens. He sent Addai, one of his adherents, to evangelize the Armenians. He sent another one named Thomas to India. When they returned they told him that no one accepted them. Then, Manes deserted the Christian teachings and called himself Christ and the Holy Spirit. He gathered twelve disciples and breathed into them the "Spirit", and they went out to deceive the people. Manes said that God is corporeal and controls the eastern, western, northern and higher regions. However, there is another corporeal God, Matter, whom he called Evil who controls the southern and the nether regions. When Matter moved, its sons, who are demons, fire, water and idols quarreled with each other. As some of them oppressed the others, they reached heaven where there was light. They desired to mix their darkness with the light and the good. God saw them and burned them there, He took a small portion of light and hurled it to Matter, which swallowed it and became part of it. Thus, God was compelled to create the world and Adam, and Eve.

The Manicheans say that the world was created from the friction of Matter. They also claim that the sun and the moons were created from palm leaves. They further claim that those who grab the souls of people and of the good, which is mixed with Matter, are myriads. They take the souls up to where the light is in order that light will be freed from evil. They say that God places evil with light together with the soul that did not believe in Manes and they become united with fire.

Manicheans maintain that marriage is the act of the evil one. They deny the Resurrection of the dead and believe in reincarnation. They further maintain that everything has a soul including the dust and water, that the Lord did not assume a body and a soul and that his epiphany and suffering were sheer fantasy. They believe in the existence of twenty-five gods who have twelve women, and other abominable beliefs.

Manes pledged to heal the son of the Persian king. However, he failed and fled to Mesopotamia. The king chased after him until he found him. He skinned him, filled his body with straw, and hanged it on the city wall. This was the end of the wicked Manes.⁵⁹³ *End of the account.*

After Paul was expelled, Domnus became the sixteenth bishop of Antioch.

In Alexandria, Timothy became the fourteenth bishop for 17 years. In this period Eusebius, bishop of Laodicea, flourished in science.

In Rome, Felix was the twenty-fifth bishops for 15 years.

Until this date, the brethren have occupied the see of St. James in Jerusalem as Eusebius said in his Book Seven. He indicated the great honor that the faithful held for the saints. Eusebius says that the Revelation of John does not belong to him but to the presbyter John. Or, it belongs to Corinthus who propagated the idea of the millennium rule on earth. This is clear from the difference between the style of John's Revelation, Gospel and his epistles. Furthermore, John the Evangelist did not mention his name in his Gospel as he did in Revelation. Besides, the language of Revelation is not in sound Greek because he uses barbaric terms. However, I have no objection to the idea that this book is from God and that it contains revelation and prophecy and unravels mysteries ...lacuna... we have recorded the events that took place in our time. He also said about Paul of Samosata, who considered godliness a business, that pride controlled his worldly thinking. He built for himself a throne according to the perception of the world and not the Disciples of Christ. Whenever he made a decision, he hit the table with his fist or kicked it with his foot.

In the Church of Rome, Eutychianus was the twenty-second bishop for eight months. After him came Gaius for seventeen years.

⁵⁹³ For Manichaeism, its founder and system, see A. A. Bevan, "Manichaeism" in *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. James Hastings, 8 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916), 394-402, ND Martin A. Larson, *The Religion of the Occident* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1959), Chapter XV, 545-561.

In Alexandria, Theonas was the fifteenth bishop for nineteen years.

In Laodicea, Eusebius was succeeded by the renowned philosopher Anatolius. Both of them came from Alexandria. They excelled in religious and profane sciences. They were preceded by Socrates. After them came Theodotus who gained fame through them and their achievements in addition to his Episcopal dignity. He was proficient in human medicine. He had no equal in psychology. He endeavored to perform charitable acts and was quick to help the needy.

In this period, Theodotus of Caesarea of Palestine was also distinguished in learning. He was succeeded by Agapius who devoted special attention to poor people of his congregation. In his time, Pamphilius, a presbyter of one of the churches achieved fame as a discerning man and true philosopher. Meletius, bishop of the church of Pontus, also became distinguished. He was noted for his learning, philosophy and piety. He was perfect in everything. Learned men nicknamed him "The Perfect One."

In Byzantium, Domitianus was the twenty-seventh bishop for 23 years. Cosmas and Damianus were martyred in the time of the persecutor Numerian.⁵⁹⁴ *End of this account.*

Chapter Ten: On the period of Diocletian and his associates

Diocletian⁵⁹⁵ ruled according to this law (calendar, in the year 604 of the Greeks), or in the year 594 according to the opinion of others, or, the year 353 of the Antiochenes.⁵⁹⁶ Here the dates of Diocletian are clearly shown.

Three others ruled together with Diocletian. One of them was Maximian whom he associated as a ruler, and gave him his daughter Diocletiana to wife and nicknamed him Heraclius. The other is Maxentius, son of Maximian, who ruled in Rome, and Contantius, who ruled in Gaul and Britain. In the east, Diocletian and Maximian managed the affairs jointly.⁵⁹⁷

In this period Egypt revolted. However, the Romans subdued the revolt and killed a great number of people.

In the eleventh year of Diocletian, Narses ruled Persia 7 years. He was succeeded by his son Hormizd who ruled 5 years.

In his nineteenth year, Diocletian ordered the destruction of churches.⁵⁹⁸

The total years from the Nativity of the Lord until this date, is 284 years. The persecution (of Christians) was accompanied by famine. One measure of wheat was sold for 52 drachmas.

Maximian died after three years of rule. Maxentius ruled 6 years and then was killed. Severus ruled one year and then died.⁵⁹⁹ Licinius ruled 17 years and then was killed.⁶⁰⁰

In the year 20 of his rule, Diocletian ordered the churches destroyed. For this, a disease afflicted him and his genitals putrefied, as said by Eusebius. He abandoned the empire to Maximinus, governor of Cilicia.

Upon the death of Maximian, Martinianus⁶⁰¹ became emperor and was killed after three months. He was succeeded by Constantius, father of the Victorius Constantine.⁶⁰² He had two wives: Helena, mother of

⁵⁹⁴ Emperor Numerian, 283-284.

⁵⁹⁵ Diocletian was born of a poor Dalmatian family. John, Bishop of Nikiu calls him the Egyptian. See *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu*, translated from Zotenberg's Ethiopic Text by R. H. Charles (London: William Norgate, 1916), 58.

⁵⁹⁶ Emperor Diocletian, 284-305.

⁵⁹⁷ *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu*, 58. Cf. Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 57 for the dates of Diocletian.

⁵⁹⁸ *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu*, translated by R.H. Charles, 58. According to historian Jacob Burchhardt, during the first eighteen years of his rule, the Christians remained unmolested. Although he ordered the Manicheans to be burned at the stake in 296, he left the Christians in peace for seven years. His wife, Prisca, and his daughter, Valeria, were not undispensed toward the Christians. In fact, under Diocletian himself the Christians were so strong as to build churches everywhere. See Jacob Burchhardt, *The Age of Constantine the Great*, translated by Moses Hadas (Vintage Books: New York, 1967), 244-245. This does not seem to agree with Eusebius or Michael Rabo and other church historians.

⁵⁹⁹ Emperor Severus, 306-307.

⁶⁰⁰ Emperor Licinius, 308-324.

⁶⁰¹ He was joint emperor with Licinius in 323.

⁶⁰² The father of Constantine the Great was Constantius I Chlorus.

the Victorious Constantine and Theodora, daughter of Maximian the tyrant.⁶⁰³ In the eighth year of his reign, he made his son Constantine the Victorious a joint emperor. *End of the account.*

In Byzantium, Probus was the twenty-first bishop for 11 years. In Alexandria, Peter was bishop for 11 years. His life was concluded with martyrdom in the persecution that was stirred up in the third year of his episcopate. He encouraged the faithful in Egypt to endure, struggle and remain firm in the faith, especially when the persecution of Diocletian was intensified. He administered the affairs of the church with exemplary patience. He was martyred by the sword in the ninth year of the persecution. Together with him were martyred the presbyters Faustus, Dios and Ammonius. Of the bishops of the church of Egypt there were martyred Phileas, Hesychius and Theodorus. Eusebius wrote sufficiently about these events and about the martyrs including the members of the royal families of Egypt and Alexandria, and the priests and chief priests. In addition, a great number of faithful, who struggled courageously, were martyred in Nicomedia, Phoenicia, Phrygia, and Syria. Eusebius also wrote about the destruction of churches.⁶⁰⁴

In this period, Bishop Jonah laid the foundation stone of the Great Church of Edessa. Upon his death, he was succeeded by Sha'utha who completed its construction and it was called Hagia Sophia. Afterwards, in the year 634 of the Greeks/323 A.D., Bishop Ith Alaha built the eastern wing of this church. He also built a cemetery for the strangers in the year 656 of the Greeks.

In the year 681 of the Greeks/371 A.D., Abraham built an altar for the Confessors, and in the year 689 of the Greeks/377 A.D., he built the baptistery.

In the same year, the Orthodox of Edessa restored the Great Church that the Arians had usurped. Euologius, who became a bishop of Edessa, built Daniel's wing and was called Mor Demit.

In his time, the remains of the Apostle St. Thomas were transferred from India to Edessa and deposited in the church of St. Thomas in 722/411 A.D. Rabula, bishop of Edessa, built the church of St. Stephen which was formerly a Jewish synagogue.

In Rome, Marcellianus was the twenty-eighth bishop for 10 years. His successor Miltiades was bishop for 8 years.

In Antioch, Tyranios was the nineteenth bishop.

In Jerusalem, Zabdai was bishop for 39 years. He was succeeded by Hermon.

In this period, Gregory the Armenian, assisted by his cousin Dartad, king of Armenia, struggled for the cause of Christ.

In the church of Rome, Sylvester was the thirtieth bishop. He was ordained by Miltiades at the age of thirty. He converted many heathens to the faith. He predicted the death of Tarquinus the prefect who persecuted the Christians. On the next day, that same man choked to death on a fish bone caught in his esophagus.

When Constantius I, Chlorus entered Rome, Sylvester and all the Christians fled before him. He died in July and left the empire to his son Constantine. *End of the account.*

In this period Peter, patriarch of Alexandria, anathematized Arius.

In the nineteenth year of Diocletian, the wrath of God was upon the daughter of Zion because of our iniquities and the dissension of Christians. Before Easter, pamphlets were distributed to the churches. They contained an order to destroy the churches, burn the books and cast anyone called Christian into prison. Because of this, distress prevailed and many strong and select martyrs became victims.

After Peter condemned Arius for his wicked heresy, Arius went on spewing forth his poison. He went from bad to worse. He did everything in his effort to obtain the episcopate. But Achillas, who succeeded Peter and who had ordained Arius a priest, also condemned him. However, Arius succeeded in deceiving many and became the leader of a band of heretics.

As to Diocletian, he was afflicted by disease and roamed around as a lowly, confused rustic. He handed the empire to his son-in-law Maximianus, who did great harm to the Christians. Diocletian's illness

⁶⁰³ Some say that Helena was daughter of an innkeeper. She may have been a concubine. See Michael Grant, *The Roman Emperors* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1985), 227.

⁶⁰⁴ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, entire Book Eight, 317-348 of the English translation.

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worsened and he was afflicted by intestinal cancer and an abscess of the genitals. They began to ooze worms and smell foul. It was then he realized that his illness was a plague from God for the iniquity he committed against the Christians. Accordingly, he addressed letters to every quarter of the empire allowing the Christians to perform their rituals openly, to build churches, and ordered persecution to stop. He asked the Christians to appeal to their God for his life. However, Maximianus, the tyrant governor of the East, even though he did not like the decision, executed it in spite of himself. Shortly afterwards, he declared that the gods told him in a vision that the Christians should be expelled from the cities and live in the villages. Thus, persecution resumed. God, however, punished the land by scarcity of rain, famine and death, to the point that ten bodies were buried in a single grave. One measure of wheat was sold for 72 drachmas. Moreover, Maximianus became involved in war with the Armenians and the wrath was subsided in the cities.

Divine justice touched Maximianus who was infected with a serious disease. He and Diocletian departed this life and the empire. They are awaiting the just judgment that rewards every man according to his deeds without mercy or favoritism.

Constantius, father of the Victorious Constantine, was a joint emperor in the time of Diocletian. He ruled 12 years and lived 60 years.

By the power of our Lord and God, Book Six is ended in ten chapters. It treated 272 years that is 5816 years from Adam during which period there were thirty Roman emperors.

BOOK SEVEN

BY THE POWER OF GOD WHO IN THE SPACE OF SEVEN DAYS REGULATED THE CYCLE OF TIME, I BEGIN TO WRITE BOOK SEVEN THAT COMMENCES WITH THE YEAR 5871 OF THE CREATION.

Chapter One: On the beginning of the kingdom of Constantine the Victorious

Know well, O reader, who cherishes the truth and diligently seeks what is right, that many historians dated their writings from the time that Constantine, the believing emperor, assumed power. Of these was Socrates (Scholasticus); John, bishop of Asia; Theodoret who is outside our fold; and Ignatius, bishop of Melitene. We, however, dated this book from the beginning of the world. We gathered the information from ancient historians like Eusebius and others and incorporated it into this book until our own time. From now on, we will gather information from the books of those who established the origin of historical events. We shall then begin with this time asking the Lord's guidance. Amen.

Theodoret begins his history in the form of portraits, or drawings, on walls for the viewers to behold. Other historians portrayed their books with words instead of colors, etc. For example, when the tyrants were eradicated, Constantine reigned, and the church enjoyed peace, Satan stirred up a new evil error. While in the past people worshipped the creature and not the creator, Satan, out of sheer envy, seduced wicked men to say that the creator is created. In a letter to Eusebius ...lacuna... to ratify his doctrine ...lacuna... of Caesarea ...lacuna... Theodotus ...lacuna... Paulinus of Tyre, ...lacuna... Gregory of Anazarba ...lacuna... Gregory of Berytus and Aetus of Lydda.⁶⁰⁵

John of Asia (d. 587, also called John, bishop of Ephesus), asserted this (what Theodoret had written) in the introduction to his book. He said, "The devil, who could not endure peace in the church, used Arius as a crooked instrument to deceive the people like a serpent. He seduced them to say that the Son of the Eternal Father is created like the rest of the creation. However, when Arius was condemned by Peter, bishop of Alexandria, and severed from the church, he corrupted the minds of those whose hearts had become blinded by error. These included Mari of Chalcedon and Eusebius of Nicomedia and others."⁶⁰⁶

In this time, a severe earthquake took place in Alexandria and other regions that destroyed many houses.

⁶⁰⁵ The names of these bishops are drawn from the letter of Arius to Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia. See Theodoret, *History of the Church*, printed together with the *History of Evagrius* (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1854), Book One, Chapter 5, pp. 27-28 of the English translation. In order to make sense of what Michael Rabo is saying, I have interpolated this rather lengthy passage from the history of Theodoret that the reader might understand the heresy of Arius. Theodoret says, "After the death of the wicked tyrants Maxentius, Maximianus, and Licinius, the storm abated while their atrocity had, like a furious whirlwind, excited against the church. The hostile winds were hushed, and tranquility ensued. This was affected by Constantine, a prince deserving of the highest praise, who, like the divine apostle, was not called by man or through man, but by God. He enacted laws prohibiting sacrifices to idols, and commanded churches to be erected. He appointed believers to be the governors of the provinces, ordered that honor should be shown to the priests and threatened death to those who dared to insult them. Hence, the concerns of the church were happy and prosperous, while those of her opponents were involved in disgrace and ruin... But the devil, the enemy of mankind, although conscious that the church was upheld by the Creator and Ruler of the universe, could not see her sailing on her course in prosperity without devising plans for overwhelming her. When he perceived that his former artifices had been detected, that the error of idolatry was recognized, and that the greater number of men worshipped the creator instead of adoring, as heretofore, the creature, he did not dare to declare open war against our God and Savior. However, having found some who, though bearing the name of Christians, were yet slaves by ambition and vainglory, he thought them fit instruments for the execution of his designs. He accordingly used them as means of drawing others back into error, and indeed using the former artifice of setting up the worship of the creature, but by attempting to bring down the creator to a level with the creature." See Theodoret, *History of the Church*, Book One, Chapter I, p. 12, of the English translation.

⁶⁰⁶ No reference is given to the book of John of Asia (Ephesus). It must be his *Ecclesiastical History* in Three Parts of which only Part Three survived and was translated into English by R. Payne Smith under the title of *The Third Part of the Ecclesiastical History of John Bishop of Ephesus* (Oxford, 1860), hereafter John of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*.

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When many wretched folk adhered to the heresy of Arius, Satan, through them, began to fight the Christians. For Arius, he located wicked ministers like Meletius, who was a Christian bishop, and his supporters who were corrupted during the persecution of Diocletian. Meletius was deposed from his dignity and fell. Many followed him and he became a chief heretic. Then, he and his adherents joined the Arians.

Another plague spread through the church. This time it was the controversy over Easter. The easterners celebrated Easter at the same time with the Jews. The westerners disagreed.

Arius, being an eloquent orator, well versed in education and philosophy, began to prate saying, "If the Father begat the Son, the Son, then, should have a beginning. This means that there was a time when the Son was not."⁶⁰⁷ From this small spark, a fire kindled. Not only did it spread into Alexandria but also throughout Egypt, Libya, Thebes, Syria and other regions. The bishop of Alexandria convened a council, condemned Arius and sent letters to all the countries of his condemnation. Still, the heresy of Arius did not fade away completely. The Emperor (Constantine) was grieved over this disturbance. He addressed letters to both Alexander (Bishop of Alexandria) and Arius telling them, "It would have been better for you not to discuss such matters from the beginning. Resort to mutual charity and let the congregation enjoy grace. Adhere to one another with the kiss of peace. After all, happiness comes from charity and not from conflict. Restore to me tranquil days, and nights free from care."⁶⁰⁸ This is what the emperor wrote to these men to extinguish the evil. However, when the just emperor saw that evil was spreading among his servants, he convoked a universal council. He fixed a date for the bishops to proceed to Nicaea, Bithynia.

In the previous book, we showed that the Victorious Constantine ruled jointly with his father for three years. After his father's death, he reigned in the year 623 of the Greeks/312 A.D., which is the year 5817 of Adam, or the year 5813 according to the opinion of others.

John of Asia (Ephesus) says in the introduction to his book that, "Constantine was recently converted to Christianity from paganism. His father, however, had been led to God's worship for a while as Sylvester, bishop of Rome explained in his story."

Ignatius of Melitene, says, "The Emperors Maximian, Diocletian, Severus and Maxentius who preceded Constantine, persecuted the Christians. Upon the death of Severus, however, the Romans honored Constantine the Great declaring him a Caesar and made Licinius, husband of his sister Constantia, a joint Caesar with him. However, Licinius, who became a joint Caesar in the seventh year, began to persecute the Christians secretly. Later, he openly revolted against Constantine who killed him. After Licinius, Martinus rose to power and he too was killed."

In the second year of Constantine, Sapur son of Hormizd, ruled over the Persians 3 years.

Constantine went to fight Maxentius in Rome. After deliberation, he said that the worship of idols did not bring any benefit to the clan of Diocletian. He decided to worship a Deity who would give him victory in war. Raising his eyes to heaven, he saw in midday something like a pillar of light written on it, "By this Conquer."⁶⁰⁹ Those with him also saw this spectacle. At night, Christ appeared to him saying, "Make for yourself a standard like the one which appeared to you." On the next day, he made the standard. Since then it was customary that the Cross was raised in the vanguard of the army. During the war, Maxentius the tyrant was defeated and was drowned in the River Tiber.⁶¹⁰

In the third year of Constantine, his wife Diocletia, daughter of Diocletian, believed in Christ and was baptized. The Victorious Constantine renovated Byzantium. He added to it four square miles and adorned it with the most exquisite buildings and artifacts. He moved to it the capital from Rome and called it Constantinople after his name. The new capital was held with great honor and its citizens were called

⁶⁰⁷ See *The Ecclesiastical History of Socrates Scholasticus*, reprinted Nu Vision Publications, LLC, 2007), Book One, Chapter 5, p. 10 of the English translation. No name of the translation is given. This source shall be referred to as Socrates throughout.

⁶⁰⁸ The entire letter of Constantine is in Socrates, Book One, Chapter 7, pp. 14-17 of the English translation. The reader should know that our author, Michael Rabo, usually paraphrases the original texts.

⁶⁰⁹ Socrates, Book One, Chapter 2, p. 8 of the English translation.

⁶¹⁰ Socrates, *Ibid.* For a controversial opinion of this matter see Jacob Burckhardt, *The Age of Constantine the Great*, translated by Moses Hadas, 1967, pp. 292-296.

“The Free.” Constantine built in it the Church of Irene and another church in the name of the Apostles. When he became absolute Autocrat, Constantine concentrated on the religious issues. He demolished the temples of idols and built churches everywhere. He issued a law to prevent pagans from serving in the army.

In this period Sylvester, bishop of Rome, gave new names to the weekdays, which the heathens named after the planets. He called the Sun or Zeus, Sunday; the moon, Monday; Mars, Tuesday; Mercury, Wednesday; Jupiter, Thursday; Venus, Friday and Saturn, Saturday. He dropped the names of the planets in order to keep the believers away from paganism ...lacuna...

Constantius I (Chlorus), father of the Victorious Constantine, was a heathen and a leper. Sylvester, bishop of Rome, evangelized him, but he showed only an outward charity to the Christians. He only resorted to Christ by means of medicine and physicians in order to obtain healing. God showed him in a vision the Apostles Peter and Paul who said to him, “Send for Sylvester, the chief priest, who is hiding in the mountain and he will heal you.” When he woke up, he heard the wailing of the mothers whose children were driven to slaughter. Apparently, the pagans told him that he would never be healed except by the blood of children. Constantius felt sorry and stopped killing the children. God showed mercy unto him and, leading him to Sylvester, he informed him of the vision he has seen. Sylvester took him to the church and showed him the portraits of the Apostles. When he saw them he realized that they were the same persons who appeared to him in a dream. He believed and was baptized. Something like fish scales fell off his body. Twelve thousand pagan men were also baptized with him, not to mention women and children.

This Constantine, the leper, is not the same Constantine who saw the sign in the sky, but his father.⁶¹¹ Helena was the wife of Constantine (Constantius) the leper, who was healed and mother of Constantine who saw the sign of the Cross. Both, however, were converted by the sign of the Cross.

To avoid confusion of names, we shall identify these men. In this period, three emperors with the name of Constantine rose to power in succession. The first is one who was healed from leprosy by baptism.⁶¹² The second is his son Constantine, who saw the sign of the Cross in the sky, founded Constantinople and convened the Council of Nicaea. The third is the son and namesake of Constantine.

The life of Sylvester, bishop of Rome, extended from the time of Diocletian, the persecutor, until the time of Constantine the third.⁶¹³

During the persecution, famine took place in Rome that caused Diocletian to issue an order to expel people coming from Palestine. At the behest of Sylvester, the remains of the Apostles Peter and Paul were taken out, because they were considered as coming from Palestine. The same thing happened as in the time of Trajan. The city trembled when men tried to move the remains of the Apostles. The tremor recurred seven times, and each time they tried to remove them. It did not quiet down until they returned them to their place. When the emperor and the people saw this, the remains were left in their place of rest and the expulsion of strangers stopped.

At the beginning of Constantine's reign, in Armenia there flourished Gregory, who made miracles like those of the apostles. He led the Armenians from paganism to Christianity. They were baptized and accepted the priesthood by the laying on of hands (ordination).

This account is ended by the power of Jesus.

Chapter Two: On the time of the Great Ecumenical Council of Nicaea

The Victorious Constantine was greatly concerned with principal festivals (of our Lord) which he honored. Having learned that there was disagreement concerning the observation of the Passion of the Lord and Savior, he ordered a meeting at Nicaea in Bithynia to settle it and to examine the ideas of Arius. Three hundred and eighteen bishops gathered from Europe, Egypt, Palestine, Cilicia, Arabian Syria, Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia), Persia and Libya. According to Eusebius, first to arrive were the delegates of Rome followed by Alexander, of Alexandria, with his disciple Athanasius, Jacob of Nisibin, and Eustathius of

⁶¹¹ Evidently, the author has confused Constantius whom he erroneously calls Constantine with Constantine the Great.

⁶¹² This was Constantius Chlorus.

⁶¹³ Constantine II, 337-340.

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Antioch. The emperor made ready for them a spacious hall and seats. He was last to enter with his attendants. He was of imposing, charming and admirable stature. They placed a seat for him in the middle of the hall but he refused to sit down. The bishops requested him to be seated and he did. Then all of them took their seats.

Although the emperor had engaged in many wars, he maintained a serene composure, tranquility, humility, tenderness of speech, compassion, keen intelligence, mercy, swift understanding and fairness. Before the bishops began to speak, he asked them to make peace with each other. He addressed them with tender, sweet and comforting words. Thousands of monks and deacons accompanied the bishops. The emperor provided their needs from May 20 to June 9.

As the bishops began discoursing using logic and eloquent speech, a young man confessor interrupted saying, "Neither Christ nor his Apostles taught us the rules of logic, or idle subtleties, but the truth which is preserved by faith and good works." Having said this, the speakers held their peace. The emperor, however, was steering them to the right course and praising those rich in the worship of God. He also praised those who deliberated within the frame of the Scriptures, pointing to their oneness in the faith. He urged them to celebrate Easter on Sunday. He sat down and the bishops and the rest of the clergy sat down too. Then, the memorials containing complaints were opened in succession. The emperor effected an agreement among the bishops and the memorials were thrown into the fire. He pledged to cover with his imperial mantle the bishops and archbishops who were caught in sin (adultery).

Beside Arius, who was deposed by Peter and condemned by Alexander before him, many bishops at the Great Council of Nicaea did not profess that the Word of God is eternal. They were Eusebius of Nicomedia, Theognis of Nicaea, Mari of Chalcedon, Theonas of Marmariqa and Secundus of Acre (Akka). These men maintained that the eternal is generated from nothing.

Zenosius (Acesius according to Socrates) the Novatian was also present at the Council. The emperor asked him, "Do you agree with the formula of the Creed and of Easter?" He answered, "Yes." The emperor said, "Why then you and others are split from the church?" Zenosius said, "Because we do not accept those who commit mortal sins after baptism." The emperor said, "In that case, make a ladder for yourself and climb up to heaven alone."⁶¹⁴

Paphnutius, bishop of Upper Thebes, was a pious man who had performed miracles like the Holy Disciples. In the time of the persecution, his was deprived of one eye. The emperor loved him dearly and kissed his gouged eye. When the assembled bishops wanted to assert the canons purporting that no clergyman should marry, Paphnutius stood in the middle and said, "Don't issue a canon which no one can bear. Sufficient for the clergy not to marry again as ancient fathers have decreed. And do not injure the church of God by too stringent restrictions." This what the saint said who had not been tempted by marriage. The bishops agreed with him. Eventually, Eusebius and Theognis repented and were accepted by the Council. This is what Socrates wrote in his book.⁶¹⁵

The Council formulated the Creed of Faith that is recited in the churches until this day. In addition, it issued several canons. It was agreed that the celebration of Easter should be on Sunday following the ancient Passover. Arius and his partisans were condemned. The emperor banished those who did not profess that the Word is of the substance of God and replaced them with others. The saintly bishops signed the copy of the faith and addressed an ecumenical letter to all the countries declaring what was done. The emperor also addressed letters to Alexandria and Egypt concerning the condemnation of Arius in order that he should not be accepted by the church of God. With such grandeur did the Holy Council convene by the intimation of the Holy Spirit.

In the year 20 of the Victorious Constantine, which is the year 64 of the Greeks/331 A.D., the third year of the 276 Olympiad, and the year 5833 of Adam, Helena, mother of the victorious Constantine, journeyed to Jerusalem after having seen a dream. However, she found that the city had been ruined for a long while. She was hardly able to find the Cross of the Savior because the Jews had set on the site a statue

⁶¹⁴ Socrates, Book One, Chapter, X, pp. 31-32.

⁶¹⁵ Socrates, Book One, Chapter XI, pp. 32-33 of the English translation.

of Aphrodite, lest the Christians would find it. She entered Jerusalem on May 25 accompanied by Sylvester, bishop of Rome. She inquired from some Jews about the place of the Cross. She threw their leader Judah into prison. Seven days later, Judah was converted, became a bishop and showed her the place of the Cross. The abominable statute of Aphrodite was removed, and they found three crosses and the tablet written by Pilate. However, they could not recognize which was the true cross. The bishop brought a dying woman on whom the crosses of the two thieves were placed but she did not move. When they placed on her the Cross of the Savior, she rose up. Queen Helena built a church over the Sepulcher (of the Savior) and placed a piece of the Cross in it. She sent the rest (of the Cross) to the emperor who fixed it on a grand imperial column. He fixed the nails of the cross in his crown and the bridle-bits of his horse. Thus, the prophecy was fulfilled.⁶¹⁶ Helena also built a church in Bethlehem and another one on the Mount of Olives. She treated the women with great humility. She personally prepared food for the nuns and the poor.⁶¹⁷ At this date, ends the account of Eusebius who was overtaken by death.

Along with Arius, who was condemned by Peter, and before him expelled by Alexander, there were those bishops who attended the Council of Nicaea but did not maintain that the Word was the eternal Son of God. Of these were, Eusebius of Nicomedia, Theognis of Nicaea, Mari of Chalcedon, Theonas of Marmariqa and Secundus of Akka. They believed that the eternal exists from nothing.

In Edessa the bishop was Ith Alaha.⁶¹⁸ In this time too, flourished Jacob, bishop of Nisibin, a man renowned for piety and adherence to the teachings of the blessed Apostles. These two dignitaries, who were well known in Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia), were among those who attended the Council of Nicaea. Accompanying them was St. Ephraim the blessed and eminent Malphono.⁶¹⁹

Names of the bishops who attended the Council of Nicaea

From Rome:

The two priests Eusebius and Cordous delegates of the Pope.

From Alexandria in Egypt:

Alexander, bishop of Alexandria and Egypt

From Egypt:

Teos Bar Ibion

Youspanis

Arpoqratis, bishop of Pisidia

Adamantos, bishop of Qyno

Tiberianus, bishop of Tamounin

Gaius, bishop of Sa'an

Potamon (Heraclius) of Sertroitis

Dorotheos, bishop of Pelusios

Arkation, bishop of Pharatos

Arpoqras, bishop of Paraginia

Philip, bishop of Phanophyson

Antiochus, bishop of Memphis

Peter, bishop of Heraclea

⁶¹⁶ This is an allusion to Zechariah 14:20. The prophet says, "On that day Holy to The Lord will be inscribed on the bells of the horse."

⁶¹⁷ Socrates, Book One, Chapter 17, pp. 38-39 of the English translation; Theodoret, Book One, Chapter 18, pp. 54-55 of the English translation.

⁶¹⁸ A Syriac name meaning, "God exists."

⁶¹⁹ Syriac for supreme teacher.

BOOK SEVEN

Tyranos, bishop of Antino
Plusios, bishop of Lyqo
Dios, bishop of Antios
Alpoqraton, bishop of Alophoqrion

From Libya:

Serapion
Titus
Secondus
Zophyros
Saqowa
Qays

From Palestine:

Makarios, bishop of Jerusalem
Germanus, bishop of Neapolis
Marinos, bishop of Sebesta
Gaius, bishop of Casarea
Eusebius, bishop of Susa
Sabinos, bishop of Gadara
Longinos, bishop of Asqalan
Peter, bishop of Nicopolis
Marqianos, bishop of Yamina (Yaman)
Maximus, bishop of Beth Gubrin which is Eleutheropolis
Peter, bishop of Maximianopolis
Onorios, bishop of Jerco
Eliodoros, bishop of Zebalon
Aetos, bishop of Lydda
Silvanus, bishop of Ashdud
Patrophilos, bishop of Squatopolis
Asklepios, bishop of Gazza
Peter, bishop of Ailion
Anatolios, bishop of Kapitolias

From Phoenicia:

Zenon, bishop of Tyre
Aeneas, bishop of Akka which is Ptolemaeus
Magnus, bishop of Damascus
Theodore, bishop of Sidon
Elinikos, bishop of Tripoly
Gregorius, bishop of Beirut
Marinos, bishop of Tadmur (Palmyra)
Theodonas, bishop of Alason
Anatolius, bishop of Homs
Philohalos, bishop of Banyas
Barlaha (Barlos), bishop of Tesi
Ksenodorus, bishop of Antarados
Eustathius, bishop of Antioch
Zenobius, bishop of Seleucea

Theodotus, bishop of Laodicea
Alphius, bishop of Euphemia
Philoxenus, bishop of Mabug
Salamanes, bishop Germanicia (Mar'ash)
Phephrios, bishop of Samosat
Archelaus, bishop of Dolik
Euphration, bishop of Balaneas
The Chorepiscopus Palladius
Eubolius, bishop of Gabala
Basus, bishop of Zeugma
Bassianus, bishop of Raphane
Gremotius, bishop of Shayzar
Eustathus, bishop of Rastan
Paul, bishop of Neocasarea
Serjis, bishop of Cyrus
Seleucus, bishop of Gindaros
Phegas, bishop of Harba Qadam
Bassuni, bishop of Gamla
Masikinujs, bishop of Hama
Salikonis, bishop Yabla of Arabia

From Arabia:

Nikomakus, bishop of Bostra
Quron, bishop of Philadelphia⁶²⁰
Gennadius, bishop of Heshbon
Severus, bishop of Sodom
Sopateos, bishop of Berintanis
Severus, bishop of Ramot Gil'ad

From Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia):

Ith Alaha, bishop of Edessa
Jacob, bishop of Nisibin
Antiochus, bishop of Rish 'Ayna
Mora, bishop of Macedonopolis
Yuhanon (John), bishop of Perskia

Fom Cilicia:

Theodosius, bishop of Tarsus
Amphion, bishop of Epiphania
Narkisos, bishop of Naronias
Musa, bishop of Qastabula
Nikitos, bishop of Phlabias
The Chorepiscopus Eudemon
Paulinos, bishop of Adana
Macedonius, bishop of Mopsuestia
Tarkodemintos, bishop of Aegos
Eusonius Alexandrous

⁶²⁰ Present day Amman in Jordan.

Narcus, bishop of Irenopolis⁶²¹

From Cappadocia:

Leontius, bishop of Caesarea
 Eutychius, bishop of Tyana
 Erytrios, bishop of Kolonia
 Timothy, bishop of Qubastra
 Ambrosius, bishop of Kumana
 The Chorepiscopus Stephen
 The Chorepiscopus Rodon
 The Chorepiscopus Gorgonius

From Lesser Armenia:

Eulius, bishop of Sebastea
 Avitios, bishop of Selatela
 The Chorepiscopus Eudromius
 The Chorepiscopus Theophanes

From Greater Armenia:

Aristos, bishop of Armenia
 Arkritos, bishop of Diospontos

From Pontus:

Eutychius, bishop of Amasia
 Euloksios, bishop of Oumaka
 Heraclius, bishop of Zalon
 Popolamniakos, bishop of Pontus
 Longinus, bishop of Neo-Caesarea
 Domanus, bishop of Trepezon
 Stratophulos, bishop of Pontus

From Paphlagonia:

Petronius, bishop of Diopolis
 Philadelphus, bishop of Pompeopolis
 Eutyclus, bishop of Amastris

From Galatia:

Oankaros, bishop of Ankora
 Diosius, bishop of Tekana
 Erektios, bishop of Amosa
 Orogonius, bishop of Kinon
 Philadephus, bishop of Asia
 Theonas, bishop of Cyzicus
 Menophantus, bishop of Ephesus
 Orion, bishop of Ailon
 Eutyclus, bishop of Smyrna
 Mitros, bishop of Hypaipon

⁶²¹ Hierapolis?

From the Hellespont:

Paulos, bishop of Aeana

From Lydia:

Artamidoros, bishop of Sarde

Seros, bishop of Theatira

Stimakios, bishop of Philadephia

Philon, bishop of Barisimou

Accacius, bishop of Tripoli

Plastikos, bishop of Antoura

Antiochus, bishop of Aurelianopolis

Marcus, bishop of Astidon

From Phrygia:

Magikos, bishop of Damascus

Nunbios, bishop of Laodicea

Phlabius, bishop of Sanas

Procopius, bishop of Senana

Pistos, bishop of Azenon

Athenodorus, bishop of Doryius

Eugenius, bishop of Eukarapia

Prakus, bishop of Arapolis

From Isauria:

Stephen, bishop of Araton

Athanasius, bishop of Qarqisoun

Eudesius, bishop of Klodianopolis

Agapus, bishop of Seleucia

Silvanus, bishop of Metropolis

Faustus, bishop of Panemotikos

Antonius, bishop of Antioch

Nestor, bishop of Surdaon

Cyril, bishop of Nomadon

The Chorepiscopus Esokiros

Theodore, bishop of Aosadon

The Chorepiscopus Anatolius

Tiberias, bishop of Alsitron

Paul, bishop of Karandon

The Chorepiscopus Koutus

The Chorepiscopus Appolos

Eusebius, bishop of Isauria

From Bithynia:

Eusebius bishop of Nicomedia

Theognis, bishop of Nicaea

Maris, bishop of Chalcedon

Qorion, bishop of Cyrus

Esykios, bishop of Prisa

Gorgonios, bishop of Appolonia

Gorgios, bishop of Pelosias
Eustios, bishop of Adrianopolis
The Chorepiscopus Theophanes
Rufus, bishop of Caesarea
The Chorepiscopus Eulios

From Cyprus:

Cyril, bishop of Paphos
Galasius, bishop of Salamina

From Lycaonia:

Eulius, bishop of Ikonion
Telemachus, bishop of Adrianopolis
Esykios, bishop of Neopolis (Nablus)
Geranios, bishop of Lemaon
Tromicous, bishop of Euphemia
Akademus, bishop of Myritini
Polycarp, bishop of Metropolis
Patrikios, bishop of Anladia
Akademus, bishop of Papon
Heraclius, Beorea (Aleppo)
Theodore, bishop of Aklasadon

From Lycia:

Adon, bishop of Lycia
Eudemos, bishop of Patara

From Pamphylia:

Kaliklis, bishop of Perge
Eurisius, bishop of Telmisos
Euksios, bishop of Eureka
Kontinos, bishop of Seleucia
Patrikios, bishop of Maximianopolis
Aphrodius, bishop of Megedon

From the Isles:

Euphrosinus, bishop of Rhodes
Alaparon, bishop of Qo
Strategos, bishop of Lemnos
Letarodaros, bishop of Apollonias

From Caria:

Eusebius, bishop of Antioch
Ammonius bishop of Aphrodisias
Eugenius, bishop of Apollonias
Letodoros, bishop of Kubirton
Eusebius, bishop of Militon

From Thrace:

Pedrso, bishop of Heraclea

From Dacia:

Protgenus, bishop of Sardica

Marcus, bishop of Kumeon

From Moesia:

Pestus, bishop of Marcianopolis

From Achaea:

Pestus, bishop of Athena

Marsus, bishop of Byzantium

Strategos, bishop of Ephesia

From Macedonia:

Alexander, bishop of Thessalonika

From Thesalia:

Claudianus, bishop of Thesalia

Callinicus, bishop of Thebes

From Carthage:

Cilicinos, bishop of Strabon

Bodanus, bishop of Pannonia

Domanos

Nicasios, bishop of Dousia

Theophilus, bishop of Bosphorus

-----, bishop of Ghotia

Qadmos

These are the names which we were able to find of the fathers who attended the Council and fixed them here. May their prayers be with us. Amen.

After Eusebius, Mor Jacob of Edessa fixed the table of years. He said in the introduction of his book, "Eusebius Pamphilus, bishop of Caesarea Palestine, wrote down an authentic, comprehensive and famous history with great concern and meticulousness. He made it available to people in order to know about past historical events. He included in it with exact chronology of years, epochs and events beginning with Adam, the principal generator of our race, the first year of Abraham, father of the Hebrews, Ninos, second king of the Assyrians who built Nineveh, and Europus, the second king of the Sicyonians in the region of Hellas in Greece. He collected his information from the Books of Moses preserved by the Hebrews and the chronicles of the Chaldeans, Assyrians and Egyptians. He added to them a lengthy history from Abraham, the chief Patriarch, Ninos son of Belus, king of the Assyrians and Europus, king of Sicyonians until the year twenty of the victorious Constantine, Emperor of the Romans. He mentioned several empires which emerged in Europe, Libya and Greater Asia including those of the Chaldeans, Assyrians, Sicyonians, Argienians (Argives), Athenians, Hebrews, Egyptians, Latins later called Romans, Medes, Babylonians, Lydians and Persians, followed by kingdoms dominated by the Macedonian Greeks, Corinthians and Lacedaemonians along the kingdoms which followed Alexander, Julius Caesar, the Augustus *Sebastos*, up to the victorious Constantine."⁶²²

⁶²² Cf. Eusebius's preface in St Jerome's *Chronicle*, Latin translation of Eusebius's Chronological Tables/Canons translated from

Furthermore, Jacob of Edessa marked the durations of epochs according to years. He marked the commencement and cessation of each of them. He wrote in detail the sporadic events and actions of some kings and military leaders, and the epochs in which flourished Greek learned men, philosophers and poets. He also mentioned the stories of mighty men and their outstanding deeds, and the warfare and victories of men in history. Moreover, he included in his history the establishment of cities and the appearance of peoples and many other anecdotes. As it is known, Eusebius concluded his history at the twentieth year of Constantine. Afterwards, he added nothing to what he had already written down.

As to the following epochs, I found it appropriate not to leave the events without recording as much as the Lord helps me and according to my ability. Like Eusebius, who recorded with brevity those epochs and the number of years of each kingdom separately, in order that the reader may distinguish kings from the military leaders and other renowned men, I, personally following his method, have fixed the dates beginning with the year ten of Constantine. I have given the dates of each one of them and those that came after them successively. This is based on the information that has reached us of each one since their commencement, and the succession of their times and their flourishing and achievement. It is necessary to set these things before our eyes in order to complete the calculation of Eusebius, to know the succession of the epochs, what happened to each one and their accomplishment. If we set this procedure in perspective, it will be easy to establish the Canon (dates) with certitude.⁶²³

Furthermore, Jacob of Edessa wrote about the epoch from Adam to Constantine mentioning with exactness the successive names of kings. He carried the narrative from Constantine to Abd Allah, king of the Arabs.⁶²⁴

A commentary of Theodosius of Edessa

You should know that Eusebius began his history in terms of years up to the year 20 of Constantine. Jacob of Edessa translated this history from Greek into Syriac. Eusebius, however, did not confine himself to the events from Adam until Abraham, but related events from Constantine to the period when Justinian ruled the Romans and Abd Allah ruled the Tayoye (Arabs). Concerning the kingdoms overlooked by Eusebius, Jacob of Edessa relegated them to the year 11 instead of 20 of Constantine. We, however, have written down this calculation after that of Jacob of Edessa in order to avoid confusion.

Chapter Three: The introduction of the calculation of years added by Jacob of Edessa after that of Eusebius. The conversion of the Iberians and the Ethiopians that took place in the time of the Victorious Emperor Constantine

Roman Emperors:

Alexander Mamaea, 7 years

Gordian, 6 years

Philip, 7 years

Maximinus, 3 years

Decius, 1 year

Gallus, 1 year

Volusianos, 15 years

Claudius, 1 year

Valerian, 15 years

Tacitus, 6 months

Latin into English by Roger Pearse on the Internet, under R. Pearse *Jerome's Chronicle*.

⁶²³ See previous note. The Chronological Tables of Eusebius translated from Jerome's Latin into English by Roger Pearse, cover 187 pages on the Internet.

⁶²⁴ The author does not identify who this Abd Allah is. However, since Jacob of Edessa died in 708, this king (caliph) must be the Umayyad Caliph Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan (685-705).

Claudius, 1 year
Aurelian, 6 years
Florian, 80 days
Probus, 6 years
Carus, 2 years
Diocletian, 21 years
Constantine, 20 years

Persian Kings:

Ardashir, 15 years
Sapur, 31 years
Hormizd, 2 years
Varahran, 17 months
Varahran Shahanshah, 4 months
Narses, 7 years and 1 month
Hormizd, 7 years
Sapur, 69 years

It is evident from the names of the Roman emperors and the Persian kings, that the year 20 of Constantine is the year 19 of Sapur. From the year 7 of Alexander Mamaea to the year 20 of Constantine, and from the first year of Ardashir to the year 19 of Sapur, there are 98 years. Because Sapur reigned 70 years, and that his twentieth year is the first in the calculation of years fixed by Mor Jacob (of Edessa) in which he mentioned only 50 years of Sapur's reign, it follows that the year 21 of Constantine is considered the year 7 of Sapur and the year 3 of the reign of his son Constantine II Caesar. Regarding the Persian years, it is the year 20 of Sapur who is the ninth king of the Second Persian kingdom known as the Sassanid kingdom.

After destroying the tyrants by the help of God, Emperor Constantine purged the church from the leprosy of heresy. He enhanced the position of the Christians and liberated them. He became engaged in the works of building and renovation. He allocated money for the monasteries, churches, for the widows and all those who served God. He ordered Eusebius and other bishops to organize the books of the Old and the New Testaments. He also commanded them to fix the solar and lunar months in order to have precise times of festivals. He designated his three sons as Caesars. One was to reign in the East, the other in the West and the third in the South. The name of the elder son was his namesake, Constantine, and the middle one was Constantius. Both maintained the pure and strong faith of their father. However, the young son, Constans, deviated to Arianism for reasons to be discussed later.

Sapur, king of Persia, stirred up severe persecution against the Christians living within his domain. Emperor Constantine sent him envoys with letters. By God's help and by his determination, he succeeded in stopping the persecution in Persia during which the holy martyrs fought the good fight.

In this period, a philosopher from Tyre named Meropius journeyed to India and Cush (Ethiopia). He was accompanied by two young men, Eudosius and Frumentius in order to get acquainted with those countries and write about them. However, the truce between the Romans and the Indians had ended. The Indians seized the philosopher and those with him in the sea and killed them. His two companions who survived were delivered to the king and were brought up by him. He released them before his death and they came under the charge of his son who succeeded him. They attained influence in India same as that of Joseph in Egypt. They built two churches for the Christians who travel to that region. They converted the king and others. Frumentius returned to Alexandria and informed Athanasius that the Indians longed for the faith and baptism. He asked Athanasius to send along with him a bishop. Athanasius said, "No one is

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more able than you to rescue these people from error.” He ordained him a bishop and sent him to India. Through him, God made remarkable miracles.⁶²⁵

The India mentioned here is India Interior. The Apostle Thomas preached in India Exterior and in Parthia. The Apostle Matthew preached in the land of the Cushites (Yaman, Ethiopia). The people of India Interior were converted in the time of the victorious Constantine.⁶²⁶

In addition, in the time of Constantine, the people of Interior Iberia believed in Christ through a chaste woman from Exterior Iberia close to the Euxine Sea who has been taken captive. These Iberians are not those who live in Spain. It happened that the son of their king became sick. His mother treated him with the usual methods according to their customs but to no avail. She asked the captive woman to treat him because she believed that she was righteous and of good deeds. The captive woman placed the son of the king in her woolen bed and said, “The child Christ will heal you as he healed many.” The child was healed immediately. Afterwards, the queen became sick. She called the captive woman to come and see her. She was also healed by her. The news spread and the captive woman began to preach the God, Christ. The king sent her a present but she refused it saying, “My present is that the king should believe in Christ.” The king refused to do so. A few days later, he went out hunting. He and his men were hit suddenly by stormy weather. They were enveloped by clouds and fog and were close to death. He appealed to his god but without avail. However, when he appealed to the God of the captive woman, the storm calmed down and everything was quiet. Upon his return, he called the people and instructed them to believe in Christ. They built a temple in the form the holy woman had showed them. It happened that a huge pillar was bound by Satan and they could not lift it up straight. The saintly woman prayed and the pillar was raised. Astonished to see it standing erect, they glorified God. However, the column moved and stood erect on its base. This miracle is known until this day. The Iberians sent an embassy to Emperor Constantine who provided them with a bishop and clergymen. Thus, they believed and were baptized.⁶²⁷

As to the Sarmatians and the Goths, they believed in Christ when they were defeated in war by the victorious Constantine.⁶²⁸

Constantine built a church next to the Oaks of Mamre where Abraham saw a vision. He also built another church in Heliopolis (Ba’lbak) in Phoenicia because its people were steeped in error. Their women were shared in common and no one knew who his father was. They even offered their virgins to passersby to defile them. After bishops were appointed for them, their affairs were corrected slowly.⁶²⁹

In addition, the emperor built a movable church made of embroidered linen.⁶³⁰ In Antioch, he built an octagonal church. He built a bridge over the River Danube over which his armies crossed. They subdued the Scythians and brought them into faith.

During the famine that plagued the east, Constantine commanded the distribution of provisions from his own money to the poor, the deacons and clergymen. He donated to the church of Antioch 36,000 measures of wheat.

The heathens slandered the Christians to Sapur their king (saying) that they were spying for the Roman emperor. Sapur was angry and tightened security against them and destroyed their churches. The victorious Constantine wrote to him saying, “Since I embraced the religion of God, I have been walking in the light of the truth, and thus can recognize the true faith.” Not only Sapur did reject the emperor’s words, he marched against Nisibin. However, he retreated with failure through the prayers of St. Jacob of Nisibin and St. Ephraim. In fact, out of malice, he invaded Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia). Constantine went out to fight the Persians. When he reached Nicomedia, he fell sick. He was baptized there. The reason he was not baptized earlier was that he wanted to be baptized in the River Jordan. He wrote a will decreeing the

⁶²⁵ Socrates, Book One, Chapter Nineteen, pp. 41-42 of the English translation.

⁶²⁶ Socrates, *Ibid.*

⁶²⁷ Socrates, Book One, Chapter 20, pp. 43-44 of the English translation.

⁶²⁸ Socrates, Book One, chapter 18, p. 40 of the English translation.

⁶²⁹ Socrates, *Ibid.*

⁶³⁰ Socrates, *Ibid.*

kingdom to his three sons. He handed it to the Arian presbyter whom he added to his retinue by the request of his sister. He passed away on Sunday of Pentecost May 22 in the first year of the 279 Olympiad, which is the year 654 of the Greeks. He lived sixty-five years, twenty-two of which were spent in governing the empire. His body was transferred to Constantinople and interred in the Church of the Apostles.⁶³¹ *Here ends the account of the victorious Emperor Constantine.*

After Arius was condemned and expelled from the church, he went on working secretly, and by the instigation of Satan, propagated his despicable ideas with the help of his supporters who came to be known as Arians. However, Eusebius (of Nicomedia), Mari of Chalcedon and others who were inclined toward Arius, expressed repentance and were admitted to the Council (of Nicaea). They appealed to the emperor to summon Arius to his presence, and Constantine agreed. When he appeared before the emperor, Arius had with him two documents. One document containing his wicked heresy, which he concealed under his armpit, the second document containing orthodox faith, which he carried in his hand. When the emperor asked him about his faith, Arius placing his hand on the concealed document swore saying, "I know no faith except what is in this document." Thus, he deceived the emperor. The emperor ordered that letters should be addressed to the bishop of Constantinople and the bishop of Alexandria to accept Arius. Upon receiving the emperor's letter, Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, entered the church. He prostrated himself before the Table of Life (the altar) and prayed saying, "O Lord who knows the secrets of the hearts. If Arius's hypocrisy is entrenched in him and he is trying to enter your church, I ask you to take my soul."⁶³² Arius left the presence of the emperor to meet Alexander. When he reached the canopy of the emperor, he asked for the compartment to relieve himself. When he entered it, his bowels spilled out and died. His supporters were gripped by fear and were followed by shame and disgrace. Upon hearing the news, Alexander went again to the altar and spreading his hands to heaven, he thanked God for exposing the hypocrite. This Alexander is not the Alexander who also received a letter from the emperor to accept Arius, but he refused to do so.

Then, the emperor forced Athanasius to accept Arius but he refused. The emperor was angry with him. When Arius's supporters learned that the emperor had become angry, they slandered Athanasius to him until he banished him.⁶³³

Socrates explains in his history how Arius managed to appear in the presence of the emperor after he had been condemned. He says, "Constantia, Constantine's sister, became sick. Her presbyter was an Arian who kept telling her that Arius was wronged and that the supporters of Athanasius had accused him falsely. Constantia believed him. When she was near death, she introduced the presbyter to the emperor saying that he was truthful and virtuous. Thus, Arius was able to appear before the emperor and join his retinue. The priest succeeded in convincing the emperor that Arius was truly wronged. This is how he was able to appear before the emperor as said above."⁶³⁴

The slandering of Athanasius to the emperor intensified after he rejected the emperor's order to accept Arius. The emperor addressed a letter to the Alexandrians saying that, "He who does not know the truth does not also know God. The barbarians have come to worship God through me. Everywhere they have realized that God stood by me and helped me. Today, however, they are ashamed when they behold us worship God in this manner. As for you who carry the mysteries within you, and I do not say that you are their protectors, think of nothing except the division and the perdition of people. You should come to the capital to discuss what you have and what Athanasius has."⁶³⁵

⁶³¹ Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book One, Chapter 40, 62 of the English translation.

⁶³² Cf. Theodoret, Book One Chapter 14, p. 50 of the English translation. According to Theodoret who produced the story of Arius by St. Athanasius, as related to him by the presbyter Macarius who was praying with Alexander, Alexander said, "If Arius is to be joined to the church tomorrow, dismiss me thy servant, and do not destroy the pious with the impious."

⁶³³ Athanasius was banished to Treves a city of Gaul. See Theodoret, Book One, Chapter 31, p. 71 of the English translation; Socrates, Book One, Chapter 35, pp. 58-59 of the English translation.

⁶³⁴ Socrates, Book One, Chapter 25, pp. 49-50 of the English translation.

⁶³⁵ The reader may see some difference in the wording between this passage and the original in Socrates, Book One, Chapter 34, p. 58 of the English translation.

When the bishops went to the capital, most of them fled from fear to their sees. Others connived against Athanasius. Satan can have a great influence if his agent is influential in a given region. For this reason, the emperor banished Athanasius with the pretext of keeping church unity because he emphatically rejected Arius.

At this time, the Arian sophist philosopher Asterius supported the Arians greatly. But when he failed to fulfill his desire of becoming a bishop, he propounded a heresy purporting that Christ was the Power of God, just the same as the locust and the palmer-worm are also of the power of God as said in the Old Testament.⁶³⁶ Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra in Galatia, refuted this heresy. Later, he espoused the heresy of Paul of Samosata. When he was condemned, he repented and felt sorry that his book was not burned. Soon, however, he was condemned for the second time because his repentance was not genuine and that his book was not burned. He was replaced by another bishop named Basilus.⁶³⁷ However, Marcellus burned his book before the Council of Sardica and restored his Episcopal position. In addition, Eusebius and Theognis were restored to their positions, and those who had replaced them were ousted.⁶³⁸ As the emperor was desirous of achieving peace in the church, he accepted them after they swore to submit to the decisions of the Council of Nicaea. On his part, Eusebius addressed a letter to Alexandria admitting that he has formulated the Creed of Nicaea and added nothing to it except the term "Consubstantial."⁶³⁹

The emperor, deceived by Arius's oaths, believed him. He admitted him to the communion of the church because of his desire for its unity. However, Arius was struck to death because of his impudence and in response to the prayer of St. Alexander, as previously said. However, when the emperor discovered the deception of the Arians, he ordered, while on his deathbed, Athanasius brought back from exile and restored him to his see.

Finished with the help of Jesus, the God of all that is seen and unseen, as it is written. I ask you fathers and masters, as I bow my head down at your feet, to pray for me whenever you read (this account).

Five months after the Council of Nicaea convened, Alexander passed away. Athanasius the Great was chosen by God and the people to replace him. In the meantime, Eusebius and Theognis kept slandering him to the emperor, (saying) that he was not worthy of the chief priesthood, but they failed. They could not hide the lamp under a bowl because it was put on a stand to give light to those in the house.⁶⁴⁰

Rufinus said about Athanasius that, "While a child, he played with the children in the alleys. One time, they chose him as their bishop and he began to ordain priests, deacons, and other clerical ranks. One day, the chief priest Peter surprised those children and saw what they were doing. He ordered their names to be registered and become educated by the school."⁶⁴¹

Alexander ordained Athanasius a deacon and took him along with him to the Council of Nicaea, where he vigorously defended the orthodox faith. After accomplishing his strife, Alexander departed this life and Athanasius occupied the See (of Alexandria) by the will of God. With great ardor, he withstood the empty claims of the Arians and overcame satanic obstacles by the power of the Holy Spirit. His words were like sharp arrows struck against Eusebius, Theognis and all the Arians who were burned by the fire of hatred and envy. However, their evil did not subside, but went on fabricating charges against Athanasius. They accused him saying that the gift of linen which was usually presented to the emperor, should in fact, be presented to the Church of Alexandria. They also claimed that he delivered a chest full of gold to a certain Philumenus who had rebelled against the emperor. However, when the emperor was sure that these two charges were not true, he sent Athanasius to Alexandria with great honor. Furthermore, Eusebius and

⁶³⁶ Exodus 8:21-24. See Socrates, Book One, Chapter 36, p. 59 of the English translation.

⁶³⁷ Socrates, Book Two, Chapter 26, p. 93 of the English translation.

⁶³⁸ In order to obtain full understanding of these events, especially what happened at the Council of Sardica, the reader is directed to Socrates, Book Two, Chapters 20 and 21, pp. 81-84 of the English translation and Theodoret, Book Two, Chapter 7, pp. 88 of the English translation.

⁶³⁹ Socrates, Book One Chapters 8 and 9, pp. 17-27 of the English translation and Book Two, Chapter 21, pp. 82-84 of the English translation.

⁶⁴⁰ Mark 4:21, Luke 8:16

⁶⁴¹ Socrates, Book One, Chapter 15, pp. 36-37 of the English translation.

Theognis instigated a presbyter named Isychoras, who had offered the sacrifice (the Eucharist) before he was ordained a priest and then fled to Nicomedia, to say that Athanasius sent men to destroy the altar, poured the chalice and burned the books.⁶⁴²

Again, when, in the 3rd year of Constantine's reign, the Arians attempted to convene a council in a certain village of Palestine, Athanasius refused to attend. Therefore, they moved the council to Tyre. They cut off the hand of a dead man and claimed that Athanasius has killed Arsenius, bishop of Melitene and cut off his hand. They claimed that he bestowed the priesthood by this hand and concealed it in order to use it for magical works.⁶⁴³

The emperor summoned Athanasius to Tyre to investigate the charges against him, and Athanasius responded. Macarius too was summoned in chains. However, Arsenius arrived secretly by divine dispensation, and when he was recognized, he denied that he was Arsenius. Later, however, he could not cover up his lie, and the partisans of Athanasius snatched him and took him into hiding. When Athanasius entered the hall of judgment (court) those iniquitous (Arians) exhibited Arsenius' hand. Athanasius asked them "Which of you knows Arsenius?" Many of them said, "We know him." Athanasius ordered Arsenius to enter the hall with his two whole hands. They said, "This is Arsenius whose hand was cut off." Arsenius showed them his right hand but they said it could be the other hand that is cut off. Arsenius showed them his left hand. Athanasius said. "Here is Arsenius with two hands. Let them show us where his third hand is." Thus, was exposed their iniquity against Macarius. Meantime, Athanasius went to a place of hiding but was honored by the emperor. Nevertheless, the Arians condemned Athanasius, and his condemnation was signed by the bishop who was thought killed by Athanasius.⁶⁴⁴

The Arians convened a council to which they summoned a harlot who had given birth to a bastard by Eustathius the goldsmith. They enticed her to claim that the father was Eustathius of Antioch. They announced that this Eustathius was deposed and replaced by Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea. They accused Eustathius of dividing the congregation. However, the woman harlot, who was afflicted by incurable disease confessed, and Eustathius of Antioch triumphed.⁶⁴⁵

The See of Antioch became vacant for 8 years. Then it was occupied by Eulalius for one year. He was succeeded by Euphronius for 6 years.

Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea presided over the Council of Antioch. He charged Athanasius with holding the heresy of Sabellius. Meantime, Qura (Cyrus), bishop of Aleppo, and George, bishop of Laodicea accused him of other matters. Then Qura was also deposed. A conflict was provoked within the congregation. Some demanded the restoration of Eustathius to his see; others wanted the restoration of Eusebius of Caesarea to his see. The conflict led to the use of the sword against each other. Finally, Eustathius was restored and the conflict ended.⁶⁴⁶

In this period, Habsai was the 20th bishop of Edessa, Marcus the 32nd bishop of Rome and Julius the 33rd bishop for 5 years. In Jerusalem Maximius was a bishop. The heathens gouged his eyes. In Edessa, Barnai who succeeded Babsai, was the 21st bishop.

In this period, Spyridon was a shepherd, but he was chosen to be the shepherd of men. He tended the sheep with great humility. He lived on them in order to sustain his physical needs but never neglected to offer spiritual nourishment to the people. One night thieves seized his sheep, but he bound them by his prayer. On the next day, he saw them, released them by the power of prayer, and advised them to steal no more. He gave them a ram and they repented. He had a chaste sister who was a nun. A man left a trust with her, which she buried in the ground. The man returned asking for the trust but she had already died. He began searching for the trust. The bishop who had no knowledge of the trust accompanied him to

⁶⁴² Socrates, Book One, Chapter 27, p. 52 of the English translation.

⁶⁴³ Socrates, Book One, Chapter 29, pp. 54-55 of the English translation.

⁶⁴⁴ Socrates, *Ibid.*

⁶⁴⁵ Theodoret, Book One, Chapter 21, pp. 58-59 of the English translation.

⁶⁴⁶ Socrates, Book One, Chapter 24, pp. 48-49 of the English translation.

her grave. He cried out, "Sister Irene! Tell me where the trust is (buried). She answered from the grave, "It is in a such and such place." The trust was found and they praised God.⁶⁴⁷

The following councils were convened in the time of the victorious Constantine prior to his order to convene the great Council of Nicaea.

Fourteen bishops met at Galatia and issued twenty canons.

Then was convened the great Council of Nicaea.

A council met at Laodicea and issued nineteen canons.

Ninety bishops met at Antioch and issued fourteen canons.

These councils met in the time of Constantine. May their memory be a blessing (to us).

Chapter Four: The time of Constantine's Sons

The Victorious Constantine proclaimed his son Constantine (II) a Caesar in Constantinople.⁶⁴⁸ He made his middle son Constantius a Caesar of Antioch and the East, and his third son Constans a Caesar over Rome.⁶⁴⁹

When Constantine died in Nicomedia, his middle son Constantius was first to arrive because he was in the proximity of the city. He received the covenant from the Arian priest. He placed his father's body in a gold coffin and brought it into the capital.⁶⁵⁰

Upon hearing of Constantine's death, Sapor (the king of Persia) marched the second time against Nisibin situated on the Persian-Roman borders. It was known as the Antioch of Macedonia. Sapor marshaled an army and attacked it. At the same time, Constantine's son marched to Antioch. Sapor laid siege against Nisibin for seventy days. He set up towers against it and dug trenches. He dammed the course of the River Mygdonius that flowed in the middle of it and filled it up on both sides. Then he enlarged the dam, and the waters rose and flowed over the wall. The wall could not resist the pressure and collapsed. He then demolished the other side through which the waters were flowing. Sapor thought that since the wall had collapsed, he would be able to occupy the city. However, he was surprised to see that on the next day another wall was built on both sides of the city. Apparently, Jacob, bishop of Nisibin, by his prayers, urged the fighting men and the people to rebuild the wall. They did and propped it with buttresses and set up on it mangonels (engines of war) while Jacob continued to pray. Sapor was flabbergasted not only by the rebuilding of the wall, but because a person appeared to him on the wall wearing a garment and a miter from which light shone forth. Sapor thought it was the Roman emperor. He became very angry when he was told that it was not the emperor. However, when he learned that Constantius was in Antioch, he thought that that person was the God of the Romans fighting for them. The wretched (Sapor) hurled an arrow into the sky knowing that he could not harm him. Meantime, the blessed Ephraim (St. Ephraim the Syrian d. 373) asked Bishop Jacob to let him climb the wall and curse the barbarians. When he (St. Ephraim) saw that they were many, he asked God and he sent against them swarms of pests and mosquitoes. The elephants (of the Persians) were immensely disturbed because they had no hair. The pests attacked the horses' nostrils and ears sending them into stampede. They got loose of their bridles, threw off their riders and fled. Sapor retreated in shame. Ignatius of Melitene says, "God also sent heavy rain against the Persians. The plague inflicted them and they fled."

Constantine II, the eldest brother, was killed in war by the soldiers of Constans when he came to the region of his brother Constantius.⁶⁵¹ Constantius proclaimed Gallus, one of his relatives, a Caesar and sent him to Antioch. As he was about to enter the city, he saw toward the east a cross that looked like a pillar of fire.⁶⁵² Constantius was in control of the East and the capital when Constantine was killed by the soldiers of

⁶⁴⁷ Socrates, Book One, Chapter 12, pp. 33-34 of the English translation.

⁶⁴⁸ Constantine II (337-340) was the second son of Constantine the Great. His father in Sirmium made him Caesar.

⁶⁴⁹ Socrates, Book One, Chapter 38, pp. 61-62 of the English translation.

⁶⁵⁰ Socrates, Book One, Chapter 39-40, p. 62 of the English translation.

⁶⁵¹ Socrates, Book Two, Chapter 5, p. 66 of the English translation.

⁶⁵² Socrates, Book Two, Chapter 28, pp. 95-96 of the English translation.

Dalmatius Caesar. Gallus and Julian, sons of Constantine the eldest brother, were almost killed. However, illness saved Gallus from being killed, and Julian was saved because of his young age. Constantius ordered that they be educated in the village of Maqali near Caesarea Cappadocia. Both were ordained psalters (readers).⁶⁵³ They built a church after St. Mammias because the wing, which had been built by Julian, collapsed. Its fall had been known earlier.

After Constantius made Gallus a Caesar, he rebelled against him and Constantius had him killed. Julian was dragged into the fray, but the Empress Eusebia asked the emperor to hand him over to her. She sent him to Athens to study philosophy with Basil and his brother Gregory the theologian (Nazianzen).⁶⁵⁴ When Basil noticed the bad behavior of Julian, he predicted that he would revert to paganism.

In this period, the emperor built a city in Seleucia and called it Constantina of Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia). He enlarged the city of Amid and called it Augusta. He also called Tella, which was formerly known as Antipolis, Constantina.

Having reigned eight years in Rome, Constans was opposed by the tyrant Magnentius, who controlled Italy, Africa and was proclaimed emperor in Sirmium. Constans was killed treacherously. Along with him was his young nephew, Constantine. When Constantius learned what had happened, he became angry and marched against Magnentius. He killed him and Nepotian of the royal line who was with him. These two tyrants were killed on the same day.⁶⁵⁵

A cross was seen in the sky toward the east in May, 663 of the Greeks/352 A.D. Constantius entered Rome with pomp. Upon returning to Constantinople, he appointed Julian (to the position of) Caesar and married him to his sister Helen, who came to be known as Constantina.⁶⁵⁶

Macedonius, bishop of Constantinople, wanted to transfer the remains of Constantine the Great from the Church of the Apostles to another church. However, the people revolted and many were killed. When Constantius learned of the incident, he deposed Macedonius and appointed Eudoxius in his place. Thus, he exchanged evil with evil.

In this period, the Jews of Neo-Caesarea killed some Romans. An army marched against them and killed them. It is reported that Gallus, Julian's brother, is the one who destroyed the Jews. But he became tyrannical and a rebel. He fled to the island of Phlanon where he was killed.

When Julian became Caesar and triumphed over the barbarians of Gaul, he became extremely powerful. His army proclaimed him Augustus. Learning that Julian had been victorious and was proclaimed Augustus, Constantius feared him. He hastened to receive baptism by Euzoius of Antioch. He assembled an army and marched against the treasonous Julian. Reaching Cilicia, Cappadocia, he died at Mopsucrene.⁶⁵⁷

Although Constantius did not admit the term "consubstantial" he, however, admitted its essence. He confessed that the Word of God, the Son, existed before all ages. He condemned openly those who affirmed that he was a creature. In fact, he introduced an innovation worthy of praise. He ordered his troops to take the communion while fighting against Magnentius, saying that, "Life is uncertain especially during battle; for it is endangered by arrows, and a multitude of other weapons. Therefore, everyone should be dressed with a shield for protection, which he needs even more in the world to come. I myself cannot bear to be counted among the heathens."⁶⁵⁸ He died in November 3, 678 of the Greeks having lived forty-five years. He assumed power at the age of seven and was co-emperor with his father for thirteen years. He was sole ruler for twenty-five years. He regretted giving a covenant to Eusebius, the Arian presbyter, and injecting skepticism into the faith.

After the death of Constantine the Victorious, the said Arian presbyter did not hand the covenant to his elder son, but to the middle son after receiving from him a pledge to persecute those who maintained

⁶⁵³ Cf. Socrates, Book Three, Chapter 1, pp. 129-133 of the English translation.

⁶⁵⁴ Theodoret, Book Three, Chapter 3, pp. 129-131 of the English translation.

⁶⁵⁵ Socrates, Book Two, Chapter 25, p. 92 of the English translation.

⁶⁵⁶ Socrates, Book Three, Chapter 1, p. 130 of the English translation.

⁶⁵⁷ Socrates, Book Two, Chapter 47, p. 126 of the English translation.

⁶⁵⁸ Theodoret, Book Three, Chapter 3, pp. 130-131 of the English translation. The author took much liberty with the text.

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that Christ is eternal. He frequently visited the emperor to show him how his teaching flowed in every direction like the waters. He succeeded in winning one of the prominent men to the Arian heresy. In addition, the queen and her entourage accepted this heresy. Thus, conflict resulted in the east. In the west, however, things were calm because the eldest son of Constantine was ruling there and was a supporter of the faith. He brought Athanasius back from exile. He said, "Our Lord Constantine would have brought him back if it were not that he succumbed to death." Alexandria welcomed Athanasius with great honor. The Arians objected saying, "Athanasius has no right to enter the church without a council's decision." When Athanasius returned to his see, Eusebius had already died and was succeeded by his disciple Acacius who wrote about his master.

In this period Jacob of Nisibin died and was succeeded by Babouy and then by Walgash (Vologese).

In Rome, Julius who was bishop for 15 years was succeeded by Liberius for 8 years.

In Antioch, some Arian bishops occupied that see of whom are Euphronius Placitus for 4 years; Stephen, 5 years; Leontius, 6 years; Eudoxius, 3 years. All of them were Arians. Then, Meletius became a bishop of Antioch and was banished. He was followed by Eunomius.

In Constantinople, Phula (Paul) was bishop after Alexander, but he was expelled.

Eusebius of Nicomedia was a bishop for 5 years and was sent into exile ...lacuna of one line...

Phula (Paul) returned for 2 years.

Macedonius the heretic was a bishop for 5 years.

In Jerusalem, Cyril became a bishop after Maximus for 2 years and was then deposed.

In Edessa, after Habsai and Barnai, Abraham and Barsai were bishops. In this period were found the teachers of the truth Athanasius of Alexandria, Ephraim of Nisibin in Edessa, Eusebius of Homs, the blessed Julian the aged and Abraham Qaidonoyo. Also, prominent was the Persian (Aphrahat), the orthodox sage who wrote the *Book of Demonstrations*.

Socrates says, "Antionius the great who combated evil spirits, says that he was still living in this period. Athanasius the great wrote about him in details. To Antonius God revealed the corruption which has taken too long in the church because of Arius and the Meletians."

St. Antony said that the sons of the church would go through monumental temptations. When his disciples asked him what they were he replied, "I dreamed that the table of the Lord was hedged round by mules who spurned it with their hoofs." Afterwards, the Arians instigated the emperor against Athanasius who left his see and made his way to Rome. When Constans learned of what happened, he ordered a council to convene at Sardica. The council confirmed Athanasius as the lawful occupant of the See of Alexandria and reaffirmed the Nicæan Creed. The Arians, who were still recalcitrant, did not attend the council.⁶⁵⁹

Constans immensely grieved for his brother's deviation (from the orthodox faith). He delegated to him two bishops who had attended the Council of Sardica with letters advising him to submit to the truth, move away from the Arians and restore Athanasius to his see, especially that the charges against him were proven false. When the emissaries reached Antioch, and Stephen who was in charge of its see learned about their mission, he contrived a stratagem against them. He ordered a young man to find a courtesan and tell her that these men desired her. Meanwhile, he called fifteen soldiers and hid them in a nearby place. He bribed one of the servants to open the door at night and usher the courtesan in. He showed her the place where the two honorable emissaries were staying. Then he went out to call the soldiers. One of them, named Euphrates, was sleeping in the outer chamber and Vencintius was sleeping in the inner chamber. When the courtesan entered, Euphrates shouted, "Who are you?" and she responded. Recognizing that it was the voice of a woman, he was scared thinking that it was an evil spirit. He called the young men who arrested her and the soldiers also, and threw them into prison. However, the young man escaped. In the morning, the courtesan appeared before the emperor. She confessed and pointed to the young man, named

⁶⁵⁹ Socrates, Book Two, Chapters 20-22, pp. 81-85.

Evagrius, who had arranged her invitation. He was arrested and flogged. The soldiers confessed that Stephen was the one who had concocted this plan and, he was expelled from the church.

When the emperor was assured of the Arians' stratagem against Athanasius, he accepted his brother's intercession on his behalf and sent men to bring him unto himself. He asked him to hand over to the Arians only a single church in Alexandria. Apparently, the emperor's mind was still tarnished by the Arian heresy. Athanasius replied, "I also ask you to give a single church to those of our faith in Antioch to pray." The emperor almost agreed. However, the Arians retorted, "No church shall either be given to them or to us." Athanasius returned for the second time to Alexandria and was received with utmost honor.

After the death of Constans, the Arians instigated Constantius against Athanasius. They told him that he was the main reason of conflict between him and his brother. The emperor ordered Athanasius' banishment for the second time and even sent Sebastian and some other Romans to kill him.

Athanasius, narrating the story of this escape says, "The Arians provoked the Romans against me. They conducted them to me because they did not know me. Darkness set in and some people remained vigilant. Almost five thousand soldiers and Romans surrounded the church to insure that no one escaped. I said that, 'It was not fit to leave the church under such commotion, but rather endure torment more than the rest.' I took my seat and beckoned to a deacon to chant the Psalms with the people's response, 'May his mercy be forever.' The governor and the soldiers went up to the Holy of Holies to arrest me. The clergy and the congregation asked me to move somewhere else but I determined not to do so before the sons of the church had left first. I concluded with a prayer and beseeched them to leave saying, 'I prefer to suffer torture alone than cause harm to any one of you.' When the people, monks and other clergymen intended to make their way out, they forced me out of my seat in order to leave with them. I say this for nothing but the truth. At the same time when some soldiers had hedged the Holy of Holies and others roamed around in the church, we slipped through them protected by the Lord, and thus were safe. I thanked God because I did not betray the congregation to them." This was the third banishment of Athanasius.⁶⁶⁰

The emperor consulted with Liberius (bishop of Rome) to depose Athanasius calling him wicked and a troublemaker. However, Liberius would not agree. The emperor sent him five hundred dinars but he refused them. So he was banished to Beroe and then to Thrace. Two years later when the emperor came to Rome, women asked their husbands to beseech him to bring Liberius back from exile. But the husbands feared the emperor's wrath. The women decided to ask the emperor themselves whether he agreed or not. Some prominent women among them approached the emperor with utmost esteem and presented their case. He answered that the church had a shepherd, Philip, who succeeded Liberius. The emperor (Constantius) feigned true faith but secretly endorsed the Arians. Nevertheless, he accepted the women's appeal because no one supported Philip. He ordered Liberius to come back and administer the church with Philip. For this, the people shouted, "God is One, Christ is One, and we have one bishop."

Liberius, bishop of Rome, was banished together with Paulinus, bishop of Gaul, Dionysius, bishop of Italy, Lucifer, bishop of Sardinia and Eusebius, bishop of Italy. This latter might have been the uncle of Julian.

To Eusebius, bishop of Samosata, was handed the document containing the decision of the people. But he learned that the iniquitous men reneged on their promise, deposed him and set up Meletius in his place. The Arians appealed to the emperor to have Eusebius hand back the document fearing that their deeds might be exposed, but Eusebius refused to hand back the document. This enraged the emperor. He sent a messenger to Eusebius for the second time saying, "The hand of the one who will not surrender the document will be cut off." Meantime, he secretly ordered the messenger not to execute his order. When Eusebius read the emperor's letters, he stretched out his right and left hands saying, "I will never submit the document which contains a censure of the Arians' iniquity." Upon learning what happened, the emperor was astonished for this situation. How amazing it is that the persecutors (Arians) were astonished when their opponents resisted (exposed) their actions?

⁶⁶⁰ For a vivid exposé of the life of St. Athanasius, his multiple predicaments and banishments, see Frederic W. Farrar, *Lives of the Fathers: Sketches of Church History in Biography 1* (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Blake, 1889), 445-571.

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Damasus was the 35th bishop of Rome for 19 years.

In this period, St. Ephraim was famous in Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia).

Abraham Qaidonoyo and the elderly Julian were known for their asceticism.

In Edessa, Bishop Abraham died and the Edessan took Barsa, bishop of Harran, and set him up a leader of his church.

In this period Vologese, bishop of Nisibin, died *End of the narrative*.

Constantius, son of Constantine the Great, was inclined toward the Arian heresy. The reason was the covenant his father granted the Arian presbyter. The presbyter began to seize the churches of the orthodox and hand them to the Arians. Constantius lamented the trouble within the church ascribing it to those who maintained the term "Consubstantial with his Father," which is not in the Scriptures. This caused dissension among the clergy. The emperor blamed Athanasius and his supporters for this trouble. Constans, the emperor in Rome, was, like his father, of sound faith. He called Athanasius back from exile at a time when the Arians were betraying him to Constantius. When Athanasius felt that Constantius intended to banish him, he fled to Rome and was received by Julius who summoned the Arians to Rome but they refused to show up. Ninety bishops and presbyters met in Antioch. They issued canons, deposed Athanasius and set up Eusebius of Edessa, bishop of Emessa (Homs) in his place.⁶⁶¹ Later, Eusebius was exposed for this inclination toward the Sabellinas and the magical practices of the Chaldeans. They (the bishops) deposed him and set up Gregory the Arian in his place. They addressed a harsh letter to Julius for accepting Athanasius and Paul.⁶⁶²

The easterners met at Philippopolis and condemned the term "Consubstantial."

Some members of the family of Constantine the Great had a rotunda church built in Antioch and Arian bishops gathered to consecrate it. Suddenly, a severe earthquake demolished it. About this earthquake, John of Asia said, "It demolished many areas. The church of Salamina in Cyprus was destroyed. The city of Caesarea Pontus, with the exception of its church building, sank into the sea. Only few people were saved."

In the ninth year of the reign of the sons of Constantine, another earthquake took place, and Rome was in great turbulence because of it. Twelve cities were destroyed in Campania.

Socrates says that when Gregory entered Alexandria, Athanasius of Alexandria fled. In their fury, the Alexandrians set the church of Dionysius on fire.⁶⁶³

Upon the death of Alexander, bishop of Constantinople who lived 89 years, Paul succeeded him. However, the emperor deposed Paul because he was installed without his order. The emperor appointed Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia in his place. The people, however, rejected Eusebius and reinstated Paul. Then Paul was ousted and Macedonius, the Arians' favorite, was reinstated. His reinstatement caused three thousand victims.⁶⁶⁴

In this period emerged the heresy of Photinus, who held power in Sirmium of Illyricum. His disciple, the condemned Marcellus, held that Christ was a mere man. The emperor convened a meeting in Sirmium to discuss his idea. Gregory the Cappadocian, bishop of Alexandria, who succeeded Gregory, discovered that Photinus' belief was the same as that of Sabellius and Paul of Samosata. The Arians deposed him and issued rules not only affirming the faith but also serving as a reproach for those who preceded these heretics. In addition, they instituted three statutes contradicting each other.⁶⁶⁵

The term *ousia* in Greek and Latin means *substance*, in Syriac, *ithotho*.

Following the Council of Nicaea, the Arians instituted eight statutes of faith, two in Antioch, one in Gaul, another fixed by Eusebius and sent to Italy, three in Sirmium and one in Seleucia. Other Arians in

⁶⁶¹ Socrates, Book Two, Chapter 8, pp. 67-68 of the English translation; Theodoret, Book Two, Chapter 4, pp. 75-76 of the English translation.

⁶⁶² Socrates, Book Two, Chapter 9, pp. 68-69 of the English translation; Theodoret, Book Two, Chapter 4, pp. 75-76 of the English translation.

⁶⁶³ Socrates, Book Two, Chapter 11, p. 71 of the English translation.

⁶⁶⁴ Socrates, Book Two, Chapters 6 and 7, pp. 66-67 of the English translation.

⁶⁶⁵ Socrates, Book Two, Chapter 18, pp. 77-78 and 29, p. 96 of the English translation.

Constantinople added to them something else. The purpose was to distance them gradually from the Creed of Nicaea.⁶⁶⁶

The Arian Leontius, who blamed Athanasius for running away, frequently visited a sorceress harlot named Eustolia (Eustolium). To avoid suspicion, he castrated himself but kept visiting her.⁶⁶⁷

The Arians set up a bishop for Antioch during the turmoil in the church. In Constantinople, Macedonius seized the churches by order of the emperor. He persecuted anyone who professed the term "consubstantial," because he held the same belief of Arius. He even had the audacity to blaspheme the Holy Spirit.⁶⁶⁸

In Alexandria, the Arian George disgraced the virgins and killed old men. He had no mercy on the young and the women. He banished the bishops and presbyters for rejecting Arius.⁶⁶⁹

In Antioch, the deacon Aetius harbored the beliefs of Arius. He received his education in Alexandria but returned to his native city Antioch where Leontius ordained him a deacon. He forged fallacious ideas taken from Aristotle's *Categories* and explained them in a rational and diabolical manner in his letters. Thus, he was surnamed Atheus (Atheist).⁶⁷⁰

At this time, a council convened in Milan by order of the emperor. Three hundred bishops attended it from the West; only a few attended from the East because of far distances. When the Eastern bishops intended to condemn Athanasius, the Western bishops voiced their disagreement saying, "If Athanasius is condemned, the whole faith will perish." The council was then dissolved. The emperor ordered the Westerners to meet in Rimini. Instead, they met in Seleucia because at that time an earthquake destroyed Nicomedia, which was situated between these cities. The Arians presented a copy of the faith, which was composed at Rimini, but was rejected by the bishops. The emperor ordered the bishops not to leave their seats, but they left. The emperor became furious and issued an order in favor of the Arians. Soon afterwards, Liberius, bishop of Rome, also left. Later, Leontius of Antioch died and was succeeded by Eudoxius, bishop of Germanicia (Mar'ash) by order of the emperor.⁶⁷¹

The emperor convoked another council in Seleucia attended by one hundred-fifty bishops. Eusebius, Eudoxius and Aetius objected against its meeting to the emperor. Eudoxius handed the emperor a memorandum explaining the issues of changeable nature. In it, he stated that the Son is not the Father. However, when it became known that Aetius had written the memorandum, he was banished to Phrygia. Eudoxius condemned anyone who proclaimed that the Son was born of the Father not in an ineffable manner, or that he is simply a "son". Meantime, the emperor asked the bishops to condemn the term "consubstantial," but they refused to do so. Therefore, he banished them. In addition, he banished Cyril who was bishop of Jerusalem for twelve years and replaced him with Herennius.⁶⁷² Likewise, Macedonius, who was a bishop of Constantinople for five years, was banished and replaced by Eudoxius who was in Antioch. As to Meletius, bishop of Sebastea in Armenia, he was at the beginning loved by all for avoiding discussion of the creed. One day, however, he produced three fingers saying, "This is how we know them (Father, Son and Holy Spirit) as one." The Arians recognized that he was holding the Nicean Creed. Three years later, they deposed him and replaced him with Euzoius. Then, the presbyter Paulinus administered the affairs of the people.⁶⁷³

⁶⁶⁶ Socrates, Book Two, Chapter 41, pp. 120-121 of the English translation.

⁶⁶⁷ Socrates, Book Two, Chapter 26, p. 93 of the English translation; Theodoret, Book Two, Chapter 24, p. 112 of the English translation.

⁶⁶⁸ Socrates, Book Two, Chapter 27, pp. 93-94 of the English translation; Theodoret, Book Two, Chapter 6, pp. of the English translation.

⁶⁶⁹ Socrates Book Two, Chapter 28, pp. 94-96 of the English translation; Theodoret, Book Two, Chapter, 14, pp. 93-95 of the English translation.

⁶⁷⁰ Socrates, Book Two, Chapter 35, pp. 102-103 of the English translation.

⁶⁷¹ Socrates, Book Two, Chapters 36 and 37, pp. 103-111 of the English translation.

⁶⁷² Errenius, Arrenius. See Socrates, Book Two, Chapter 45, p. 125 of the English translation.

⁶⁷³ For this narrative, the reader should read Socrates, Book Two, Chapters 40-45, pp. 116-125 of the English translation.

BOOK SEVEN

In this period appeared a heretic in Alexandria named Apollinaris. He was educated in profane sciences. He came to teach in Beirut. However, when he reached Laodicea, he married and had a son with his namesake. Bishop Theodotus ordained him a presbyter and his son a psalter. They became acquaintances of Epiphanius the pagan Sophist, which caused Theodotus to suspend them from service. George, who succeeded Theodotus after his death, wanted them to stop seeing Epiphanius. They objected and he expelled them from the church. The young man Apollinaris resorted to some condemned bishops who ordained him a bishop for an unknown location. He and his father contrived a heresy about the positions (of the persons of the Trinity). They claimed that, "The Holy Spirit is great, the Son is greater and the Father is greatest. The Son did not receive a rational but a vegetative soul and a reason." They composed some psalms.⁶⁷⁴

In this time, Eunomius, who instructed him not to reveal his faith, ordained Eudoxius but the people induced him to tell the truth. When he told the truth in writing, they reported him to the emperor. Eudoxius was forced to depose him. He urged him to flee, blaming him for divulging his faith. Meantime, Eunomius lost his trust in Eudoxius and repaired to Theodotus. Both of them contrived a heresy and were called "Eunomians."⁶⁷⁵

One hundred-sixty Arian bishops met in Seleucia but could not agree with each other and split into two parties. George and thirty-two bishops formed a party while Georgias, bishop of Alexandria, and the rest of the bishops formed an opposite party. They changed the term "consubstantial with the Father" to "of like the Father." When asked, "In what sense he (the Son, Christ) was like the Father?" they answered, "He was like him only in will but not in substance." One bishop asked, "Why do you then call the Antiochenes 'Fathers' while you reject their teaching? Now those who assembled in Nicaea and instituted the term 'consubstantial' should be more worthy to be called 'Fathers' for they were the forerunners from whom the Antiochenes received the priesthood. If the Antiochenes had debased the right of their 'Fathers,' those who follow the murderers of their fathers deceive themselves, for they unjustly confess that their creed was false since they received from them unlawful ordinations. Consequently, if those did not receive the Holy Spirit which is granted at the time of ordination, then, those and they themselves have not received the priestly dignity."⁶⁷⁶

At this time appeared in Edessa a young man who was ordained an archdeacon. He followed the teachings of the Daysanis (Followers of Bar Daysan, d. 222) who practiced astronomy, sorcery and denied the resurrection. They also maintained that angels had been stained by rebellion, and that seven Directors created the world.⁶⁷⁷

In this period, George the Arian maltreated the Alexandrians. Driven by zeal, they set him on fire. Others say that the Alexandrians tied him up to a frantic camel and was split into two halves. Still, others maintained that the partisans of Athanasius killed him. When Julian rose to power, he addressed a letter to the Alexandrians saying, "Fury has driven you astray, and usual hatred blinded you from recognizing the truth."⁶⁷⁸ *End of the narrative.*

Chapter Five: On the reign of Julian the Apostate and Sapur

Julian the Apostate was made Caesar by Constantius⁶⁷⁹ and ruled jointly with him for 5 years. He ruled 2 years after the death of the emperor. His reign began on Konon (December) 3 of the year 679 of the Greeks.⁶⁸⁰ In some copies, he is said to be the nephew of Constantine the Great. The Victorious

⁶⁷⁴ Socrates, Book Two, Chapter 46, pp. 125-126 of the English translation.

⁶⁷⁵ Theodoret, Book Two, Chapter 29, pp. 121-123 of the English translation.

⁶⁷⁶ Socrates, Book Two, Chapters 39-40, pp. 114-120 of the English translation.

⁶⁷⁷ Gregorius Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum*, Syriac text translated into Latin by Johannes Baptista Abbeloos and Thomas Josephus Lamy, 1, Lovanii, 1872), 101-102.

⁶⁷⁸ Socrates, Book Three, Chapters 2 and 3, pp. 133-136. Chapter 3, pp. 134-136 contains the lengthy letter of Emperor Julian to the Alexandrians.

⁶⁷⁹ See John Matthews, *The Roman Empire of Ammianus* (The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 87.

⁶⁸⁰ Julian ruled from 371 to 363.

Constantine, who built Constantinople, had two brothers: Dalmatius and Constantius.⁶⁸¹ Dalmatius called his son after his own name. Constantius had two sons: Gallus and Julian. When Gallus rebelled and was killed, Julian was sent to Athens as its governor by the mediation of the empress. Then, the emperor designated him a Caesar, and gave him his sister (Helena) to wed and sent him to fight the barbarians.⁶⁸² It is said while he entered a street of a city; a suspended crown descended upon his head. When he triumphed against the barbarians, he began to think that the emperor had only sent him to fight the barbarians in order to have him and those with him perish. He harbored evil toward the emperor but he also dreaded him. Therefore, he stayed away from the emperor and went to Athens and had his hair cut. In secret, however, he learned magic pretending he was studying rhetoric. When he triumphed in war, it was said that the crown that descended upon his head was a sign of his dominion. Influenced by this incident, Julian agreed to have his followers proclaim him an emperor. He placed a crown over his head to signify his rise to power. He mocked Constantius, annulled his decrees and altered the acts of the Christian emperors. He opened the temples of idols and sacrificed to them in order to attract the heathens. He prepared to fight against the emperor, but due to the incomprehensible ways of God, Constantius died. And yet, the divided Roman kingdom became united. Despite its unity, however, this monster tyrant relied on his sentiments believing that the demons had glorified him. Thus, he exercised cajolement and cunning to patronize the pagans. He perverted what was considered by the emperor as evil into what he thought was good. He even assumed the characteristic of a philosopher. He expelled cooks and barbers on the pretext that he acted in a manner befitting a philosopher but not an Emperor. As to jest and derision, they are befitting emperors and not philosophers. The tyrant Julian composed a treatise deriding the emperors who were before him. He said that philosophers and emperors should rise above calumny and jealousy.⁶⁸³

This tyrant Julian polluted water springs with the blood of sacrifices so that anyone who drank from them would share in his impiety. He sprinkled food and market places with their waters in every city he entered.⁶⁸⁴ When he entered Constantinople, he was proclaimed an Autocrat. In Antioch, he depressed the prices of commodities, but the swift-acting citizens of the city could not stand him. In fact, they held him in contempt and mocked his long beard saying, "Shave off your beard and make a rope out of it." He ordered the impression of a bull and altar be made on his coin. He had bullocks sacrificed to the idols. He was outraged against the citizens of Antioch who scoffed at him. However, the sophist Libanius interceded with him on behalf of them for describing him as "He of the repulsive beard," and "He of excessive scorn." Julian insulted them and his outrage calmed down.⁶⁸⁵

When he tried to find out about his fortune from the oracle, Apollo Pythien of Daphne, the oracle did not answer him for fear of Babylas, whose coffin containing his remains was placed there.⁶⁸⁶ Upon learning the reason, Julian ordered immediately that the coffin be removed. The Christians transported the coffin of St. Babylas (from Daphne) to the city with a great celebration.⁶⁸⁷ Only then, the oracle told Julian his fortune.⁶⁸⁸

The Apostate (Julian) set up two altars. On one of them he placed gold, and on the other, frankincense and fire, so that he who wanted gold threw frankincense in the fire and ate from the sacrifice.

⁶⁸¹ Julius Constantius was half-brother of Constantine the Great.

⁶⁸² *The Roman Empire of Ammianus*, 86.

⁶⁸³ Socrates, Book Three, Chapter 1, pp. 129-133 of the English translation. Evidently, the author took much liberty with the text.

⁶⁸⁴ Theodoret, Book Three, Chapter 15, p. 141 of the English translation.

⁶⁸⁵ Socrates, Book Three, Chapter 17, p. 149 of the English translation. According to Socrates, instead of punishing the inhabitants of Antioch, he wrote a pamphlet entitled "Antiochichus; or Misopogon that is Beard-Hater" thinking that he would leave on them an indelible stigma. Socrates, p. 149-150, and *The Roman Empire of Ammianus*, 409-410. From this source, we gather that Julian wrote the pamphlet *Misopogon* to shame the inhabitants of Antioch and to justify his handling of the food crisis, which they protested.

⁶⁸⁶ Babylas' remains were installed by Gaius Caesar.

⁶⁸⁷ When the Christians conveyed Babylas's remains to their new resting place, they kept citing against Julian the Psalm 97:7 "All who worship images are put to shame, those who boast in idols-- worship with him, all you gods." See *The Roman Empire of Ammianus*, 439-440.

⁶⁸⁸ Socrates, Book Three, Chapter, 18, p. 150 of the English translation.

However, a Christian threw frankincense into the fire, took gold and, as he was about to partake of the sacrifice, he signed the cross over the chalice. His companion told him that he was doing the opposite of what was required. When he realized that what he did was an infidelity, he and others rose up and shouted, "We are Christians." Julian wanted to kill them. But realizing that they may be counted as martyrs, he sent them into exile.⁶⁸⁹ He also banned from his palace eunuchs, mules, camels and donkeys leaving only horses.⁶⁹⁰ He changed the name of Caesarea into the old name of Mazaqa. This he did also with Byzantium.

Julian enacted a law forbidding the Christians from studying the books of heathens and philosophers. He opened houses for the care of orphans, widows and the poor just to deceive the gullible. He ordered the people to read the exploits of Zeus, Mars, Jupiter and demons, and threatened with torture those who did not worship them. He ordered the commissioners to sacrifice to the idols before receiving their stipends. He was outraged against Antioch for insulting him. He was also outraged against Caesarea and Cappadocia and swore by his gods to cast their stones into the sea just because he was rebuked by Basil the Great. He sent a message to the citizens of Edessa to welcome him, but they refused. His counselors advised him to leave them alone, and he did. He entered Harran (Carrhae), sacrificed to the idols and honored the Jews.⁶⁹¹ When the Jews of Edessa heard what he did, they antagonized the Christians. Moved by zeal, the Christians turned and annihilated the Jews.

Julian was prostrating before the idol Sin in Harran, and his crown fell off his head. His garment became entangled with the harness of the horse, was torn and the horse died. His magicians told him "The Christians in your company have planned these things against you." Julian suspended 22,000 Christian soldiers from service but did not remove the symbol of the cross. The reason was that in case he was defeated by the Persians, he would make the cross the cause of his defeat.

Julian always consulted soothsayers and interpreters of oracles. An astronomer told him, "We have all gathered at the Tigris River asking the gods to grant you victory. Mars will make you triumph." The wretched man believed him and marched against the Persians confident, like Alexander, of victory.⁶⁹² He also learned that the Persians were weaker in wintertime. Therefore, he marched through their territory at the head of 395,000 fighting men not including horsemen, porters and artisans. He reached Ctesiphon-Seleucia pillaging and killing. Sapur fled. Julian entered the treasuries of the kings and seized considerable riches. Sapur begged him to leave some of his land, but he refused. He forgot the adage, "It is good for man to conquer. But when his conquests increase, the number of his enviers also increases." Thus, over the banks of the Tigris, the Persians assembled against the Romans and sent emissaries to Julian. One day, he went out on his horse wearing no armor. He bragged about his achievement and urged the troops to fight. Suddenly, a stray arrow struck him in his side and he fell down. He scooped some of his blood and hurling it toward heaven, said, "Galilean! You have conquered me. Yours is divinity and dominion."⁶⁹³ It is said that the one who shot the arrow was an angel. Others say he was one of the Forty Martyrs (of Sebastea). Others say that he was one of the Tayoye (Arabs) in his company. Still, others say he was a Persian whose nose Julian had cut off; he is the one who deceived him and took him out to the wilderness and had the people

⁶⁸⁹ Theodoret, Book Three, Chapter 17, pp. 143-144 of the English translation.

⁶⁹⁰ Socrates, Book Three, Chapter 1, pp. 129-133 especially p. 132 of the English translation.

⁶⁹¹ At Harran Julian sacrificed to the Moon, who was devoutly worshipped in those parts. See *The Roman Empire of Ammianus*, 177.

⁶⁹² Cf. *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu*, translated from Zotenberg's Ethiopic Text by R. H. Charles (London: William Norgate, 1916), 77.

⁶⁹³ Theodoret, Book Three, Chapter 25, pp. 150-151; Socrates, Book Three, Chapter, 21, pp. 152-153 with some differences. John Malalas says that Julian was severely wounded in the armpit and was carried to his tent. He asked his soldiers, "What is the town in which my tent is." They told him that it was called Asia. Immediately, he cried out, "O Helios (Sun), you have destroyed Julian." He bled profusely and died. See *The Chronicle of John Malalas*, translated by Elizabeth Jeffrys, 181, and *The Chronicle of John Malalas Books VIII-XVIII*, translated by Matthew Spinka, 76-77, where he gives his age as 36 at his death, and *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu*, 78-79.

perish from hunger. However, Callistus, one of Julian's relatives,⁶⁹⁴ who wrote his biography, says that Julian fell off the back of a demon and died on Saturday.⁶⁹⁵

Julian lived 31 years,⁶⁹⁶ five of them as a Caesar. He was sole emperor for 2 years and 7 months. May his memory be accursed. Amen.

The death of Julian was foretold by a venerable old man in Sinai, by the Cappadocian Basil the Great and by Didymus and other saints. It is said that one month before Julian was killed, a warm water spring gushed out in Baghdad.⁶⁹⁷ One day after he was killed, the spring resumed its former nature. At Harran, Julian entered a temple of idols to worship. When he finished, he had the gate of the temple shut off and sealed in order that no one else would open it. After he was killed, it was opened. Inside, a woman was found chained and suspended by her hair.

The apostasy of Julian and his deviation from the faith is attributed to a woman from his clan named Partica. She prompted him to seek soothsayers and diviners and thus he fell into the trap of apostasy and became a heathen. If one desires to know the authenticity of this account, he will find it in *Against Foreigners*, said to have been written by St. Gregory of Nyssa, brother of Basil the Great under whom Julian studied in Athens. It is also said that when these dignitaries discovered his queer behavior and his inclination toward heathenism, they said "Woe to Rome which has produced him."⁶⁹⁸ When he became Caesar and came to Hellas (Greece), he (Julian) asked a sorcerer to help him. The sorcerer evoked a demon and Julian trembled. However, he made the sign of the cross and the demon vanished. The sorcerer said that, "The demons feared the cross."⁶⁹⁹ Later, when he triumphed in warfare, he believed that the demons had granted him sovereignty. For this, he extended aid to the heathens and publically worshiped idols and persecuted the Christians. He allowed the Jews to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem. However, when they began the reconstruction, fire fell down from heaven upon them and angels were seen dragging the Jews and annihilating them. Because of this incident, the Jews were unable to continue the work.

The pagans became extremely audacious in their actions. In Gaza, Ascalon and other cities of Palestine, they tore up the stomachs of presbyters and virgins, filled them with barley, and threw them to the pigs to be devoured. In Sebastea, they opened the coffin of St. John the Baptist and burned his bones. They seized a deacon named Cyril, who, during the time of Emperor Constantius destroyed the idols of Ba'lbak. They ripped up his stomach and ate his liver. Instantly, they lost their teeth and their tongues decayed in their mouths. They also lost their eyes.⁷⁰⁰ Much against their will, they roamed through the marketplace proclaiming the power of God. Another believer, Marcus,⁷⁰¹ had destroyed the idols in the time of the Christian emperors (Constantius). He fled when the pagans dominated. He returned when he learned that the pagans had seized another person instead of him, but the pagans arrested him. They had no mercy on him although he was an old man. They stripped him naked and dragged him breaking his bones. They thrust him into a bad smelling cage of lions. Then, they took him out and delivered him to playing youth to trample on him with their feet. They thrust him in a cage and anointed his body with musk and honey, and suspending him where the heat was most excessive, left him to the attacks of wasps and bees. They said, "Either you apologize for destroying the temple of the idols or pay for its reconstruction." They bargained

⁶⁹⁴ He was one of his bodyguards.

⁶⁹⁵ According to Socrates, Callistus, one of Julian's bodyguards, says that the wound of which Julian died was afflicted by a demon. Socrates, Book Three, Chapter 21, p. 153 of the English translation. A full description of Julian's death is in *The Roman Empire of Ammianus*, 180-183 without any mention of scooping and hurling his blood and shouting that the Galilean had overwhelmed him. Evidently, Ammianus was a partisan of Julian.

⁶⁹⁶ According to *The Chronicle of John Malalas*, translated by Elizabeth Jeffrys, 181, he was 31 years old when he died. However, according to the translation of Matthew Spinka, 77, he was 36 years old.

⁶⁹⁷ The mentioning of Baghdad here is historically anomalous. As a city, Baghdad was built in 762 A.D. by the second Abbasid Caliph Abu Jafar al-Mansur (754-755.) Most likely, Michael Rabo meant a place where the future city of Baghdad stood.

⁶⁹⁸ Socrates, Book Three, Chapter 23. pp. 155-156, especially p. 156, which provides a sketch of the life and character of Emperor Julian by Gregory of Nazianzus. Gregory says, "Ah! How great a mischief to itself is the Roman Empire fostering?"

⁶⁹⁹ Theodoret, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Three, Chapter 3, pp. 129-131.

⁷⁰⁰ As a divine punishment.

⁷⁰¹ He was a Bishop of Arethusa.

with him asking him to pay them an inconsiderable sum of money, but he refused. He kept telling them, "You are earthly-bound and care about earthly things, but I am heavenly-bound and care about heavenly things." Finally, they released him and were astonished by his endurance. He became the cause of their drastic change. Through him, they believed and were converted (to Christianity).⁷⁰²

In this time, a thunderbolt destroyed the temple of Pythian Apollo (of Daphne) and reduced it to ashes, for the statue was only made of wood with a gilded surface. Julian, the emperor's uncle, (he was governor of the East) hastened to assist Apollo. The guardians beat the Christians suspecting that they had burned the temple. He was told that fire like a thunderbolt fell down from heaven and destroyed it.⁷⁰³ The emperor's uncle took off his garment and urinated on the Holy Table. Falling on his face, Bishop Euzoius tried to prevent him from doing so. Instantly, the emperor's uncle was afflicted by pain in the bowels and excrement and urine poured out of his mouth. When his wife, who was Christian, saw him in this condition, she rebuked him for his cruelty. He repented and beseeched the emperor to allow the Christians a church, but the emperor refused. Julian died tormented.⁷⁰⁴

Count Felix was entrusted with the emperor's treasury. He was termed by the Romans as the count or treasurer of the private estate of the emperor. Seeing precious holy vessels in the churches, he exclaimed, "Behold, in what kind of vessels the Son of Mary is ministered unto."⁷⁰⁵ Immediately, he fell down and started bleeding from the mouth. He died and went to (the punishment of) eternal fire. The tyrant Julian ordered the holy vessels transferred from his treasury.

A prominent man of Aleppo had a son who reverted to paganism, and he (the father) expelled him. The son complained against his father to the emperor. When Emperor Julian came to Aleppo, he told the father, "Don't antagonize your son because he no longer follows your religion, neither will I force you to embrace my religion." The man said with avid Christian enthusiasm, "Is this what you want to tell me about this impious impudent creature, who has forsaken the truth and hated and loved falsehood?" The miscreant (Julian) realized that this believing man was ready for martyrdom. He, putting on the form of philosophers, said, "Man! Enough insults." Turning to the son he said, "I will take care of you since I could not convince your father to care for you."⁷⁰⁶

When General Valentinian entered the temple in the company of the emperor, the priests sprinkled those who entered with blood in hyssop to purify them. A drop of blood fell on the emperor. He turned to the priest saying, "You have defiled me instead of purifying me." Then, the tyrant banished the priest to the desert. A year later, the confessor Valentinian became emperor as a result of his confession.⁷⁰⁷

In Egypt, the tyrant (Julian) killed the commander Artemius because he had destroyed the idols.⁷⁰⁸

Two soldiers (guards), Juvenitus and Maximus, were at a certain dinner party. They lamented saying, "We have been delivered to a wicked government." One of those present related to the emperor what these two had said. The two men told the emperor that they deplored the abominable sacrifices offered to the idols. The emperor had them flogged and killed, claiming that they had insulted him. He did this in order to offer them the dignity of dying as martyrs. Thus, while pretending to be humble, he was indeed impious.⁷⁰⁹

Emperor Julian forbade the Christians to be educated in the sciences of the Greeks. However, Apollinaris and his son were competent men. Apollinaris, well versed in grammar and in the science of engineering called (horan?), translated the books of Moses into rhetorical verse and paraphrased the rest of the historical books of the Old Testament partly in dialectic measure, and partly reducing them to the form of dramatic tragedy. His son expounded the gospels and the Epistles in the way of dialogue, following Plato among the Greeks as his model. It should be understood that the Scriptures are not books of science and

⁷⁰² This whole story is in Theodoret, Book Three, Chapter Seven, pp. 133-135 of the English translation.

⁷⁰³ Theodoret, Book Three, Chapters 8 and 9, pp. 135-136 of the English translation.

⁷⁰⁴ Theodoret, Book Three, Chapters, 12-13, pp. 138-139 of the English translation.

⁷⁰⁵ Theodoret, Book Three, Chapter 12, pp. 138-139 of the English translation.

⁷⁰⁶ Theodoret, Book Three, Chapter 22, pp. 148-149 of the English translation.

⁷⁰⁷ Theodoret, Book Three, Chapter 16, pp. 142-143 of the English translation.

⁷⁰⁸ Theodoret, Book Three, Chapter 18, pp. 144-145 of the English translation.

⁷⁰⁹ Theodoret, Book Three, Chapter 15, pp. 141-142 of the English translation.

dialectics, but are weapons to defeat the enemies especially that we are armed with the admirable things and the truth they contain. In fact, the Apostle (Paul) used them for this purpose. It is evident from the testimonies we have already cited that the people of Crete were liars.⁷¹⁰ Their learned men used these books for the sake of controversy.⁷¹¹

Julian entered Antioch leaning on General Jovian. The priest sprinkled him with blood. Jovian spurned and struck the priest who fell down. Julian became angry and banished Jovian. Later, as he was in need of his abilities, he restored him as an army general.⁷¹²

At Caesarea Philippi, a woman with a blood issue made a statue of Christ and worshiped it in order to be healed. She also used the statue for the healing of many maladies. The tyrant (Julian) begrudged her and, smashing the statue, fixed his own statue in its place. However, fire descended from heaven and burned it.⁷¹³

In Nicopolis of Palestine, there was a fountain used for healing. It is said that Christ washed in it. The tyrant (Julian) filled it up with dirt. It was also reported that once when Julian entered Antioch, the philosopher Libanius asked a Christian sarcastically, "Where is the son of your Carpenter?" The Christian said enthusiastically, "He is preparing a coffin for your emperor." This was like a prophecy, because the body of Julian was transported back from Persia in a coffin.⁷¹⁴ *End of the narrative.*

When Julian began to reign, he ordered that bishops return to their sees, and Athanasius returned to Alexandria.⁷¹⁵ His order, however, was not made with good intentions, but for accomplishing two malicious aims. The first aim was to abrogate the decrees of previous Christian emperors; the second was to cajole the bishops graciously to comport with his will. Then, he declared his apostasy, persecuted, and killed the Christians. As a result, many were martyred. Athanasius fled and wrote down an *Apology for his Flight*. He said, "Flight is not admirable but he who kills and persecutes shall be exposed. It is written that we should flee, but murder is a violation of the law. He who is oppressed would flee from Saul to seek refuge with David. I wonder what would they say when they see Jacob flee from Esau, Moses from Pharaoh and David from Saul? Those who revile us for our flight should recall that Elijah fled from Jezebel, the sons of the prophets hid in the cave, the disciples who moved from one place to another for fear of the Jews, and Paul who was laid down in a hamper from the wall of the city. Indeed, the Word of God (Christ) himself says, "But when they persecute you in this city, flee into another,"⁷¹⁶ and "Then let them who are in Judea flee into the mountains."⁷¹⁷ Christ himself thirsted and hungered for our sake, and when they wanted to stone him, he disappeared. But when the hour of his suffering was at hand, he did not hide. Likewise, the martyrs flee during persecution. However, when arrested, they cherished martyrdom. St Athanasius said such things in his *Apology*.⁷¹⁸

Athanasius returned to Alexandria and the people received him with exultation. He expelled the Arians from the church.

Also, recalled from exile was Lucifer Cagliari and Eusebius, bishop of Verhlon (sic).⁷¹⁹ Lucifer came to Antioch and constituted Pulinus, a bishop for the Orthodox.⁷²⁰ Eusebius went to Alexandria where Athanasius was stationed and magnified the Trinity, which is of one nature (essence). At the council

⁷¹⁰ Titus 1:12.

⁷¹¹ Socrates, Book Three, Chapter, 16, pp. 147-149 of the English translation.

⁷¹² Cf. Socrates, Book Three, Chapter 13, 144-145 of the English translations especially Julian's bad treatment of the Christians.

⁷¹³ See Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Seven, Chapter 18, pp. 288-289 of the English translation by Christian Frederick Cruse.

⁷¹⁴ Theodoret, Book Three, Chapter 23, p. 149 of the English translation. For detailed information about Julian the Apostate, see Rev. John Wordsworth, "Julianus, Flavius Claudius, in *A dictionary of Christian Biography*, ed. William Smith and Henry Wace, Vol. III (London: John Murray, 1882), 484-525. On p. 515, the author gives the different ideas about Julian's last words before he died.

⁷¹⁵ Theodoret, Book Three, Chapter 4, pp. 131-132 of the English translation.

⁷¹⁶ Matthew 10:23.

⁷¹⁷ Matthew 24:16.

⁷¹⁸ Socrates, Book Three, Chapter 8, pp. 138-141 which includes quotations from Athanasius' defense of his flight.

⁷¹⁹ For their return from exile, see Socrates, Book Three, Chapter 5, p. 136 of the English translation.

⁷²⁰ Socrates, Book Three, Chapter, 6, pp. 136-137 of the English translation.

convened in that city, the bishops discussed the subject of "nature" and "hypostasis that is person, substance, and essence." They said that these terms should not be used when discussing God because the term "*asia*" is not mentioned in the Scriptures. They also said that the Apostles used only literal criteria necessary to express dogmas. They indicated that these terms are understood differently for the purpose of refuting the ideas of Sabellius, and the Trinity should not be considered One Person in Three Names. They reasoned, that if the "essence" is limited, how could it be applied to God the unlimited? Evagrius says, "God is simple; either he is original or a copy; either he is a transmutation or accident, or a compound term of all these things. As to the Trinity, none of these things is applicable. He who is indescribable should be worshiped with serenity. It is related of Menander who said, "He is like the sediments at the bottom of the cask."⁷²¹

In this time, Meletius returned from exile. He ordained Basil the Great, a bishop for Caesarea Cappadocia, whose excellences surpassed those described by Gregory the theologian (Gregory of Nazianzus.) Other saints have related his prodigies.⁷²²

Eusebius remained in the lesser church of Antioch and Meletius outside the city. Euzoius the Arian seized the churches.⁷²³

Maris, bishop of Chalcedon, was advanced in age and his eyes were dimmed. He censured the Emperor Julian. The emperor said to him sarcastically, "O blind man, let the Galilean heal you." (This is how Julian described the Lord Christ). Maris replied, "Thank God who has made me blind lest I behold your face, O apostate who knows no God."⁷²⁴

Ecebolius, a sophist of Constantinople, became a Christian in the time of Constantine, but apostatized under Julian. Then he returned to Christianity. He threw himself before the church door shouting, "Trample on me, for I am the salt which has lost its savor."⁷²⁵

The heathens calumniated Athanasius to Julian who had him arrested, and Athanasius was banished for the fourth time. He told his companions, "The commotion will quickly terminate; it is a cloud which appears and then vanishes away." When he embarked the boat, his persecutors chased after him. However, he asked them to go back and behave with wisdom. Asking his companions "Where is Athanasius?" They said, "He is not too far from you. You may hasten a little to catch up with him." Thus, Athanasius was safe. He sailed to Alexandria and kept in hiding with a nun during the entire reign of Julian.⁷²⁶

When the Christians complained to Julian about their oppression, he said to them, "It is your fault. After all you say that your God has commanded you to bear suffering."⁷²⁷

In this time, they (pagans) were digging a temple of idols in the city of Merun in Phrygia, which inflamed the Christians with zeal. Macedonius, Theodolus and Tatian went to the forum and smashed the idols. The governor was infuriated and commanded them to offer sacrifices (to the idols.) When they refused, he had them tortured and thrown into irons. They said to him, "You wicked man. If you wish to eat broiled human flesh, Amachus, (governor of Phrygia) turn us on the other side also lest we should appear but half cooked to your taste." Thus, they received the crown of martyrdom.⁷²⁸

The high priest of Daphne had a son whose mother entrusted him to the care of a loving instructress. When the mother died, the young man kept visiting the instructress who inculcated him with piety. She promised to have him baptized. When Julian came to Daphne, the son who was also there saw his

⁷²¹ Socrates, Book Three, Chapter 7, pp. 137-138 of the English translation.

⁷²² See the discourse of Gregory of Nazianzus in praise of Basil in *Patrologia Graeca*, Vol. 26. pp. 494.

⁷²³ In fact, Lucifer not only laid hands on the churches but those who attached themselves to him formed a new sect called "the Luciferians." See Socrates, Book Three, Chapter 9, pp. 141-142 of the English translation.

⁷²⁴ Socrates, Book Three, Chapter 12. p. 144 of the English translation. Here, as usual, the author takes liberty with the text.

⁷²⁵ This in reference to Matthew 5:13. Socrates, Book Three, Chapter, 13, pp. 144-145 of the English translation.

⁷²⁶ The whole episode is taken from Theodoret, Book III, Chapter 9, pp. 135-136 and Socrates, Book III, Chapter 14, pp. 145-145 of the English translations. As usual, Michael Rabo takes much liberty with the original text, especially the chronological sequence of facts.

⁷²⁷ Socrates, *Ibid.* p. 146.

⁷²⁸ Socrates, Book Three, Chapter 15, p. 146 of the English translation.

brother and father sprinkle the sacrifices and the food of the emperor with water. The festival celebrated at Daphne usually lasted seven days. Seeing the abomination of the worship of pagans, the young man repaired to his instructress begging her to do something for his deliverance. She took him to Meletius who asked him to wait. The young man's father began searching for him in the city (Antioch). Finally, he found him in the house of Meletius peeping through the rail. He took him home and beat him severely. He then took a pointed instrument, made it red hot, and forced it into his hands, feet and back. After that, he shut him up in a room and returned to Daphne. The young man called upon Christ to assist him. Immediately, his bolts fell down and the doors burst open and he went to his instructress. She disguised him in a dress of a female and took him to St. Meletius. Meletius baptized him and gave him to the care of Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem. After the death of Julian, the tyrant, the young man returned to Antioch and led his father to the faith.⁷²⁹

Theodore was another young Christian (who was tortured). Julian delivered him to Salustius who had him tortured. When he became weak, he left him thinking that he would not live much longer. However, God assisted him and was animated. The Roman chronicler Rufinus asked him whether he felt his torture. He said, "At first I suffered few pangs. Afterwards, there appeared one who wiped my sweat and gave me courage."⁷³⁰

At that time, the Jews received an order to rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem in order to offer sacrifices. They prepared three thousand measures of lime for the project. At night, a strong wind blew and destroyed what they did. The earth quaked and the stones of the ancient foundation were exposed. In addition, fire fell down from heaven and melted the spades, mattocks and other building tools. This miracle was repeated for three nights. On that very night, the garments of the Jews were covered with crosses. At daytime, they tried to wash them away by water, but failed. The crosses not only appeared on the garments of the Jews, but also on the garments of the Christians and the pagans. In addition, they did not appear in Jerusalem alone, but also in Antioch and its environs. Indeed, the cross appeared surrounded by a halo of light covering a distance from Golgotha to the Mount of Olives. It was more radiant than the cross that appeared in the time of Constantine the Great.⁷³¹

In this time, the pagans killed Dorotheus, bishop of Tyre, who was 110 years old. He had written a book on ecclesiastical history and made prodigious acts in the time of Diocletian and Licinus.⁷³²

The presbyter Theotecnus apostatized and offered sacrifices to the idols. Instantly, he succumbed and his body and tongue were eaten by worms.⁷³³

The Arians set up Heraclius from their own party as the 45th bishop of Jerusalem. He was followed by Hilary as the 46th bishop.⁷³⁴

Chapter Six: On the reign of Jovian and Sapur

Upon the death of Julian, the Roman soldiers who were fighting in the wilderness suffered severe hunger. They chose Jovian, the Commander of Thousands (the élite officers' cadet corps) and a Christian by confession, as their emperor. (Jovian was emperor from 363 to 364.) The Roman army was unanimous in choosing him, and so he was supported by the king of Persia, who believed that the blow against Julian had come from God. The king sought peace with the Romans. Jovian, however, said, "Being a Christian myself, I cannot assume authority over pagans (like you)." On hearing this, the soldiers shouted, "We are all Christians."⁷³⁵ Joy, then, was mingled with tears. They raised a cross in the middle and placed a crown on it.

⁷²⁹ Theodoret, Book III, Chapter 14, pp. 139-141 of the English translation.

⁷³⁰ Theodoret, Book III, Chapter 11, pp. 137-138 and Socrates, Book Three, Chapter 19, pp. 150-151 of the English translation.

⁷³¹ Theodoret, Book Three, Chapter 20, pp. 146-147 and Socrates, Book Three, Chapter 20, pp. 151-152 of the English translations.

⁷³² See Pseudo-Dorotheus, *Patrologia Graeca*, 92, p. 1053, and Theophanes, *Patrologia Graeca*, 108, p. 159, and J. B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel Le Syrien*, 1 (Paris, 1899), p. 289, notes 5 and 6.

⁷³³ Theophanes, *Patrologia Graeca*, 108, p. 160, and J. B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel Le Syrien*, 1 (Paris, 1899), p. 289, note 7.

⁷³⁴ Socrates, Book Two, Chapter 45, p. 125 of the English translation.

⁷³⁵ Theodoret, Book IV, Chapter 1, pp. 152-153 of the English translation.

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After prostrating before it, they removed it and placed it on Jovian's head, and he ruled over the Romans.⁷³⁶ With his wisdom, he made peace with Sapur who had seized most of the Roman territories and besieged them economically. Meantime, Sapur said that, "War will never stop even if the Romans surrendered to us their territories up to the banks of the Euphrates." Jovian, with all humility, went to see him and gave him Nisibin, empty of inhabitants. He signed a peace agreement with him for thirty years.⁷³⁷ Thus, peace prevailed and concord was established in the two camps.⁷³⁸

Jovian was made emperor in August amidst universal joy, especially among the Christians. He recalled the Roman troops from Persian territory and saved them from dying of starvation. He went to Antioch and then to Ancyra, Galatia, where he designated his son Varronian a consul. He exalted him greatly and offered him everything except the purple. On his way to Constantinople, he traversed Cilicia and reached the Bosphorus. In the winter, when he arrived in the village of Dadastana situated between Bithynia and Galatia, he died from kidney illness.⁷³⁹ His death caused immense grief for those who had cherished the taste of peace during his reign. When the Lord of all wants to reproach our evil acts, he shows us all that is good, and then takes it away from us. He teaches us that everything is possible with him, and he blesses what he wills. He convicts us of our unworthiness in order to receive his grace, and urges us to use every means to attain virtue.

Jovian died on February 17.⁷⁴⁰ He lived thirty-two years. Jacob of Edessa says that Jovian reigned only one year. Others say he reigned one year and seven months. *End of the narrative.*

When Jovian assumed power, he recalled the bishops from exile to their sees.⁷⁴¹ He ordered the temples of idols closed and churches opened. The Christians were overwhelmed with joy. St. Athanasius returned to Alexandria and remained in his see for six years.⁷⁴² Jovian asked him to write the creed of faith for him, but Athanasius said that the Creed of Nicaea, inspired by the Holy Spirit, was sufficient.⁷⁴³

At Antioch, Meletius, bishop of the city, Eusebius of Samosata, and Rusticus, bishop of Armenia, met along with the partisans of Macedonius and confirmed the term "consubstantial" in the Creed.⁷⁴⁴ The ousting of Eusebius caused a rift between the partisans of Eunomius and the Arians.⁷⁴⁵ Emperor Jovian, however, ordered the confirmation of the faith established by Constantine the Great. He honored those who confessed the "consubstantiation of the Word of God," and exempted them from tribute.

In this time there flourished the Roman chronicler Rufinus.

Callistus wrote the life story of Jovian. Themistius the philosopher composed a discourse in praise of this Christian emperor who granted freedom of belief to all people. Jovian had said, "I do not persecute anyone for the religion he embraces. I immensely respect those who were the foundation of the unity of the church."⁷⁴⁶ Jovian offered due respect to Julian. He took his coffin and had him buried in Tarsus as said by Socrates. Others say that he transported the remains of Julian to Constantinople. The philosopher Themistius says, "The agitators deserve to be rebuked because they do not honor God, but they offer respect to the purple. They do not understand how Euripus naturally flows backward or forward." *End of the Chapter.*

⁷³⁶ Socrates, Book Three, Chapter 22, p. 153 of the English translation.

⁷³⁷ John Matthews, *The Roman Empire of Ammianus*, 185-187.

⁷³⁸ Socrates, Book Three, Chapter, 22, pp. 153-154 of the English translation.

⁷³⁹ Socrates, Book Three, Chapter 26, p. 161 of the English translation says that Jovian died from disease caused by some obstruction.

⁷⁴⁰ Socrates, *Ibid.* According to Ammianus, Jovian most likely died from carbon monoxide poisoning caused by fumes from a charcoal brazier. See *The Roman Empire of the Ammianus*, 188.

⁷⁴¹ The bishops were banished by Constantius.

⁷⁴² Theodoret, Book Four, Chapter 2, pp. 153-154 of the English translation.

⁷⁴³ Socrates, Book Three, Chapter 24, p. 159 and Theodoret, Book Four, Chapter 2, p. 154 and Chapter 3, pp. 154-157 of the English translation where he gives the entire letter of Athanasius to Emperor Jovian.

⁷⁴⁴ Cf. Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 25, pp. 159-160 of the English translation.

⁷⁴⁵ Cf. Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 23, p. 175 of the English translation.

⁷⁴⁶ Socrates, Book Three, Chapter 25, p. 159 of the English translation.

Chapter Seven: On the reign of Valentinian and his brothers

Upon the death of Jovian, the Romans proclaimed Valentinian an emperor in Nicaea.⁷⁴⁷ A short time earlier he had struck a pagan priest for sprinkling him with polluted blood. Valentinian came from the city of Cibales in Pannonia. He was prudent and courageous. When the commanders proposed to associate a colleague with him in the government, he said, "When there was no emperor, it was incumbent upon you to place in my hand the reins of the empire. Now that I have received them, it is my office and not yours to direct public affairs."⁷⁴⁸ Everyone admired his prudence and submitted to his authority.

Valentinian made his brother Valens his associate in government, and an emperor of the East.⁷⁴⁹ But since Eudoxius baptized Valens, the Arian bishop of Constantinople, he assisted the Arians and persecuted the orthodox.⁷⁵⁰ However, Valentinian in Rome observed the faith of Nicaea.⁷⁵¹ He was loved by the army for being a true Christian. He conferred upon his son Gratian the title of Augustus and appointed him a consul.

The Arian Valens ruled in the East. He banished the orthodox bishops and handed their churches in Constantinople to the Arians, and they were without a church or a shepherd.⁷⁵²

In this time, Procopius rebelled against Valens in Constantinople.⁷⁵³ He was seized and, following the order of the emperor, was tied between two trees and torn into two parts.⁷⁵⁴ Then Valens set out for Egypt. While he was in that country a severe earthquake, such as the world had never seen before, took place in Marcianopolis. The sea raged and tossed some ships over the city walls and into the squares. The sea parted, the dry land appeared and the anchorages of ships were destroyed. People rushed to loot but the waters returned and drowned them. Some sailors mentioned that the same thing happened in the Adriatic Sea. The seawaters spread for a few miles, inundating several villages and their inhabitants. They swept the ships and those inside them onto dry land. Suddenly, the seawaters returned and the ships were afloat. No one was harmed.⁷⁵⁵

Valentinian transgressed the law by marrying Justina, mother of his son Gratian, as a second wife for her beauty. Therefore, he issued a decree allowing men to combine between two wives.⁷⁵⁶ He had a son, Valentinian the young. Four years later, King (Emperor) Valentinian died in Gaul. Before his death, he censured his brother Valens for being deceived by Arius. Valens did not listen to him. Outraged, Valentinian refused to assist him in his war with the Goths saying, "We should not assist a man who has taken up arms against God."⁷⁵⁷

When Valentinian marched against the Sarmatians, they feared him and sued for peace. When he beheld their humiliation, he inquired about their leaders. They assured him that they were the leaders. He yelled, "How miserable is the Roman Empire if such wretched people dare fight against it?" Because he was so angry, his throat's veins broke up and blood poured out of it. He died at the age of eighty-four, eleven years of which were spent in governing.⁷⁵⁸

The second wife of Valentinian was the daughter of Justus (Justinus). In the time of Constantine, Justus had seen a vision, which he related to many people. He saw purple pouring out of his right side. On hearing this, the emperor became furious. He said, "Maybe he (Justus) will become father of an emperor." He had him killed. His infant daughter, Justina, became an orphan. Valentinian's wife, Severa, loved Justina

⁷⁴⁷ Valentinian was emperor from 364 to 375.

⁷⁴⁸ Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 6, p. 158 of the English translation.

⁷⁴⁹ Socrates, Book Four, Chapters 1 and 2, pp. 136-164 of the English translation.

⁷⁵⁰ Theodoret, Book Four, Chapter 13, p. 168 of the English translation.

⁷⁵¹ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 2, p. 164 of the English translation.

⁷⁵² Socrates, Book Four Chapter 2, p. 164 and Theodoret, Book Four, Chapter, 13, pp. 168-169 of the English translation.

⁷⁵³ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 3, p. 165 of the English translation.

⁷⁵⁴ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 5, p. 166 of the English translation.

⁷⁵⁵ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter, 3, p. 165 of the English translation.

⁷⁵⁶ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 31, pp. 193-194 of the English translation.

⁷⁵⁷ Theodoret, Book Four, Chapter 31, p. 195 of the English translation.

⁷⁵⁸ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 31, p. 193 of the English translation.

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and introduced her to the emperor. Valentinian fell in love with her and married her. She presented him with four children: Valentinian the young and three daughters. One daughter, Galla, was given to Theodosius the Great as wife. She bore him Arcadius, Honorius and a daughter named Placidia.⁷⁵⁹

Valens hated the letter *theta*. Told by a woman oracle that he would be succeeded by someone with a name beginning with that letter, he ordered everyone whose name began with it such as Theodota, Theodore or the like, be killed.⁷⁶⁰

Gratian was not present at his father's death, but Justina was at his side. The generals assembled and proclaimed Valentinian the Young, who was four years old, an emperor.⁷⁶¹

Valens appointed Gratian a commander and commissioned him to fight the Goths. When he was defeated the emperor replaced him. Gratian said to the emperor, "I am not the one who was defeated. If there is any cause for the defeat it is you because you fight against Christ."⁷⁶² Valens added more to his follies by permitting the pagans to sacrifice in Antioch. He also allowed the Jews to observe religious services according to their traditions.

In this period, Mavia (Mawiya) queen of the Tayoye (Arabs) caused many evil things for the Romans.⁷⁶³ However, she promised peace if the emperor agreed to have the ascetic Musa (Moses) in the wilderness ordained a bishop for the Tayoye (Arabs) in her domain. The emperor agreed. However, Musa refused to be ordained by the Arian bishops. He wanted to be ordained by the orthodox bishops who were then in exile. The emperor agreed. After he was ordained, Musa converted many Tayoye (Arabs) to Christianity. Queen Mavia was of Roman origin and a war captive. Because she was beautiful, the king of the Tayoye (Arabs) married her, but she retained her Christian faith. When she took hold of the government, she guided many people to the Christian faith.⁷⁶⁴

In this time, Valens built a prison (*demosion*) in Antioch to lock up the orthodox. He also restored the circus.

In this time, heavily armed figures were seen in the clouds.

In Antioch, a child was born with one eye in the forehead. He had four hands, four legs and a beard.

In this time, the Goths marched against the Romans ravaging the provinces of Scythia, Moesia, Thrace, Macedonia, Achia and even Hellas (Greece). As Valens, who was in Constantinople, was lax fighting them, the people (of Constantinople) appealed with one voice, "Give us arms and we will fight." Using this as an insult, Valens became outraged and threatened to destroy the city and have it plowed under. He then marched to fight the Goths, but was defeated. He took shelter in a village. The barbarians surrounded the place, but he was hiding in a sack filled with straw. Failing to find him, the barbarians set the village on fire and the tyrant was burned and went to hell.⁷⁶⁵

Valens lived fifty years, fifteen of which spent in governing, thirteen as an associate emperor with his brother and two years as sole emperor.⁷⁶⁶

At the beginning of Valens's reign, a Council of bishops convened at Lampsacus in Laodicea and deposed Bishop Pelagius.⁷⁶⁷ Pelagius had been betrothed to a woman. At the betrothal ceremony, he asked the bride to honor the state of virginity. He directed her to spiritual rather than conjugal love. She agreed to

⁷⁵⁹ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 31, pp. 193-194 of the English translation.

⁷⁶⁰ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 19, p. 179 of the English translation.

⁷⁶¹ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 31, p. 193 of the English translation.

⁷⁶² According to Theodoret, Valens sent the army general Trajan with some troops against the barbarians. Trajan was defeated and the emperor reproached him severely and accused him of weakness and cowardice. Trajan replied with boldness, "It is not I, O emperor, who have been defeated; for you, by fighting against God, have thrown the barbarians upon his protection, and surrendered the victory to them." See Theodoret, Book Four, Chapter 33, p. 196 of the English translation."

⁷⁶³ This must be Mawiyah of the Manadhira or Lakhmids who ruled in al-Hira, Iraq. She was surnamed Ma' al-Sama' (the water of heaven). See Philip Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, (Tenth edition. Macmillan, 1970), 83.

⁷⁶⁴ Theodoret, Book Four, Chapter 23, pp. 188-189 and Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 34, 197-198 of the English translations.

⁷⁶⁵ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 38, pp. 198-199 of the English translation.

⁷⁶⁶ Valens reigned from 364 to 378.

⁷⁶⁷ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 6, pp. 166-167 of the English translation.

retain the state of chastity, and he, in turn, became adorned with several virtues, which made him shine like the sun. This is why he agreed to become a bishop at the demand of the people.⁷⁶⁸

When Valens became emperor, this man who had been baptized by the Arians through the effort of his Arian wife who had trapped him into becoming an associate of Eudoxius, swore to banish the orthodox bishops. He banished Pelagius to Arabia, Meletius to Armenia and Eusebius to Thrace. At sunset, an officer arrived at Eusebius' residence to inform him of his banishment and to take him out of the city. Eusebius asked him to tell no one lest the people learn of his banishment and stone him. At night, Eusebius told the story to one of his domestics who carried his pillow and a book. At the Euphrates River, they boarded a boat bound for Zeugma. The people of Samosata grieved when they learned of his departure. They went to Zeugma asking him to come back, but he refused saying that the apostle said that, "Everyone must submit to the governing authorities."⁷⁶⁹ They offered him some gold for his sustenance but he refused to take except very little of it.⁷⁷⁰ He went through the streets disguised like a Roman soldier mounting a horse and wearing a helmet in order that Valens would not recognize him. He went through the cities ordaining priests, bishops and deacons for the orthodox.

Likewise, Athanasius the Great was hiding for four months in the cemetery of his forefathers for fear of Valens. The citizens of Alexandria were outraged against Valens because of Athanasius. Then, according to Valens's order, Athanasius was called back from his fifth exile until his death.⁷⁷¹

In this period there excelled in knowledge Athanasius, St. Ephraim and his two disciples Zenobius and Abba. In the wilderness, there flourished Macarius who healed a woman who was transformed into a horse. There also flourished Macarius of Alexandria, who went to the garden of Jannes and Jambres and a hyena brought him a fur vestment. He never spat on the ground since he was clothed with the priesthood.

Palladius, a disciple of Evagrius, went around collecting stories about the hermits. He became the bishop of Heliopolis for two years. He said that the first person he visited was Machus, the anchorite who lived near Antioch, and who was kidnapped by the Arabs. Then, he went to Egypt and settled in the Nitra Mountain and saw two thousand hermits in it.

In the fourth year of Valens, Abraham Qaidonoyo died on December 12. In this same year, the aged Julian died on February 15. On June 6, 682 of the Greeks/373 A.D., St. Ephraim died. A year later St. Athanasius died on April 1, having served 46 years. He ordained 284 bishops and was banished five times. He was succeeded by Peter the twentieth bishop of Alexandria for 7 years.

Euzoius, the Arian, went to Egypt by order of Valens and cast Peter into prison. Shortly afterwards, Peter escaped to Bishop Damasus of Rome and informed him about everything that had happened.⁷⁷²

Ursinus, who was elected simultaneously with Damasus, accepted the laying on of hands in secret. However, the prefect deposed him and the trouble ceased.⁷⁷³

In this time, Valens made the Arian Demophilus a bishop of Constantinople instead of Eudoxius, who had ministered for 19 years before his death. However, those who professed the term "consubstantial" installed Evagrius as their bishop. On learning this, Valens banished Evagrius and Eustathius who had ordained him. Eighty clerics went to see the emperor concerning church peace. As they were sailing, fire broke out in the ship by the machination of the emperor and the clerics perished.⁷⁷⁴

In this time, St. Gregory of Nazianzus was ordained by the orthodox bishops to minister to the faithful in Constantinople. He became famous for his writings. Also achieving prominence was Basil the

⁷⁶⁸ Theodoret, Book Four, Chapter 13, pp. 168-169 of the English translation.

⁷⁶⁹ Romans 13:1.

⁷⁷⁰ Theodoret, Book Four, Chapter 14, pp. 169-170 of the English translation.

⁷⁷¹ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 13, p. 175 of the English translation.

⁷⁷² Theodoret, Book Four, Chapter 21, pp. 178-179 of the English translation and Socrates Book Four, chapter 22, p. 180 of the English translation.

⁷⁷³ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 29, p. 192 of the English translation.

⁷⁷⁴ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 14-16, pp. 175-177 of the English translation.

Great, bishop of Cappadocia, Gregory of Nyssa and Peter, bishop of Sebastea, a man adorned with virtues.⁷⁷⁵

Valens summoned Basil the Great to Antioch. He tested him saying, "If your faith is true, then pray over my son Galates so that he will be healed." St. Basil said, "If your son believes as I believe and receives baptism from the Orthodox, he will be healed." Later, Galates was baptized by the Arians and died.⁷⁷⁶

As Valens was disputing with Basil the Great, Demosthenes launched charges against him. However, being a fast speaker, he stumbled in his speech and erred. Basil laughed saying, "It seems that Demosthenes lacks propriety." But Demosthenes continued to threaten St. Basil. The saint went on saying, "You ought to engage in cooking and not in correcting divine doctrines since your ears are closed to the word of the truth."⁷⁷⁷ Valens tried to banish St. Basil, but the pen in his hand broke up three times. On arriving in Caesarea, he tried to hand the churches over to the Arians but did not because of the great miracles done by Basil the Great. He was ashamed to see the purity and compassion of this saint. He entrusted him to take charge of the needs of the villagers. Thus, Gregory and Basil became exemplary in the faith. Because of their virtues, Valens did not banish them. Indeed, since childhood they had been sent to Athens because of persecution. At Athens, they received a part of general knowledge, and in Antioch, they became proficient in philosophy under Libanius. They shunned the world and adhered to a life of solitude. They learned commentary from the books of Origen.⁷⁷⁸

Meletius of Antioch ordained Basil a deacon, who later became a bishop of Caesarea. He expelled Eunomius and the Arians from Pontus. Gregory frequently visited Constantinople in the company of his father, who was a bishop, and endeavored to confirm the believers in the faith. Later, he became a bishop of the city for 10 years. This caused Valens to hate him and the bishops who ordained him. The prefect asked Basil the Great the reason he rejected the doctrine (of the Arians) held by the emperor, and Basil denounced it. The prefect threatened him with death. Basil said, "I wish to be released from the bonds of the body for the sake of the truth." The prefect rejoined, "Consider this matter carefully." Basil said, "Whether today or tomorrow, I am what I am." Basil was thrown into prison. Dominica, the emperor's mother, told her son that she suffered immensely in a dream for the bishops being abused.⁷⁷⁹

Rufinus translated the works of St. Basil and St. Gregory into Latin. Peter, Basil's brother, adhered to asceticism, and Gregory of Nyssa to writing. He completed the *Hexameron* (Six Days) of Basil after his death. He also composed a discourse on the death of Meletius in Constantinople. Gregory of Caesarea was older than these dignitaries and a disciple of Origen. He was proficient in the general sciences and in church sciences as well. He performed prodigious works and miracles. In Alexandria, there was another Gregory, but he was an Arian.⁷⁸⁰

Damasus succeeded Libarius as bishop of Rome. He ordained Ursinus a deacon secretly which caused a schism among the people. Ursinus abandoned his position voluntarily after many were killed.⁷⁸¹

Upon the death of the bishop of Milan, schism took place. The governor of the province, Ambrose, feared that the people might choose him as a bishop because he was a God-fearing man. They did ask him to become their bishop but he declined. He expostulated with them but they did not hearken to his pleas. Finally, the people shouted, "Ambrose is worthy of the dignity of a bishop." They seized him and had him baptized against his will. When he refused to be ordained, they referred his case to the Emperor Valentinian.

⁷⁷⁵ Cf. Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 26, pp. 188-189 and Theodoret, Book Four, Chapter 30, pp. 194-195 of the English translations.

⁷⁷⁶ According to Socrates, the emperor said to Basil, "If the doctrine you maintain is the truth, pray that my son may not die." Basil said, "If your majesty should believe as I do, and the church should be unified, the child shall live." Socrates Book Four, Chapter 26, p. 189 of the English translation.

⁷⁷⁷ Theodoret, Book Four, Chapter 19, p. 177 of the English translation.

⁷⁷⁸ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 26, p. 188 of the English translation.

⁷⁷⁹ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 26, pp. 188-189 of the English translation.

⁷⁸⁰ Socrates, Book Four, Chapters 26 and 27, pp. 188-190 of the English translation.

⁷⁸¹ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 29, p. 192 of the English translation.

Realizing that the whole matter was disposed by divine providence, Ambrose accepted ordination and the quarreling factions reconciled with each other.⁷⁸²

In this period in Antioch, the philosopher Themistius composed a discourse, which abated the wrath of Valens. He said, "No one should wonder about the division of the Christians regarding dogma. This division is nothing compared with the dogmatic division of pagans which amounted to three hundred parties. Every one of them espoused a dogma suitable to them. Perhaps God wants to be glorified in different ways in order that everyone will be awed by his majesty? It is not easy to fathom the depth of his intentions."⁷⁸³

In this period, the Goths embraced Christianity, and Ulfilas was ordained their bishop. He discovered Gothic writings, commented on them and translated some books into Gothic.⁷⁸⁴

The anchorite Musa (Moses) was ordained a bishop by the intercession and help of Mavia (Mawiya), queen of the Tayoye (Arabs). He converted many Tayoye (Arabs) to Christianity.⁷⁸⁵

In this period, Peter returned to Alexandria through the influence of the letters of Damasus, bishop of Rome. Lucius was ousted. Upon Peter's death, Timothy succeeded him.⁷⁸⁶

In this time, some virtuous men flourished; one of them was Ammon who was forced to accept betrothal. At the wedding ceremony, he recited the saying of St. Paul about marriage in his letter to the Corinthians⁷⁸⁷ and added to it other things concerning the trauma of pregnancy and labor. He convinced the woman (his bride) of the (preferable) state of virginity. Both went to the Nitra Mountain to worship as separate individuals. They lived on bread and water alone. Upon Ammon's death, St. Anthony saw the angels carry his soul to heaven. He became an example for many who went to worship in the wilderness. Ammon never desired to see his body. However, when he reached the river and was forced to cross it, he had to find his body and was transported to the other bank.

Didymus lived with no one for 90 years.

Arsenius never allowed boys to join a monastery because they could not endure monastic living. He ordered that at mealtime no one should be watching him lest he sensually cherish food or relish it.

Isodore said that he never sensed a sin until he was forty years old. He also said that he never succumbed to sensuality or anger.

Phamco (Pambo) proceeded to learn the Psalms. On reaching the place where it is written, "I said, I will watch my ways and keep my tongue from sin, "He stopped and never went further."⁷⁸⁸ Asked why he did not go further, he said, "This is sufficient for me to know whether I could accomplish it (keep his tongue from sin)." He rejoined, "I hardly accomplished it in nineteen years."

A man was given gold and told how much it was worth. He said that it was not the quantity that counts but good intention. He saw a woman dancing on the stage and he began to cry. When asked about the cause of his crying he said, "First, I wept for her perdition; second, I wept for my soul because I don't please God as this woman pleases the wicked." People told another one that his father had died. He thought a little and then said, "My father is not dead." Another one had no possession but a copy of the Gospels. He sold it and distributed the cost to the poor saying, "He (Christ) ordered me to sell it."

In this period, Evagrius was ordained a deacon by the hand of Gregory of Nazianzus. He wrote there are four virtues he had learned from Gregory the Great: they are knowledge, bravery, chastity and justice. He used to say that the function of knowledge is a spiritual contemplation; power is more wisdom than words; bravery is when man stands firm in the truth under persecution and avoids discussing things

⁷⁸² Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 30, pp. 192-193 of the English translation.

⁷⁸³ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 32, pp. 194-195 of the English translation.

⁷⁸⁴ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 33, p. 195 of the English translation, and Theodoret, Book Four, Chapter 37, pp. 197-198 of the English translation.

⁷⁸⁵ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 36, pp. 197-198 of the English translation.

⁷⁸⁶ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 37, p. 198 of the English translation.

⁷⁸⁷ Cf. 1 Corinthians 7:35-40.

⁷⁸⁸ Psalm 39:1.

that do not exist; chastity is to receive the corn of the first crop and reject the tares; and justice is equality and worth given to every word.

Macarius was asked "Why, when we harbor malice against people we corrupt the power of the memory? But when we do the same to the demons we do not?" He replied, "Because the first passion is outside nature, while the second is done according to the wrathful nature."

Macarius, the Egyptian and Macarius the Alexandrian, were banished to a pagan island. One day, a demon possessed the daughter of their priest. She kept shouting, "Why did you come here? Is it because to cast us out?" The two saints drove the demon out of the girl by prayer. The priest and the inhabitants of the island were converted and turned their temple into a church.⁷⁸⁹

During his studying as a young man, Didymus was afflicted with an eye disease and lost his sight. However, God compensated him with spiritual eyes. He learned by heart grammar, rhetoric, dialectics, arithmetic and music. He discussed with ease the Scriptures and their commentaries. Anthony saw him and said to him, "Don't despair, Didymus, because you lost your eyes which could be irritated by bugs, but rather rejoice because you have eyes which can behold the angels and come to know God." With outstanding courage, Didymus answered the Arians and other heretics and refuted them.⁷⁹⁰

At this time, Alexandria suffered a violent revolt. In this period too, a hailstorm afflicted Constantinople coupled with a dreadful earth tremor that destroyed many places on October 11.

In this period, an Arian was set up as a bishop of Samosata by order of Valens. However, no one followed him and no one attended the church although he seemed humble. One day when he was taking a bath, his attendants were guarding the door, as was the custom. He ordered the door open for anyone who desired to enter. The people came in but stood at a distance. The bishop thought they stood back out of reverence. He finished his bath quickly and went out. The people poured out the waters out of the urns into the ground because they were polluted. It was then that the bishop, who was called Eunomius, realized that the congregation did not like him. Therefore, he left Samosata. The Arians replaced him with the wolf Lucius who was also detested by the congregation. One day, Lucius passed by children who were playing ball. Suddenly the ball fell between his feet and he stepped on it. The children yelled, "Our ball has become contaminated." Lucius asked one of his men to find out what the children were intending to do. The children brought fire and passed the ball through it thinking that it would be cleansed.

After Eusebius's death, his cousin Antiochus occupied his see. Learning that Jovian, bishop of Perga, would offer him ordination, he refused, saying, "God forbid that I should receive the laying on of hands from a person who has received the mysteries from a blasphemer."

Barses of Edessa was banished to Egypt. A great crowd surrounded him because he accomplished many miracles. Valens, the city's governor, heard of him and sent him away to the city of Oxyrynchon in Egypt, and then expelled him to the city of Philea. His bed in the isle of Radus was still revered. Sick people lay down on it and were healed.⁷⁹¹ After Barses left Edessa, wolves (wicked men) came and devastated it. Finding nothing more to spoil, they seized eighty clerics and sent them to Thrace. However, the inhabitants treated them with honor. The emperor, who heard from the prefect that they were being honored, ordered them to be dispersed every two of them to a direction.

Eulogius and Protogenes were sent to Antiones, a town of Thebes. Eulogius continued to serve while locked up in a cell. Protogenes, who possessed great erudition, and who had been accustomed to write with rapidity, was engaged in teaching the children the Psalms of David. One of the children was attacked by a disease. Protogenes went to see him, and on holding him by the hand, the sufferer was healed. On hearing this deed, the people brought their sick to him to be healed, but he did not fulfill their desire because they were pagans. If they believed, he would conduct them to Eulogius who prayed for them and sealed them with the sign of the cross. Sometimes Protogenes complained whenever his service was disturbed. Nevertheless, he baptized those seeking him and healed them from their physical and spiritual

⁷⁸⁹ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 24, pp. 185-186 of the English translation.

⁷⁹⁰ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 25, p. 187 of the English translation.

⁷⁹¹ Theodoret, Book 4, Chapter 16, p. 172 of the English translation.

infirmities. They were astonished at the gift of healing given to Protogenes, who offered principal honor to Eulogius, which made the people believe that Eulogius was more honorable than his companion. When the tempest calmed down, the two holy men wanted to return to their own country. All the people lamented their departure.⁷⁹²

About this time, the heresy of the Messalians sprang up in Edessa by the hands of a man named Eusebius and his disciples, Saba, David, Adelphius, Hermes and Simon. They were known as *Euchites* and *Enthusiasts*. They believed that the agitating influence of demons was an indication of the presence of the Holy Spirit.⁷⁹³

In this time, Deodore and Theodore embraced the doctrine of Paul of Samosata.⁷⁹⁴

] The Emperor Valens made Eunomius a bishop of Cyzicus. He became a secretary to Aetius the atheist. He perfected the arguments of the sophists, but had no knowledge of the Scriptures. Eudoxius ordained him a bishop of Constantinople. Then Eunomius began to blaspheme saying that "God knows no more of his substance than we do; no more is this known to him, and less to us. However, whatever we know about the Divine substance is precisely known to God. Whatever he knows, the same also you will find without any difference in us." Then his teaching was exposed as defiled and repugnant, the people of Cyzicus expelled him.⁷⁹⁵

Emperor Valens continued to persecute the orthodox. This resulted in a severe famine in Phrygia. He came to Antioch and cast the orthodox into the Orontes River.⁷⁹⁶ Then, he went to Edessa to visit the martyrdom at the church of the Apostle St. Thomas. A great crowd gathered but Valens could not find one among them who adhered to his dogma, and struck the prefect with his hand. The prefect felt he was humiliated. To redeem the situation, Valens sent someone to tell the people not to come to the temple lest they be killed. On the next day, the prefect and the Romans went out to carry out the command of the emperor. The prefect saw a woman dragging her son behind her and pressing her way through the crowds. He asked her where she was going. He went on saying, "Didn't you know that the prefect and the Romans were coming to kill people?" She said, "I am hastening so that my child and I may receive the honor of martyrdom." The prefect told the emperor that these people were ready to die for the creed of Nicaea. Thus, he pacified him. Many good acts were attributed to this prefect, Modestus, who saved the Edessan citizens after Valens had ordered their annihilation.⁷⁹⁷

At this time, there was found in Phrygia a group of Novatians, Sabbatarians and Collyrians who observed Easter with the Jews (with the Jewish Passover). They were condemned by Damasus, bishop of Rome and Peter, bishop of Alexandria. These two dignitaries also condemned Eunomius, the heretic, who added to his iniquity his saying that baptism should be performed by one immersion. Also, that it should not be performed in the name of the Trinity, but by the death of our Lord Jesus Christ.⁷⁹⁸ They also condemned the Messalians mentioned above. The Messalians were fought against with ferocity by Amphilocius, bishop of Iconium and Meletius, bishop of Melitene.

At the time, Peter of Alexandria was expelled and replaced by Lucius the Arian, who had been expelled from Samosata; Peter wrote a letter exposing the impiety of Lucius. In this letter he said, "The tyrant called Palladius, who was a heathen and idolater, assembled a multitude in the church and committed atrocious crimes, as if he were attempting to subjugate the hordes of barbarians. But when I tried to allude to them, their very remembrance overcame me, and drew tears from my eyes. These feelings of

⁷⁹² Theodoret, Book Four, Chapter 18, pp. 173-174 of the English translation.

⁷⁹³ Theodoret, Book Four, Chapter 11, pp. 165-166 of the English translation.

⁷⁹⁴ Deodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia. See Rowan A. Greer, *Theodore of Mopsuestia: Exegete and Theologian* (London: The Faith Press, 1961), especially Chapter 3, pp. 48-66 on Theodore's Christology. On p. 164, footnote 2, the author says "In point of fact, Theodore's Christology has great affinity with that of Deodore of Tarsus (his teacher), and perhaps with other theologians such as Eustathios, Lucian, Paul of Samosata, and Theophilus.

⁷⁹⁵ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 7, pp. 167-168 of the English translation.

⁷⁹⁶ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 17, p. 177 of the English translation.

⁷⁹⁷ Theodoret, Book Four, Chapter 17, pp. 172-173 of the English translation.

⁷⁹⁸ Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 28, pp. 190-191 of the English translation.

despondency would have become permanent, had not my grief been assuaged by the words of God. The people entered the church of Theonas singing praises of the idols instead of reciting words suitable to the place. Instead of reading the Holy Scriptures, they clapped their hands, shouting obscene words, and uttering insults against the Christian virgins and tore their garments. They dragged them in a complete state of nudity about the city and treated them in the utmost wanton and insulting manner and with unheard of cruelty. When anyone wanted to intercede on their behalf, they would immediately attack and wound him. Many of them were killed. They even set a tent in the sanctuary for adulterant young men who have abjured their own sex and put on the dresses of females. They wore red on their faces as idolaters and females do. They danced upon the holy altar where we invoke the Holy Spirit, making various gestures and grimaces and laughed immoderately, and uttered many impious exclamations. As if they thought that what they did was commendable, one of them, noted for his perversion, stripped naked and seated himself in the episcopal chair and began to discourse against Christ. When I saw these acts of impiety, I left the place.”⁷⁹⁹

When Valens expelled the Christians from the church, they met at the foot of the mountain enduring rain, cold and the heat of the sun. Flavian and Theodore kept teaching during the time Meletius was in exile. Upon hearing these things, Aphrahat the anchorite abandoned his hermitage to assist the holy shepherds. Arriving at the great stylite on the Orontes River, Emperor Valens saw him from the portico. He said to him, “Where are you going?” Aphrahat said, “To pray for your kingdom.” The emperor said, “You could have done this in your hermitage like other solitaries.” Aphrahat replied, “I could have done this when the church was still at peace. Now tell me emperor, if I were a bride in her chamber and saw a fire kindle in my father’s house, what should I do? Should I keep quiet and never move, or should I bring water to extinguish it? I think you would say that I should have put out the fire done. This is exactly what I have done since fire is kindled in my father’s house.” The emperor got angry, but one of his adjutants insulted the anchorite with wounding words, and then went to prepare the bath for the emperor. Immediately, he was afflicted with insanity and fell in the cauldron of boiling water and died. The emperor was sure that what happened was because of the prayer of Aphrahat.⁸⁰⁰

The Arians claimed that Julian Saba (the aged) was one of them. They sent to him Flavian, Aphrahat and Didodore to investigate the issue,⁸⁰¹ but he shamed them and sent them back. Because of him, the number of believers increased. In his time, Anthony went to Alexandria proclaiming that Athanasius was teacher of the true faith.⁸⁰²

St. Ephraim (d. 373) was endowed with divine learning. He received no knowledge from the Greeks. Harmonius, son of Bar Daysan, composed melodies containing his impious teaching. He led many to perdition by the charm of his melodies. On the contrary, St. Ephraim composed similar melodies replete with the love of God and his righteousness.

In this time, General Terentius, reproached the impious Emperor Valens. Valens determined that upon his return, he would eliminate his challengers, but God destroyed him and he never came back. Valens was also rebuked by Anthony, bishop of the Scythians, for corrupting the faith. However, Valens would not desist.⁸⁰³

The Goths, who were recently converted to the true faith, were deceived by Valens and were inclined to the corrupt doctrine of Arius. Until this day, they maintain that the Father is greater than the Son, but he is not created. Although they have deviated from the true faith, they never abandoned the doctrine of Nicaea, which they had first embraced.⁸⁰⁴ *The Chapter is ended. Glory to God who became a sacrifice for*

⁷⁹⁹ This letter, in Theodoret, Book Four, Chapter 22, is very long. It covers pp. 180-188 of the English translation. The author has given only excerpts of it.

⁸⁰⁰ Theodoret, Book Four, Chapters 25-26, pp. 190-192 of the English translation.

⁸⁰¹ Theodoret says that these men, who were defenders of the faith, sent Acacius to Julian beseeching him to refute the falsehood of the enemy, who were the Arians. See Theodoret, Book Four, Chapter 27, p. 192 of the English translation.

⁸⁰² Theodoret, Chapter 27, pp. 192-193 of the English translation.

⁸⁰³ According to Theodoret, the bishop was Vetranton. See Theodoret, Book Four, Chapter 35, p. 197 of the English translation.

⁸⁰⁴ Theodoret, Book Four, Chapter 38, pp. 197-198 of the English translation.

our humankind and by his affection and love saved Adam from his transgression. The sinner who has transcribed this, asks the readers fervently for their intercession.

Chapter Eight: On the reign of Gratian, Theodosius and Valentinian. Here four years have been added to the Greek calendar. Therefore, we begin with the year 690, which should be noted by the reader

Gratian, son of Valentinian, was made a joint emperor in the time of his father. Therefore, he succeeded Valens and put an end to his follies.⁸⁰⁵ He was just, pious and orthodox.⁸⁰⁶ He appointed as his associate in the empire, Theodosius the Spanish, who was of Iberian ethnic origin. Also, because Theodosius proclaimed Gratian an emperor before Valens perished, Gratian established him in Constantinople and the entire East. Theodosius was brave, wise and an expert in military matters. He had defeated the barbarians in Thrace with astonishing rapidity.⁸⁰⁷

In this period Ardasher king of Persia passed away. He was succeeded by his son Sapor.

In this same period, a certain man named Maximus assassinated Gratian in Rome in the third year of Theodosius. He was succeeded by his brother, Valentinian II. Maximus rebelled against the emperor, but Theodosius and Valentinian overwhelmed him, captured him and he and his men were killed. Theodosius and Valentinian entered Rome with great pomp.⁸⁰⁸ Upon returning to Constantinople, Emperor Theodosius⁸⁰⁹ dispatched Sapor as an army commander of the East. When he came to Antioch and beheld the conflict within it, he expelled those who were quarreling over the See of Antioch.⁸¹⁰

In this period, Theodosius who was at Thessalonica fell ill. He desired to be baptized. He discussed the case with Bishop Ascholius. Having learned that he was not Arian, he received baptism from him and was healed. Then, he returned to Constantinople. He built the church of Anastasia by the efforts of the theologian (Gregory of Nazianzus) who was then in the city.⁸¹¹

Theodosius had a son from Flacilla named Honorius.⁸¹² Flacilla was a pious woman. She taught her husband to worship God, and personally ministered unto the poor and the needy. She went through the porticos of the churches offering food and water to the sick.⁸¹³

The frequent wars in which Emperor Theodosius was engaged compelled him to impose fresh taxes on the cities, including Antioch. The citizens of Antioch became indignant. In this year, Flacilla died and the citizens of Antioch threw down the statute of Theodosius and dragged it about the streets.⁸¹⁴ The emperor became furious. He deprived the city of the privileges, which it had thus far enjoyed and bestowed them on the city of Laodicea. The magistrates issued severe death sentences, but they were reproached by the blessed Macedonius although he was ignorant of civil matters and jurisprudence.⁸¹⁵ He asked them to say to the emperor, "Consider that you are only a man who rules over people. Man was made in the image of God and you have no right to destroy this image. If you are offended on account of the destruction of a statue made of bronze, how much more precious is the image of the living than something lifeless. It is easy for us to

⁸⁰⁵ Gratian was emperor between 367 and 383.

⁸⁰⁶ Orthodox means he adhered to the Creed of Nicaea.

⁸⁰⁷ Cf. Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 1, p. 198 and Socrates, Book Five, Chapter 2, p. 202 of the English translations.

⁸⁰⁸ Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 12, p. 216 of the English translation and Socrates, Book Five, Chapters 11-14, pp. 210-213 of the English translations.

⁸⁰⁹ Theodosius I the Great, emperor from 379 to 395.

⁸¹⁰ Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 3, p. 200 of the English translation.

⁸¹¹ Socrates, Book Five, Chapter 6, pp. 204-205 of the English translation.

⁸¹² Aelia Flavia Flacilla, Theodosius's wife from 376 to 386. See Socrates, Book Four, Chapter 31, p. 194 and Book Five, Chapter 12, p. 211 of the English translation.

⁸¹³ Theodoret, Book V, Chapter 19, pp. 223-224 of the English translation.

⁸¹⁴ According to Theodoret, the statue of Empress Flacilla was thrown down and dragged about the streets. See Theodoret, Book V, Chapter 20, p. 224 of the English translation.

⁸¹⁵ According to Theodoret, the order was issued by the emperor and not by the magistrates several of whom had been sacrificed in the tumult before the emperor had received any intelligence about the sedition. Theodoret, *Ibid.* pp. 224-225 of the English translation.

make many images of bronze, but you are not able to replace as much as one hair of the heads of those who are killed.”⁸¹⁶ When the judges related these words of the old man to the emperor, he repented and sent a letter of apology and condolences to the people.

In this time, sedition broke out in Thessalonica, capital of Italy and some of the magistrates were stoned.⁸¹⁷ The emperor was very angry, and behaving erratically and much against reason, had about seven thousand persons killed. When he came to Milan, Bishop Ambrose, who witnessed the massacre he perpetrated, met him outside the gate of church but did not let him in. He said to him, “You do not seem to comprehend the enormity of the massacre you have caused. It may be that the greatness of your empire prevented you from discerning your attitude. How could you look upon the temple of the Lord? How could you walk upon such holy ground? How could you lift up in prayers hands from which blood is still dripping? How could you with such hands presume to receive the most sacred body of our Lord? How could you carry his precious blood to mouth while you have shed so much innocent blood? Depart, and do not, by a second sin, add more guilt to the first. You are offending God in the name of prayer. Submit to the wholesome bonds which God will deliver to you from heaven for your healing.” The emperor accepted this remonstrance without objection and returned to his court. Eight months later, the festival of the Lord’s birth occurred. The emperor was seen shedding tears. Rufinus (controller of the palace) asked him the reason he was weeping. The emperor, sighing, said, “You do not seem to feel the evils under which I groan. The church of God is open to servants and mendicants and I am prevented from entering it. I am suspended between heaven and earth.” Rufinus said, “I will ask the bishop to let you in.” The emperor said, “You will not be able to persuade him. I know the justice of Ambrose. He will never shy away from, nor fear the emperor’s authority, at the expense of the law of God.” Nevertheless, Rufinus went to the bishop and the emperor followed him with awe. Ambrose said to Rufinus, “You imitate the impudence of dogs. You were the adviser of this cruel massacre, and now you have divested yourself of shame.” Rufinus persisted in his supplication and said, “The emperor is coming to you.” Ambrose, inspired by zeal said, “If he ever comes, I will prevent him from entering the church. But if he desists from tyranny, I will then accept his sacrifice with ease.”

On hearing this, Rufinus informed the emperor not to come. The emperor had then reached the middle of the market place. He said, “I shall go and accept the humiliation with justice.” He came and stood outside the church pleading to be let in. Bishop (Ambrose) considered his presence an act of tyranny. He said to him, “You have insanely opposed the law of God.” The emperor said, “I do not oppose the law and neither enter the church without permission. However, I beseech you not to shut the doors to me.” The bishop asked, “What repentance have you then offered and what remedy have you applied to so severe an iniquity?” The emperor replied, “It is your offices to point out the remedy for my iniquity.” The bishop said, “Since you have committed this atrocity by the impulse of passion and not by the dictates of reason, you should draw up a law to cancel all your past decrees. You should also decree that that when a sentence of death has been signed against anyone, thirty days should elapse before the sentence is carried into execution and that on the expiration of this period the case is to be brought before you for examination. Your resentment will by then have abated. If the case proved to be unjust it should be revoked, but if it proved to be just, it ought to be confirmed.” The emperor immediately ordered the law to be committed to writing. The bishop then unloosed his bonds. The emperor entered the church. He did not pray standing but prostrated himself saying, “My soul cleaves unto the dust; quicken me according to your word.”⁸¹⁸ He tore his hair, struck his forehead, and shed torrents of tears. When time came to offer communion, the bishop sent someone (a deacon) to tell him that, “The priests alone, and not emperors are permitted to enter the palisade of the altar.” The emperor said, “This was the custom at Constantinople.” When the emperor returned to Constantinople, he observed this regulation and stood outside the palisade of the altar during

⁸¹⁶ Theodoret, *Ibid.* pp. 225-226 of the English translation.

⁸¹⁷ Thessalonica is situated in the province of Macedonia and is the metropolis of Thessaly, Achia.

⁸¹⁸ Psalm 119:25.

the offering of the mysteries. The bishop of the church (Nectarius) asked him to step into the altar, the emperor said, "What Ambrose said is right."⁸¹⁹

When Gratian and his brother Valentinian began to reign, the exiled bishops returned, each one to his own church.⁸²⁰ This also gave opportunity to Gregory of Nazianzus, bishop of the orthodox in Constantinople, to bring back those who deviated from the faith and confirm the doctrine of "consubstantiality" by the assistance of the believing emperors.⁸²¹ Therefore, the Edessans returned to their churches. As their Bishop Barses was already martyred in exile, Eulogius became twenty-fourth bishop of Edessa.

In Jerusalem, the exiled Cyril was the 47th bishop.⁸²²

In Rome, the orthodox Damasus was succeeded by Siricius for 16 years.⁸²³

In the time of Emperor Theodosius, a council met in Constantinople attended by 150 bishops. It confirmed Theodosius as Autocrat (Emperor) of the entire East. He confirmed the doctrine of "consubstantiality," refuted the heresy of the Arians, and demolished their churches. He expelled from the army those who refused to give up the Arian heresy. Inspired by the Holy Spirit, Theodosius summoned the orthodox bishops from the four quarters of the world. One hundred-fifty bishops met in Constantinople in the fourth year of his reign, which is the year 694 of the Greeks/A.D. 383.⁸²⁴ The period from the Council of Nicaea to this council was 57 years.

The presidents of the council were Meletius of Antioch, Timothy of Alexandria, the Great Cyril of Jerusalem, the Theologian Gregory of Nazianzus, bishop of Constantinople and Gregory of Nyssa. They condemned the teaching of Arius and his partisans. They also condemned Macedonius, who succeeded Alexander as a bishop of Constantinople, who ventured to declare that, "The Holy Spirit is created and not consubstantial with the Father and the Son." Having condemned the heretic, the council confirmed the creed instituted by the 318 bishops at Nicaea, adding to it the passage concerning the Holy Spirit, which the Council of Nicaea did not tackle.

The Council of Constantinople confirmed St. Gregory of Nazianzus in his see in honor of his commendable deeds. Realizing that the Egyptian bishops were jealous and complaining against him, he abandoned his see after occupying it for ten years. He composed forty-one discourses and their amendments. He said, "Take me back to the life of solitude and to God." After leaving Constantinople, the venerable Nectarius was appointed as its bishop.

Upon seeing Meletius of Antioch, Theodosius said, "I saw this man in a dream crowning me an emperor."⁸²⁵ During the meeting of the council, Meletius of Antioch passed away and was eulogized by Gregory of Nyssa. His body was taken to Antioch and interned next to that of St. Babylas.⁸²⁶

The council was not attended by Damasus and Ambrose because each of them wanted to have the council convened in his own province.

The council granted Constantinople a second place of honor after Rome. It determined the regions of jurisdiction. It resolved that bishops should not be transferred from their sees and should not interfere in the affairs of churches outside their jurisdiction; such matters had been freely practiced because of persecution.⁸²⁷

⁸¹⁹ The whole episode is in Theodoret, Book Five Chapter 18, pp. 219-223 of the English translation.

⁸²⁰ Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 2, pp. 198-199 of the English translations and Socrates, Book Five, Chapter 2, p. 202 of the English translations.

⁸²¹ Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 8, pp. 206-207 of the English translation and Socrates, Book Five, Chapter 7, pp. 204-205 of the English translation.

⁸²² Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 9, p. 211 and Socrates, Book Five, Chapter 3, p. 203 of the English translation.

⁸²³ Socrates *Ibid.* and Book 7, Chapter 9, p. 265 of the English translation.

⁸²⁴ Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 8, pp. 205-207 and Socrates, Book Five, Chapter 8, pp. 206-207 of the English translation.

⁸²⁵ Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 6, p. 204 of the English translation.

⁸²⁶ Socrates, Book Five, Chapter 9, p. 207 of the English translation.

⁸²⁷ Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 8, pp. 205-207 of the English translation.

BOOK SEVEN

Nectarius accepted the administration of Thrace. Helladius succeeded Basil, bishop of Pontus Caesarea. Gregory of Nyssa was appointed a bishop of Cappadocia, Otreius a bishop for Melitene and lesser Armenia, Amphilochius a bishop of Iconium and the administration of Asia, Timothy a bishop for Egypt. The administration of the entire East was entrusted to the bishop of Antioch, provided that each diocese regulated its own affairs.⁸²⁸

The prominent dignitaries in the council were Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa, Pelagius of Laodicea, Eulogius of Edessa and Amphilochius of Iconium. Along with Arius, the council anathematized Eusebius of Nicomedia, Euzius, Acacius, Theognis, Euphronius, Eunomius, Macedonius, Eudoxius, Aetius, and other heretics.

The council was attended by Diodore (of Tarsus) and Theodore (of Mopsuestia) who were later found to be heretics.

Names of the holy Fathers (who attended the Council of Constantinople)

1. Nectarius of Constantinople
2. Timothy of Alexandria
3. Meletius of Antioch
4. Dorotheus of Oxyrynchus
5. Cyril of Jerusalem
6. Gelasius of Caesarea
7. Macer of Jericho
8. Dionysius of Diospolis
9. Priscianus of Nicopolis
10. Saturninos of Sebastea
11. Rufus of Baisan
12. Auxentius of Ascalon
13. Elianus of Yamnia
14. Zenon of Tyre
15. Paul of Sidon
16. Nescatos of Acre (Akka)
17. Philippus of Damascus
18. Brachus of Paneas
19. Timothy of Beirut
20. Basilides of Byblos
21. Muqimus of Aradus
22. Alexander of Arqa

Thirteen bishops from Coele Syria

23. Ignatius who is Meletius of Antioch
24. Pelagius of Laodicea
25. Acacius of Beroe which is Aleppo
26. Yuhanon of Apamea
27. Bizus of Seleucia
28. Eusebius of Hama
29. Marcianus of Seleucobele
30. Patrophilus of Shayzar
31. Severus of Paltos
32. Photius and Elphidianus, presbyters of Antioch

⁸²⁸ Socrates, Book Five, Chapter 8, pp. 206-207 of the English translation.

33. Eusebius of Qinnésrin
34. Domnus of Gabala
35. Basilius of Raphana

Five bishops from Arabia

36. Agapius and Barganus from Bosra
37. Elpidianus of Dionysias
38. Euranius of Adra
39. Kilos of Constantina
40. Severeus of Neapolis

Three bishops from Osrheone (Edessa)

41. Eulogius of Edessa
42. Abraham of Batnan (Sarug)
43. Bitus of Harran

Three bishops from Mesopotamia

44. Mara of Amid
45. Battis of Thell Mawzalt
46. Jovian of Himerion

Five bishops from Augusta (Euphratesia)

47. Theodotus of Mabug (Manbij)
48. Antiochus of Samosata
49. Jovian of Perreh (Pharin)
50. Ansiodore of Cyrus
51. Maris of Deluche (Duluk)

Eight bishops from Cilicia

52. Diodore of Tarsus
53. Cyriacus of Adana
54. Hessychius of Epiphanea
55. Germanus of Corycus
56. Acrius of Zephyrion
57. Philomusus of Pompeiopolis
58. Olympius of Alexandria
59. Theophilus of Aranna

Six bishops from Cappadocia

60. Helladius of Caesarea
61. Gregory of Nyssa
62. Atherios of Tyane
63. Bosphorius of Colonia
64. Olympius of Parnassus
65. Gregory of Nazianzus

Three bishops from Lesser Armenia

66. Otreius of Melitene
67. Otreius of Arabissus

68. Janus of Zenos

Eleven bishops from Isauria

69. Symposius of Seleucia
70. Montanus of Caludipolis with the presbyter Paul
71. Phelothheus of Irenopolis
72. Himistius of Philadelphia
73. Musonius of Celandaris
74. Marinus of Dilassande
75. Theodore of Antioch
76. Artemius of Titopholis
77. Leon of Selinos
78. Montanus of Neocaesarea
79. Eusebius of Olbe

Four bishops from Cyprus

80. Julius of Paphos
81. Theopropopus of Trementhontia
82. Tichon of Tamasus
83. Mnemius of Cition

Ten bishops from Pamphylia

84. Torilus of Agion
85. Longinus of Colybrassus
86. Theodulus of Coracession
87. Hesychius of Cotenna
88. Gaius of Lyrbe
89. Tucsianus of Cassaea
90. Midus of Phanmus
91. Heraclidus of Tichus
92. Theodolus of Syllion
93. Pammenius of Ariassus

Thirteen bishops from Lyconia

94. Amphilochius of Iconium
95. Cyril of Homanada
96. Aristophanius of Sopatra
97. Paul of Lystra
98. Inzus of Corna
99. Leontius of Perta
100. Eustrasius of Canna
101. Daphnus of Derbe
102. Eugenius of Phosla
103. Illyrius of Isaura
104. Severus of Ambladia

Fifteen bishops from Pisidia

105. Optimus of Antioch
106. Themistius of Adrianopolis

107. Attalus of Prostama
108. Ananius of Alada
109. Faustus of Limeni
110. Iyawannis of Sagalassus
111. Callinicus of Phamadrus
112. Eustathius of Metropolis
113. Patricius of Phricia
114. Lucius of Neapolis
115. Lolliannus of Sozopolis with the presbyter Simplicius
116. Tyrannus of Amorium
117. Auxenon, the presbyter of Apamea
118. Eulalius, a presbyter of Qonana
119. Eusebius of Philomenion with the presbyter Basus

Nine bishops from Lycia

120. Pontos of Polemaniakus
121. Tatkianus of Myra
122. Ponius of Koma
123. Eudimus of Patara
124. Patricius of Enoanda
125. Lupicinius of Limyra
126. Macedon of Xanthus
127. Romanus of Phasilis
128. Hermeus of Bubona
129. Theantimus of Araxa

Three bishops from Phrygia

130. Bitos of Primnessus
131. Phapha of Picatini
132. Euxanianus of Eucarpia

Two bishops from Phrygia II

133. Necarius of Apia
134. Theodorus of Eunemia

Two bishops from Caria

135. Theodosius of Aphrodisias
136. Lontius of Cibyra

Five bishops from Bithynia

137. Euphrasius of Nicomedia
138. Dorotheus of Nicaea
139. Olympius of Neocaesarea
140. Theodolus of Chalcedon
141. Eustathius of Prusa

One bishop from Amasia

142. Panssophius of Iborea

One bishop from Moesia

143. Maryrius of Marcianopolis

Three bishops from Scythia

144. Trentius of Tomma
145. Etherius of Cherrsonesus
146. Sebastianus of Anchialus

Two bishops from Spain

147. Agrius of Himinotion
148. Atarbius of Aqyllos, the lecturer.

To the readers: these hundred and fifty bishops met by the Holy Spirit and confirmed the orthodox creed. The partisans of Macedonius were asked to endorse the creed of Nicaea. However, they were dishonest, deceptive, and thus ridiculed by all. Nectarius, bishop of Constantinople, originally from Tarsus, was of noble conduct.

After the council, Flavian was ordained a bishop of Antioch to succeed Meletius while Paulinus was still living. This caused a conflict between the partisans of Paulinus and Flavian.⁸²⁹

Timothy of Alexandria passed away and was succeeded by Theophilus for 28 years. Theophilus asked the emperor to demolish the house of idols in Alexandria (The Temple of Serapis). When it was demolished, bodies of crucified persons were found in it and other repulsive things. The pagans, angered when Theophilus exposed their repugnant mysteries, killed many Christians. The emperor ordered that the murderers should be killed. He demolished the houses of idols in Egypt and found in them writing in the form of a cross.⁸³⁰ Therefore, a great number of heathens believed and were baptized. The Emperor Theodosius ordered that all the images of Alexandria be given to the poor. In addition, he issued a law permitting no woman to be ordained a deaconess unless she was seventy years old. He banished Eunomius who organized meetings to deceive the people.⁸³¹ Eunomius died in exile.

Cyril of Jerusalem served 21 years and passed away. He was succeeded by John as the twenty-second bishop.⁸³²

In Edessa, Eulogius the 25th bishop was succeeded by Qura and then Silvanus for 2 years. Phqidha, the 27th bishop was followed by Diogenes. After them was set up Rabula.

In Antioch, Paulinus was not allowed to administer the diocese alone because he did not allow Meletius to administer the diocese alone. This situation created enmity between the Easterners and the Romans on the one hand, and the Egyptians on the other. Before his death, Paulinus ordained Evagrius unlawfully to succeed him. According to canons, no bishops could be ordained without the presence of three bishops. However, Paulinus ordained Evagrius by himself alone. Thus, the Romans and the Egyptians treated Evagrius harshly. They appealed to the emperor to do something. The emperor summoned Evagrius to Constantinople and from there to Rome, but he refused to go using the severity of winter as a pretext. Nevertheless, he promised to go in April. He then returned to Antioch. Again, the people instigated the emperor against him and the emperor summoned him for the second time. Evagrius said to the emperor, "Those who complain against me claim that I am unworthy of this dignity. In order to prove this, they should have appeared here personally to litigate me and I would have abided by their judgment. However, if the See is the source of the conflict, I will then withdraw and cause no problem. You may then offer the See of Antioch to whom you will." The emperor was astonished by his speech and bid him return to his city. When the emperor left for Rome, a great trouble was stirred up because he had not deposed Evagrius.

⁸²⁹ Socrates, Book Five, Chapter 9, p. 207 of the English translation.

⁸³⁰ Socrates, Book Five, Chapter 17, p. 215 of the English translation.

⁸³¹ Socrates, Book Five, Chapter 16, pp. 214-215 of the English translation.

⁸³² Socrates, Book Five, Chapter 15, p. 214 of the English translation.

Having learned of the trouble, Paulinus sent Acacius of Aleppo to Rome. Peace was finally restored by the mediation of the emperor, and the Egyptians were also reconciled.⁸³³

In this period, the city of Rish 'Ayna (Ras al-'Ayn) was founded in Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia) by the command of the Emperors Gratian and Theodosius.

After Valens was killed, the barbarians (Goths) reached the walls of Constantinople, but Theodosius marched against them and defeated them.⁸³⁴

In this period too, trouble prevailed within the empire as well as in the churches.⁸³⁵

Meletius was still in Antioch, but Paulinus, who was unlawfully ordained a bishop by the Arians, refused to have Meletius as an associate. Finally, it was agreed that the cross should be placed in the middle and each would sit, one on the right and the other on the left. It was decided to eliminate the See of the one who died first, so the other would occupy it.⁸³⁶

The Arians controlled the churches in Antioch for forty years from the fifth year of Constantius to the first year of Theodosius.⁸³⁷

The death of Gratian was caused by an accident. It happened that Andragathius, General of the Army of Maximus, concealed himself in a litter on the back of a mule. He then spread the rumor that the wife of Gratian was coming. The emperor, who knew nothing about the treachery, went out to receive his wife. The tyrant (Maximus) attacked him and killed him.⁸³⁸

Justina, Valentinian's mother, received baptism from the Arians. She wanted to expel Ambrose upon her arrival in Milan. But the people refused and thus a great tumult took place. When the report of Gratian's death arrived, the people calmed down.⁸³⁹

In this period, Theodosius ordered the remains of Bishop Paul, who was strangled by the Arians in Cucusus, brought to Constantinople.⁸⁴⁰

When Theodosius marched to fight the tyrant Maximus, the Arians spread the rumor that he had been defeated. Therefore, they burned down the house of Nectarius, bishop of Constantinople. However, Theodosius captured the tyrant and killed him, and Andragathius cast himself into the river and was drowned.⁸⁴¹

Symmachus, who had praised Maximus the tyrant in a discourse he had written, sought refuge in the church when he heard that Maximus had been killed. The emperor pardoned him.⁸⁴²

At this time, the emperor discovered two infamous places in Constantinople and shut them down. One of them was situated between the houses where there was a mill and next to it a whorehouse. He ordered that any stranger attending this place should be arrested and forced to work at the mill until old age. One of Theodosius' soldiers was caught; he killed those who tried to arrest him. Upon receiving the news of this incident, the emperor ordered those houses demolished. He also ordered that every woman caught in adultery, should be confined to a narrow brothel and obliged to practice adultery. He also ordered that the house should be marked in order to be distinguishable by passersby, and that the woman would be exposed to the public. Later, he rescinded this order. Instead, he decreed that the adulteress should be tried legally.⁸⁴³

In this time, confession to a priest in a church was suspended. In fact, until then penitence through confession was in the hands of the priest. Therefore, if someone committed a sin after baptism, he confessed to the priest in order to be absolved according to the canons. It happened that a deacon in the

⁸³³ Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 23, pp. 229-231 of the English translation.

⁸³⁴ Socrates, Book Five, Chapter 1, p. 202 of the English translations.

⁸³⁵ Socrates, Book Five, the Introduction, p. 201 of the English translation.

⁸³⁶ Socrates, Book Five, Chapter 5, pp. 203-204 of the English translation.

⁸³⁷ Cf. Socrates, Book Five, Chapter 5, pp. 205-206 of the English translation.

⁸³⁸ Socrates, Book Five, Chapter 11, p. 210 of the English translation.

⁸³⁹ Socrates, *Ibid.* p. 211 of the English translation.

⁸⁴⁰ Socrates, Book Five, Chapter 9, p. 207 of the English translation.

⁸⁴¹ Socrates, Book Five, Chapter, 14, pp. 212-213 of the English translation.

⁸⁴² Socrates, *Ibid.* p. 213 of the English translation.

⁸⁴³ Socrates, Book Five, Chapter 18, p. 216 of the English translation.

time of Nectarius was involved in sin with a prominent woman. Upon confessing her sin to the priest, the priest exposed the deacon and he lost his dignity as a deacon. This caused a great disturbance among the people. The priest Eudaemon counseled Nectarius who forbade confession to a priest from that date on; he only permitted a secret and personal confession followed by the partaking of the communion.⁸⁴⁴

The historian Socrates said to the priest Eudaemon, "Your counsel may be for the benefit of the church. You have become the reason that no one should be punished for the sin of the other in accordance with the apostle who said, "Have nothing to do with the fruitless deeds of darkness, but rather expose them."⁸⁴⁵ It is better for the bishop to lay his hand on thorns than on the heads of the unworthy, even though they were one with him in the faith. Quite often, those who hold the same doctrine differ in practices.⁸⁴⁶ For example, the citizens of Rome fast only three weeks before Easter, which they call *tsarcostas* (sic)⁸⁴⁷ while others fast seven weeks. They differ not only over the number of the days of fasting, but also regarding the kind of food. There are Christians who abstain from the flesh of any animal; others eat fish. Some eat birds because, like fish, birds come from the water. Others eat eggs, milk and fruits; still others eat crumbs for sustenance. Still others fast until the ninth hour. And since there was no law to limit the freedom of man, the Apostles taught that worship should not be done for fear or need.⁸⁴⁸

The Egyptians and the people of Thebes usually ate bread and then received the mysteries. In Alexandria, the Holy Scriptures were read and explained on Wednesdays and Fridays. In Thessaly, a person who desired to become a deacon or a priest and had a wife was not supposed to approach her or he would be rejected.⁸⁴⁹ In the East, the whole thing was left to the person's freedom. Even the bishops were free to abstain without the imposition of the canons. Thus, many of them had children from legitimate wives during their episcopate.

In Thessaly, baptism was performed during fasting days. In fact, some died without being baptized.

In Antioch, the location of the altar was different. In some cases, it pointed westward.

In Caesarea and Cyprus, the bishops and priests expounded the Scriptures on Saturdays and Sundays by the light of lamps.

In Alexandria, the priest never preached in the church. This custom began since the time of Arius who disturbed the church.

In Rome, people fasted on Saturdays.

In Cappadocia, anyone who committed a sin after baptism could not partake in the communion.⁸⁵⁰

The Book of Acts mentions, "It seems good to the Holy Spirit and to us not to burden you with anything beyond the following requirements: You are to abstain from food sacrificed to idols, from blood, from meat of strangled animals and from sexual immorality."⁸⁵¹

The first to destroy the temples of idols in this period was Marcellus, bishop of Apamea. The Christian emperors did not destroy these temples although they forbade the worship of idols. When Marcellus proceeded to demolish the temple of Zeus⁸⁵² he found it firm and of solid structure. (The blocks) were of large size and soldered together with iron and lead. He thought that no strength could disjoin them. He asked God to reveal the means of destroying the edifice. A man who was not adept in any kindred art, but who was merely accustomed to carry stones and wood, came to the bishop voluntarily promising to dismantle the edifice. The bishop offered him a payment awarded to two workmen.

The temple had a portico on each of the four sides. There were also columns which were equal in height to the temple, and each of which was sixteen cubits in circumference. The stone was so hard that it

⁸⁴⁴ Socrates, Book Five, Chapter 19, p. 217 of the English translation.

⁸⁴⁵ Ephesians 5:11. See Socrates, *Ibid.*

⁸⁴⁶ Socrates Book Five, Chapter 21, p. 219 of the English translation.

⁸⁴⁷ Socrates, Book Five, Chapter 22.

⁸⁴⁸ Socrates, Book Five, Chapter 22, pp. 222-225 of the English translation.

⁸⁴⁹ Socrates, *Ibid.* p. 223 of the English translation.

⁸⁵⁰ All of these practices are found in Socrates, Book Five, Chapter 22, pp. 221-223 of the English translation.

⁸⁵¹ Acts 15:28-29.

⁸⁵² The temple of Jupiter according to Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 21, p. 227 of the English translation.

would scarcely yield to the iron tools. The man dug deeply around the foundations of these columns. He substituted for the earth-removed wood of an oleaginous nature,⁸⁵³ to which he then set fire. But a black demon appeared who checked the power of the fire. Informed about the demon, the bishop took water, and, placing it under the altar, prayed to God to thwart the power of the demons lest harm was done to the faithful. He made the sign of the cross over the water. A deacon named Equitius sprinkled the fire with this water, and the demon fled wailing and the water devoured the fire. The columns collapsed and the temple fell down. The sound of its fall was heard throughout the whole region. Finally, Marcellus demolished the other temples.⁸⁵⁴

At this time, Theophilus demolished the temples of idols in Alexandria. He found out that the heathens had hollow statues made of wood and bronze with the back fitted against the wall, whence they secured entrance into them. Once they were inside the statues, they issued commands as they pleased to deceive the people. Theophilus went up to the temple of Serapis, said to be the greatest of all their idols. The pagans spread the rumor that if anyone entered the temple, earthquakes would immediately take place and the whole world would be destroyed. Disregarding their words, Theophilus commanded a man who had a hatchet to strike the statue of the demon on the head. It fell to the ground and a troop of mice immediately ran out. Then, the people smashed the statue and dragged its head about the streets.⁸⁵⁵

In this time Telemachus, an Eastern monk, went to Rome. He entered the amphitheater and tried to stop the combat and the bloody spectacle. However, the spectators became indignant and stoned him to death. The Emperor (Honorius, 395-423) numbered him with the victorious martyrs and abolished these iniquitous spectacles.⁸⁵⁶

In this time, the Nile River did not flood as usual. The pagans rejoiced saying that it did not flood because the sacrifices to the gods were abolished, but they were ridiculed by the emperor.

In this time, the bones of the Prophets Habakkuk and Micah were discovered near Eletheropolis, a city of Palestine, through a vision seen by its bishop.

In Jerusalem, the body of St. Stephen was discovered in the time of Bishop John.

In this time, violent, solid hail hit Constantinople for two days, and a comet was seen for twenty days.

In this time, the solitary John became well known in Egypt. Having heard of the death of Valentinian and the revolt of Eugenius, the emperor asked the counsel of the visionary John. John told him that the first war would end without bloodshed, and that he would be victorious in the second war. He also told him about his death.

Chapter Nine: On the last period of the life of Emperor Theodosius

In the thirteenth year of his reign, Theodosius proclaimed his son Arcadius an emperor of the East. Eugenius and Arbogastes connived with a eunuch of Valentinian, and strangled Arcadius.⁸⁵⁷ Shocked, Theodosius hastened to declare his younger son Honorius emperor of the West. He marched to fight the tyrant, but since his army was small compared to the army of the tyrant, he was advised to wait until all his armies assembled. Theodosius, however, resorted to the Cross. He entered a cavern, spending the whole night crying, and did not sleep until dawn. He saw in a dream John the Evangelist and Philip the Apostle clothed in white and mounted on white horses. They said to him, "We have come to help you. Fear not." The commander of the army also saw the identical vision and informed the emperor. When the combat commenced, the emperor's side began to falter. The emperor threw himself on the ground, praying. Suddenly, a violent wind combined with a sand storm prevented the actions of the shafts of Eugenius' men arrows and blew back their arrows upon them. When the barbarians realized they were defeated, they sued

⁸⁵³ Any kind of wood, like olive, which produces oil.

⁸⁵⁴ The whole episode is in Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 21, pp. 226-228 of the English translation.

⁸⁵⁵ Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 22, pp. 228-229 of the English translation.

⁸⁵⁶ Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 26, p. 243 of the English translation.

⁸⁵⁷ Socrates, Book Five, Chapter 25, pp. 227-228 of the English translation.

BOOK SEVEN

for peace. The emperor ordered the tyrant Eugenius brought in chains and then killed. As to Arbogastus, he hanged himself. These events took place in the third year of the consulates of Arcadius and the second consulate of Honorius.⁸⁵⁸

The emperor returned to Milan. Exhausted by the war, he became very weak. He fell ill and died. He lived 60 years, of which 16 years and 8 months spent in governing. He died on January 8.

In Persia, Varahran son of Sapor the Great, brother of Ardasher and Sapor, ruled the Persians. Varahran reigned 10 years and 11 months.

In this time flourished the learned men Amphilochius, bishop of Iconium; Ambrose, bishop of Milan; Optimus, bishop of Antioch in Pisidia; and Deodore, bishop of Tarsus.

John Chrysostom was still a priest when he composed discourses chiding those who disgraced the portrait of the queen.

Bishop Amphilochius went to the emperor asking him to expel the heretics. The emperor refused saying, "This is uncharitable." One day when Amphilochius went to see the emperor, he genuflected before him only. The emperor thought that he forgot to genuflect before his son, whom he had designated also an emperor. He said to Amphilochius, "Proceed and kiss him." The bishop said, "Honorius' respect is due to you alone." The emperor was furious. Amphilochius revealed what he meant, and said to the emperor, "If you, only a man, became angry for disgracing your son, how much more should God be wrathful against those who blaspheme his Son?" The emperor was convinced of his speech and forbade the gathering of heretics.⁸⁵⁹

Here ends Book Seven covering eighty-four years from the commencement of the reign of Constantine the victorious to the end of the life of Theodosius, which is the year 5901 from Adam.

⁸⁵⁸ Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 24, pp. 231-234 of the English translation; Socrates, Book Five, Chapter 15.

⁸⁵⁹ Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 16, pp. 218-219 of the English translation.

BOOK EIGHT

WE CALL ON OUR LORD CHRIST TO HELP US, HE WHO WILLED TO ACCOMPLISH THE LAW OF THE EIGHTH DAY, AND WHO WILL COME TO RENEW ALL. WE BEGIN THIS EIGHTH BOOK WITH THE REIGN OF THE ROMAN EMPERORS ARCADIUS AND HONORIUS, AND THE REIGN OF THE KING OF PERSIA, YAZDAGIRD, SON OF SAPUR.

Chapter One: Contains the story of John Chrysostom

In the year 708 of the Greeks/392 A.D., the 41st Roman Empire commenced with the reign of Arcadius and Honorius, sons of Theodosius, who proclaimed them as emperors before his death.⁸⁶⁰ Arcadius ruled in Constantinople and the East. Honorius, who was nine years old, ruled in Rome. Arcadius built the Great Apollon in front of the praetorium. He also built the two cities of Esrolophon and Arcadiopolis in Thrace. His wife, Eudoxia, set up a silver statue next to the tomb of Saint Irene.⁸⁶¹

Gainas revolted against the Emperor Arcadius. He engaged in battle but was defeated and killed during the consulates of Stilicho and Aurelian.⁸⁶²

Arcadius went to pray in the church of Qarkida (Carya) and a great crowd went in to behold him. After praying at the temple of the church of Acacius, Arcadius left and the crowds followed him to the extent that no one of the multitudes remained in the temple, however, the temple suddenly collapsed. The people believed that the multitudes were saved because of the emperor's prayer and his commendable justice and multiple (good) qualities. Beneath the royal purple raiment, he wore a hair tunic because of his inclination toward monastic living. He did not order Gainas killed in his first rebellion, but had him killed in the second rebellion, when the barbarians in his company tried to rob the silver exhibited for sale in the shops, but failed. Therefore, they kindled fire in the city at night. The angels appeared in the guise of Romans with the emperor and fought the barbarians who were sent by Gainas for three nights. Seeing this spectacle, the barbarians fled. On the next night, Gainas returned with them. He witnessed the spectacle and fled. He went to the East and assembled an army. Since his men could not find ships, they built small boats of wood and took passage. However, the Roman ships arrived, and were able to go faster because of a strong west wind. The barbarians and their horses were exhausted. The Roman forces overtook Gainas and killed him. Meanwhile, the Huns crossed the River Ister ravaging and destroying the towns in the province of Thrace, but hail fell on them by the supplication of Emperor Arcadius, destroying most of them, and the rest fled.⁸⁶³

Following these events, Arcadius passed away and was succeeded by his eight-year-old son Theodosius II. Honorius was childless. Since Arcadius had no other son except this child, he was afraid that someone might harm him. Therefore, he wrote a covenant appointing Yazdagird, king of Persia, as guardian of his son and caretaker of his affairs. Yazdagird welcomed this trust and evinced great concern for Theodosius II. With this covenant, the Romans enjoyed lasting peace. Yazdagird sent Antionus, a learned man, to be the guardian of Theodosius. He also addressed a letter to the counselors saying, "Arcadius died and entrusted me with administering his affairs. If you betray Theodosius, you will face a fearsome battle." Theodosius II and his sister Pulcheria lived with their uncle Honorius. Because of this arrangement, Christianity flourished in Persia. Marutha of Miyapharqin, acted as a mediator between the two sides.⁸⁶⁴ *Here ends this account.*

In this time, a child was born in the village of Emmaus in Palestine with two chests and two heads from the navel up. One of them ate food and the other did not. One slept and the other kept awake. Sometimes, the two heads mingled with each other. Together, they became restless or comfortable. They

⁸⁶⁰ Arcadius was proclaimed an emperor in 383. Honorius was promoted to the rank of Augustus at Constantinople in 393.

⁸⁶¹ Socrates, Book Six, Chapter, 18, p. 252 of the English translation.

⁸⁶² Socrates, Book Six, Chapter 6, pp. 237-239 of the English translation.

⁸⁶³ Socrates, Book Six, Chapter 6, pp. 237-239 and Theodoret, Book Five, chapter 37, pp. 242-244 of the English translation.

⁸⁶⁴ On Marwtha, see Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 8, pp. 263-265 of the English translation.

remained in this condition for many years until one of them died and was followed four days later by the other.

At this time the Huns invaded Roman territories in July. They pillaged and destroyed Syria and Cappadocia.

In this period flourished Theodore of Mopsuestia in Cilicia, the commentator on the Scriptures.⁸⁶⁵

From Book Six of Socrates: "We begin to write the events in our time, and what we put down might not be commendable because, according to the proverb 'The truth is bitter.' Perhaps, those zealous for the cause of the churches blame me for not calling the bishops 'the lovers of God' or, the emperors as 'most divine' or 'Lords,' for the books of the ancients show that the slaves called their masters by their names."⁸⁶⁶

In this period, there was in Constantinople a Novatian bishop named Sisinnius. He was eloquent with a natural aptitude of rhetoric. He was criticized for wearing white raiment. However, he justified wearing it saying, "Where is it written that we should wear black vestments, while Solomon says, 'Always be clothed in white.'⁸⁶⁷ Our Lord, in his Transfiguration on Mount Tabor was clothed in dazzling white."⁸⁶⁸

One day, John (Chrysostom), bishop of the city of Constantinople, said to him, "It is not permitted for two bishops to be (administering) simultaneously in one city." Sisinnius said, "Neither you nor I should be the sole bishop of this city." John was offended by this reply and said to Sisinnius, "Apparently you intend to become the sole bishop of this city." Sisinnius said, "You alone do not consider me a bishop, others do not consider you a bishop either." John said, "I will prevent you from delivering the homily at the church." Sisinnius said, "For this, I will pay you for sparing me the effort."⁸⁶⁹ *End of the account.*

At the beginning of the reign of Honorius, Innocent was the 38th bishop of Rome for 16 years.⁸⁷⁰

Epiphanius, bishop of Cyprus, Acacius, bishop of Aleppo, Antonius, bishop of Akka, Severus, bishop of Gabala and Marwtha of Miyapharqin, were distinguished for their learning and administrative abilities. Marutha was delegated as envoy to Yazdagird, king of Persia. Through him, miracles were accomplished as is written in the *History of the Eastern Martyrs*.⁸⁷¹

The Story of John Chrysostom

After the death of Nectarius, bishop of Constantinople, controversy ensued about who should become a bishop of the capital city. Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, wanted his presbyter Isodore to be ordained a bishop. To accomplish his purpose, he sent Isodore with gifts and letters to the emperor who was then fighting the rebels. He instructed him to deliver them to the one who won the victory. However, Isodore's secretary took the letters and fled. Theophilus was afraid, and tried to have Isodore ordained a bishop in order to conceal the secret. But Arcadius and the bishops summoned the celebrated John (Chrysostom) from Antioch.⁸⁷²

John was a native of Antioch. His father was Secundus and his mother was Anthusa, otherwise known as Poplia. It is said that she became a nun and frequently visited the church of one of the monasteries to teach the nuns. As to the Great John, he had achieved fame since childhood. He studied profane sciences under Libanus, a sophist philosopher, and attended the classes of the philosopher Andragathius. He considered becoming a public advocate, but the iniquities within the tribunals plunged him into the study of the Scriptures. He also began to attend church. His schoolmates were Theodore of Mopsuestia, Maximus of Seleucia and Deodore of Tarsus. They were at that time monks who were frequently found in his company. At the age of eighteen, John entered the monastery and studied under

⁸⁶⁵ Socrates, Book Six, Chapter 3, p. 234 of the English translation; Henry Barclay Swete, "Theodorus of Mopsuestia," in *A Dictionary of Christian Biography*, ed. William Smith and Henry Wace, Vol. IV (London: John Murry, 1887), 934-948.

⁸⁶⁶ Socrates, the Introduction to Book Six, p. 231 of the English translation.

⁸⁶⁷ Ecclesiastes 9:8.

⁸⁶⁸ Mark 9:3.

⁸⁶⁹ Socrates, Book Six, Chapter 22, pp. 255-256 of the English translation.

⁸⁷⁰ This bishop was not Innocent but Siricius. See Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 23, p. 230 and Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 9, p. 256 of the English translation.

⁸⁷¹ Cf. Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 8, pp. 263-265 of the English translation.

⁸⁷² Socrates, Book Six, Chapter 2, pp. 232-233.

Deodore and Carterius. He also established friendship with Basil the Great of Caesarea. At the age of twenty-one, he was ordained a reader by Zeno of Jerusalem. He wrote several discourses against Jews and the inhabitants.⁸⁷³ He then moved to the mountain to seek the company of an aged man, under whom he studied four years to combat demons. For the next two years, he resorted to solitary life to avoid temptation, but fell ill and had to leave for the city. At the age of twenty-seven, Meletius ordained him a deacon. At this time, he wrote discourses on the priesthood. Afterwards, Evagrius, the successor of Paulinus, ordained him a priest. At the age of twenty-eight, he wrote commentaries on the Gospels and Acts.⁸⁷⁴

Regarding continence, he was very strict. To him, anger weighed more than temerity. He was very sure of his actions with no concern for the morrow. He was distinguished for simplicity and a sharp tongue, but free from deceit. He was desirous to benefit others by his learning. He may have seemed arrogant to those who did not know him.⁸⁷⁵ At the age of fifty, he was consecrated a bishop of Constantinople. On assuming the administration of his diocese, he abolished the custom of meals at the churches. He penned discourses against gluttony and avarice. His was not only concerned for his own city, but also for entire Thrace, Asia and Pontus. By his determination, what remained of idols was destroyed. He trained monks and sent them to Phoenicia. He succeeded in having the Scythians challenge the Arians. He ordained for them priests, deacons and readers and assigned to them churches to serve in their own language. By this means, he succeeded in winning the Goths. In addition, he frequently visited them and communicated with them through interpreters. Thus, he drew them to the knowledge of the truth.⁸⁷⁶

Often times John was strict in the treatment of his subordinates. He tried to amend the life of the clergy by force. For his strictness, many were displeased with him, and his calumniators were many. They criticized him for reading the books of Origen, which were condemned by Theophilus and Epiphanius.⁸⁷⁷ He was antagonized by Acacius, bishop of Aleppo, Antiochus, bishop of Akka and Severian, bishop of Gabala. For this reason, Antiochus, bishop of Akka, studied rhetoric and went to Constantinople where he taught and accumulated considerable money. Severian became envious and went to Constantinople doing the same thing as Antiochus. Nevertheless, he spoke Greek with a Syrian accent. He composed discourses and won John's favor.

John journeyed to Ephesus and ordained the deacon Herculides a bishop, but the congregation rejected him. John then tarried for a while in the city. Meanwhile, the leaders honored Severian. The deacon Serapion addressed a letter to him that aroused his envy because Serapion was arrogant and contemptuous. One day, Severian passed by him as he was sitting, but Serapion did not show him respect as a bishop. Severian could not endure the maltreatment and said, "If Serapion died a Christian, then Christ did not become incarnate." Serapion related to John that Severian said that, "Christ did not become incarnate," while dropping the first part of what Severian said. John, without investigation, expelled Severian. Queen Eudoxia, however, remonstrated with him and brought back Severian. Still, John refused to reconcile with Severian. The queen went to the Church of the Apostles with her son Theodosius, who had been baptized by John. She took him from the baptistery and placed him on John's knees, and asked John on oath to reconcile with Severian, but she hardly succeeded in affecting outward agreement between the two.⁸⁷⁸

With his impudence, Serapion kept harboring hatred against the Bishop (John). He ousted many from the church. Some rallied and complained to the people against him. They defended their charges with proofs hoping that the people would believe them. Some charged that he did not share meals with others

⁸⁷³ The inhabitants here are most likely the citizens of Antioch who were a mixed population of Greeks, Orientals, Jews, Pagans, heretics and nominal Christians. They were more attracted by the secular life of the circus and the theater than by the church and spiritual matters.

⁸⁷⁴ Socrates, Book Six, Chapter 3, pp. 233-234 of the English translation.

⁸⁷⁵ Socrates, Book Six, Chapter 3, p. 234 of the English translation.

⁸⁷⁶ Theodoret, Book Five, Chapters 27-29, pp. 235-237 and Socrates, Book Six, Chapter 4, p. 235 of the English translation.

⁸⁷⁷ Socrates, Book Six, Chapter 10, pp. 244-245 of the English translation.

⁸⁷⁸ Socrates, Book Six, Chapter 11, pp. 245-246 of the English translation.

and attended no banquets. Others attributed to him depression and lack of respect for anyone.⁸⁷⁹ Some accused him of gluttony. The queen hated him passionately for upbraiding women severely, and for removing her statue, which stood next to the church. John, on his part, reviled her saying that she was like Jezebel who usurped the widow's vineyard. However, the congregation adhered to him for his teachings. He composed a number of nocturnal hymns and prayers against the hymns of the Arians who asked, "Where are those who say that the Three (Persons of the Trinity) are of the same power?" However, lest the simple people become deceived, John ordered his congregation to participate in chanting the nocturnal hymns. The result was that conflict stirred up between the congregation and the Arians and some on both sides perished. At this point, the Arians quit singing hymns in the market places.⁸⁸⁰

Gainas, the Scythian, requested from the emperor a church building for him in which to pray (Gainas was Arian). The emperor consulted with John, who said that a church building should be given to Gainas for it might dampen his intention of rebelling against the emperor. John further said, "Summon him (Gainas) and I will restrain him." When Gainas appeared before the emperor requesting a church building, John said to him, "The Godly emperor has no power over church matters. All the sacred edifices are open to you. Choose anyone you desire." Gainas said, "I have struggled much for the Romans (and deserve a church building)." John replied, "The recompenses you have received exceed in number the services you have rendered. You had been raised to the command of the troops, but have been invested with the consular robes. It is right that you should consider what you were formerly, and what you are now." Gainas kept silent.⁸⁸¹ Later, however, Gainas revolted and destroyed Thrace, and no one could send an envoy to him. He asked John to go to him, and John yielded while overlooking the controversy with Gainas. When Gainas heard of the approach of John, he traveled a long way to meet him. When he saw him, he placed the right hand of the saint on his eyes, and drew his children round his knees. Thus, does virtue and charm intimidate her very opponents?⁸⁸²

Jealousy was unable to bear the radiance of the philosophy of John. It resorted to its usual artifices to deprive the whole world of his eloquence. If I want to relate the injustice to which this great man had been exposed, I would feel ashamed of relating the virtues of those who have done harm to him. I would endeavor to conceal their names were it not for the fact that the subject requires that we not distort the truth.⁸⁸³

Theophilus' jealousy was rekindled and he behaved like a person stimulated by pain. Jealousy also awakened in Epiphanius of Cyprus, a man of simple mind. When he came to Constantinople, he was ordained a deacon without John's approval. He revised the writings of Origen at the request of Theophilus, Methodius of Olympia and Eustathius of Antioch, who could not fathom their depths. As they intended to condemn the Arian monks and ridicule John, John sent a message to Epiphanius telling him, "You have overstepped the canons. You have ordained a deacon in my church without my permission. I have invited you to live with me, but you refused. Beware of the rise of conflict among the people." On hearing this, Epiphanius was frightened and departed.⁸⁸⁴

Theophilus condemned the books of Origen in an inclement manner. A controversy arose in Alexandria. Some simple folk believed that God had ears and eyes. Others maintained that he transcended forms and figures. This was the teaching of Theophilus. Some monks rallied to kill him. He said to them shrewdly, "I see your faces like the face of God." With this, he dampened their spirit. They said to him, "You should then condemn the books of Origen because he said God has no human image." Thus, he condemned them.⁸⁸⁵

⁸⁷⁹ Socrates, Book Six, Chapter 4, p. 235 of the English translation.

⁸⁸⁰ Socrates, Book Six, Chapter 8, pp. 24-243 of the English translation.

⁸⁸¹ Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 24, pp. 231-232 and Socrates, Book Six, Chapter 6, pp. 237-239 of the English translation.

⁸⁸² Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 32-33, pp. 237-239 of the English translation.

⁸⁸³ Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 34, p. 239 of the English translation.

⁸⁸⁴ Socrates, Book Six, Chapter 12, pp. 246-247 and Chapter 14, pp. 248-249 of the English translation.

⁸⁸⁵ Socrates, Book Six, Chapter 7, pp. 240-242 of the English translation.

In this time, four brothers were most virtuous monks surnamed "The Tall Monks." One of them called Dioscorus was ordained a bishop by Theophilus. The other three were appointed by Theophilus as stewards. They observed that Theophilus was infatuated with collecting gold and enjoying it. They also thought that it was unpleasant to waste life in the wilderness. Therefore, they asked his permission to leave, and then departed. Theophilus hated them for leaving and told the other monks, "These men do not believe that God has hands, eyes and legs." He also instigated the barbarians against them and they hardly made it to Constantinople. John allowed them to participate in service with him. Learning that John had these monks partake in the mysteries, Theophilus bore a grudge against him. Meanwhile, he expelled the presbyter Isodore who found refuge with John.⁸⁸⁶

As to Epiphanius, he became a friend of Theophilus for disparaging God who, he said, had a human form. These two men convened a council and condemned the books of Origen. They addressed a letter to John asking him to do the same, but he did not pay attention to them or to what Theophilus had written in this regard, for he was busy teaching and composing homilies. They also accused John of composing discourses disparaging women. Theophilus and Epiphanius made a copy of them and handed them to the queen pointing out that he had in fact assailed her. The queen intimated to Theophilus to convene a council and invite to it Severian and Cyrinus, who accused John of arrogance. Cyrinus is the one upon whose foot Marutha of Miyafarqin trampled. He remained in Chalcedon where many people noticed its laceration.⁸⁸⁷

Theophilus attended the council but was ill received by the bishops. John was summoned but did not respond. They summoned him four times asking him to hasten to attend, but did not show up because he did not consider their council to be ecumenical. They used his refusal to attend as a pretext and declared him deposed. The people went into uproar. They were ready to fight to allow him to attend the council. However, Saint (John) took the opportunity and left at noon and no one knew of his departure. Severian composed a discourse attacking John saying, "His deposition is sufficient to destroy his arrogance. All sins could be remitted, but the arrogant, God is his opponent." On hearing this, the people went into uproar. Even John's opponents said that this man had been wronged. In fact, the whole city was convulsed and bloodshed was about to take place. Frightened, the emperor quickly called John back from exile. He returned through Nicomedia but did not enter the city. He waited until his case was investigated, but the people thronged and brought him into the city by force with a spectacular celebration. They obliged him to sit on the patriarchal throne. He addressed them and offered them peace. Theophilus, perplexed, fled. Finally, he resorted to the reading of the books of Origen. Criticized for reading these books, he replied, "I am only plucking flowers and discarding the thorn."⁸⁸⁸

Shortly afterwards, John was infuriated because of the statue of the empress which stood in the neighborhood of the church. He set his sharp tongue against those who suggested the installation of the statue. The empress, believing that his words were a personal attack against her, ordered a council to convene. John, knowing about the empress's order, delivered a homily thus, "Herodia has gone mad. She is dancing and demanding the head of John the Baptist on a platter." The bishops met and used John's sitting on the patriarchal throne before deciding his case as pretext to depose him. John said, "This is the canon which the Arians had instituted in Antioch against Athanasius." The Emperor, however, had him banished. John left his church and was replaced by Nectarius' brother, Arsacius. After his departure, severe hail fell, and fire broke out in the church, burning it down. Meanwhile, the empress died. The people cried out, "This happened because of the illegal deposition of John." Shortly afterwards, Arsacius passed away and was succeeded by the venerable man Atticus.⁸⁸⁹ Also, Epiphanius died as foretold by John who said, "He will never occupy the patriarchal throne alive." It is also reported that Epiphanius said about John that, "He will

⁸⁸⁶ Socrates, Book Six, Chapter 9, pp. 243-244 of the English translation.

⁸⁸⁷ Socrates, Book Six, Chapter 15, pp. 249-250 of the English translation.

⁸⁸⁸ Socrates, Book Six, Chapters 16-17, pp. 250-251 of the English translation.

⁸⁸⁹ Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 34, p. 241 of the English translation.

die in exile." John died amongst our people at the age of fifty. Of these years, he spent five years in the episcopate and three in exile.⁸⁹⁰

It is reported that since he received baptism, John never swore or demanded from others to swear. He never cursed or told a lie. He never calumniated or ridiculed anyone. He absolutely drank no wine or took a meal with anyone. Innocent, bishop of Rome, and Flavian, bishop of Antioch, did not approve of the disposition of John but addressed letters of blame and censure to the clergy.

John produced significant studies and commentaries on the Holy Scriptures. He who describes them as a surging sea is not mistaken. Those who love the truth will recognize the greatness of this learned man. The Eastern chronicler David said that, "Among other writings collected by the Mahdi (775-785), king (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs) in Baghdad, I found some writings of John." As he set to go into exile, John wrote on the gate of the church of Antioch in Constantinople, "I have left for the church the talent God bestowed on me: three hundred volumes of commentaries, discourses, translations and other materials." May his memory and prayers be of help to us in both worlds. Amen.

In the time of Honorious, there was in the city of Synada in Phrygia, a bishop called Theodosius who expelled the partisans of Macedonius. He did this not for his zeal for the faith, but for collecting money. In addition, he persecuted Agapetus, bishop of the city. He went to Constantinople to bring back an army to tighten the grip on them. Agapetus called on his followers and demanded from them adherence to the doctrine of "consubstantiality." He went to church and sat in the chair of Theodosius, thus the two parties were united. Theodosius returned with an army, but the people expelled him. He approached his Metropolitan Atticus to instigate him against Agapetus, but Atticus exhibited calmness. He admonished him to place the opinion of the majority over his own personal opinion. He wrote to Agapetus to trust the bishop in conformity with the faith.⁸⁹¹

At this time, fire broke out in the neighborhood of the great church in Constantinople. It destroyed several monasteries and huge buildings and many people perished.⁸⁹²

At this time, an unprecedented sign appeared in heaven, which was called a comet.

At this time too became well known the priest Absmayya, nephew of Malphono (learned man) St. Ephraim. He composed several odes in the Ephramite (seven-syllabic) meter on who invaded the countries in this period. *End of the narrative.*

Chapter Two: On the beginning of the reign of Theodosius the Great

Theodosius ascended the throne at the age of eight. Rebellion was stirred up in the Roman provinces by a certain man named Alaric the African. He assembled an army and came to Italy, but no one welcomed him. He committed many crimes and killed the consul Stilicho.

Emperor Honorious died in Rome. In Constantinople reigned Constantius, father of Valentinian who was killed.⁸⁹³ John, the scribe, usurped the empire and sent envoys to Theodosius asking to transfer the rule of the empire to him. Theodosius imprisoned the envoys and sent general Ardaburius to fight the tyrant. Ardaburius was defeated and captured. Theodosius sent another general, Aspar son of Ardaburius, with another army. By the prayer of the pious emperor, an angel appeared to Aspar in the guise of a shepherd. He led him and his army over a lake as though it were dry land. When they reached the city, they found its gates open. They released Ardaburius and killed the rebel John.⁸⁹⁴

Theodosius proclaimed his aunt's son Valentinian as Caesar, and sent him to Rome in the company of his mother. Then he sent him the imperial crown. Valentinian ruled 32 years.⁸⁹⁵

⁸⁹⁰ Socrates, Book Six, Chapters 16-20, pp. 250-254 of the English translation.

⁸⁹¹ Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 3, pp. 260-261 of the English translation.

⁸⁹² Socrates, Book Six, Chapter 18, p. 253 of the English translation states that some of the partisans of John Chrysostom set fire to the church.

⁸⁹³ They are Constantius III and Valentinian III. The first ruled one year 421, and the second, 30 years, 425-455.

⁸⁹⁴ Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 23, pp. 278-279 of the English translation.

⁸⁹⁵ Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 24, pp. 279-280 of the English translation.

Although Theodosius was raised in the imperial court, he adhered to fasting, prayer and fortitude. He fasted Wednesdays and Fridays until evening. He was not seen angry. When asked why he had not punished with death those who had committed crimes, he replied, "I wish those who have died will come back to life." He said to another inquirer, "As long as man is mortal, his death is not significant. Only God can restore life to the dead. He has imposed death on man, and he alone can annul it." When the bishop of Hebron died, the emperor took his dirty garment and put it on for a blessing. Truly, it is said that he was a pious and orthodox Emperor.⁸⁹⁶ *Here ends this narrative.*

We should admit that although Epiphanius of Cyprus had interfered in the affairs of John (Chrysostom), yet he had prominent virtues. He was a Jew who had received baptism at the age of sixteen. He became a monk and was endowed with the ability to accomplish miracles. He exorcised demons. He became a bishop at the age of 60 and served the congregation for 55 years. He died at the age of 115. It is said that he never celebrated the Eucharist or baptized anyone unless it was revealed to him. He is the one who baptized the Emperors Arcadius and Honorius.

In Jerusalem, the 49th bishop was Praylius.⁸⁹⁷ In Antioch, the 34th bishop was Porphyrius. In Constantinople, Atticus was the 7th bishop. In Edessa, the 28th bishop was Diogenes.

Theophilus of Alexandria died from urine retention after serving 28 years. Three days later, he was succeeded by Cyril for 33 years.⁸⁹⁸

In Rome, Innocent who served 16 years, was succeeded by Zosimus for 8 years. He was the 39th bishop. He was succeeded by Boniface for 3 years who was succeeded by Celestine for 9 years.⁸⁹⁹

In Antioch, the 35th bishop after Porphyrius was Alexander for 10 years. He united the orthodox in Antioch after they were divided for 45 years. He also achieved peace between the Easterners and the Westerners on account of Paulinus and Evagrius taking with him his clergy to the place where they assembled. He led them into his own church with spiritual pageant, and the congregation became one. He added John's name to the diptychs as Atticus did in Constantinople. He did this when he saw that the church was divided. With this gesture, many schismatics returned to the fold.⁹⁰⁰

Atticus not only was concerned for the poor in his own city but also for the poor in other cities. In his letter addressed to Calliopius he wrote, "From Atticus to Cleopas, greeting in the Lord. I have learned that there are many poor people in the city in need of the compassion of the believers. It is very difficult to determine their number because they are numerous. While we do not have here who may extend help to them, there are in the meantime those who have bountiful possessions but do not give or even care. Therefore beloved, I am sending you three hundred dinars to spend them the way you see fit. I suggest that you give to those who find it shameful to beg and not to those who use greed a business, and do not keep your hand from those who are not of our persuasion. One thing is important, that you should feed the hungry without discrimination whether they are of our faith or not."⁹⁰¹

After Atticus, Sisinnius became a bishop who cared for the poor. Upon the death of the bishop of Cyzicus, Sisinnius ordained Proclus a bishop, but the people chose Dalmatius to be their bishop. Proclus remained in the capital. Upon the death of Sisinnius, some chose Proclus and the others, Philip. However, the two were rejected and the congregation desired to have a man from Antioch hoping to be like John (Chrysostom). Nestorius of Germanicia (Mar'ash) was invited. He was an orator and of melodious voice. Upon occupying the throne of Constantinople, however, he began to sow the seeds of heresy. He appeared to be against all the holy fathers.⁹⁰² *This narrative is ended by the help of he who is the source of all help.*

⁸⁹⁶ Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 22, pp. 276-278 of the English translation.

⁸⁹⁷ Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 38, p. 244 of the English translation.

⁸⁹⁸ Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 7, p. 263 of the English translation.

⁸⁹⁹ Cf. Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 11, p. 266 of the English translation.

⁹⁰⁰ Cf. Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 35, 241-242 of the English translation.

⁹⁰¹ Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 25, p. 280 of the English translation.

⁹⁰² Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 24, p. 282, Chapter 28, pp. 283-284, and Chapter 29, pp. 284-285 of the English translation. Nestorius is discussed in the last Chapter.

BOOK EIGHT

In this time, the affairs of churches in East and West were in turmoil because of the deposition of John (Chrysostom). The earth shook for seven days, and earthquakes rocked the capital constantly day and night for four months. The people attributed it to the vengeance of God, who punished the capital with the rod of wrath because of the unlawful deposition of Saint John. Saint Proclus, bishop of Constantinople, appealed to Emperor Theodosius (II) to transfer the remains of the great John to the capital. The emperor responded and the rest of John's bones were brought from Comana. John's remains were welcomed by the emperor and Pulcheria (the emperor's sister) with a spectacular celebration. They were interned in the Church of the Apostles. Consequently, those who had become opponents over his deposition were reconciled.⁹⁰³

At this time, a group of monks informed Theodosius that Theodore of Mopsuestia was a heretic and that the congregation was complaining against him. However, the Alexandrians felt delighted for this trouble.

Meantime, a man who taught children entered the synagogue of the Jews. The Jews shouted, "This man has come to create trouble." Orestes (the prefect) had Hierax tortured. Cyril called the leaders of the Jews and threatened them not to stir up sedition once more. They made for themselves rings from palm leaves and put them on their fingers as a sign to distinguish them from the rest. At night, they cried out, "The church is on fire." As the Christians hastened to the church, the Jews began to kill them. They recognized each other by the palm rings. For this reason, all the Jews were expelled from Alexandria and their synagogues destroyed.⁹⁰⁴

Hypatia, the Platonic philosopher, was chaste and without reproach, but was a subject of envy. It is said that she did not let Orestes reconcile with Cyril. Some members of the church ambushed her on her way home. They seized her and brought her to the church called Caesareum. They cracked her skull and cast her into the fire.⁹⁰⁵

In this same time, the Jews seized a child in the region of Immestar between Qinnesrin and Antioch. They tied him to a cross, mocked him and killed him. When the incident became known, they were condemned and many of them were executed.⁹⁰⁶

In this same period, a Jew went to the bishop, was baptized and received some money. Then, he went to Paul, bishop of the Novatians, to be baptized by him. Paul placed him among the catechumens for two months and imposed fasting on him. Bishop Paul ordered the baptismal font filled with water, but the water disappeared. People thought that there was a leak in the font. They filled it the second time and the water immediately dried up. Turning to the person who was to be baptized, Bishop Paul said, "Either you harbor evil, or you have been baptized before." Upon investigating his case, they found that he had been baptized by Atticus.⁹⁰⁷

A priest named Philip wrote a history of the church in thirty-six books consisting of thousand treatises. Upon the death of Atticus, he thought that he would be ordained a bishop of Constantinople in his place. However, he was disappointed because Sisinnius, the pious and compassionate, was ordained a bishop. Philip interpolated in his history a medley of irrelevant information, which could not be accepted.⁹⁰⁸
Ended by the power of he who is the helper of all.

⁹⁰³ Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 45, pp. 297-298 of the English translation.

⁹⁰⁴ Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 13, pp. 267-269 of the English translation, and The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu, 100-102. It is unfortunate that the author, as his usual wont is, has given few disconnected excerpts, which have marred the flow of the whole episode.

⁹⁰⁵ Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 15, p. 270 of the English translation.

⁹⁰⁶ Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 16, pp. 270-271 of the English translation, and The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu, 100-101.

⁹⁰⁷ Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 17, pp. 271-272 of the English translation.

⁹⁰⁸ Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 27, p. 283 of the English translation.

Chapter Three: On the period of Theodosius II

At this time Yazdagird, king of the Persians, died and was succeeded by his son Varahran, who reigned for 22 years. He abrogated the peace treaty between Persia and the Romans. Both kingdoms were armed and prepared for war. A fierce battle ensued and the Persians were defeated. The Romans took captive Persians called "immortals," that is, those who never die. Peace followed, but the Persians' persecution of the Christians did not stop during the reign of Varahran. Furthermore, following the peace, the Persians ventured to attack Rish 'Ayna, but were repelled by the prayer of Eunomius, bishop of the city.⁹⁰⁹ The Persians continued to devastate the Eastern regions as far as the sea, but were defeated by the Romans who captured seven thousand in Arzen's district. They were redeemed by Acacius, bishop of Amid and set free.⁹¹⁰

At this time, barbarians known as Burgundians, who were tradesmen and lived in peace, repaired to the God of the Romans to help them against the Huns who had looted them. They went to a city of Galilee and fasted seven days. On the eighth day they were baptized. Afterwards, three thousand of them attacked the Huns killing ten thousand. Then they became true Christians.⁹¹¹

In this period, Nestorius declared his heresy, as the proverb says, "No shortage of wine for those who love it." Thus was the case of Nestorius. He determined to expel others, but he himself was expelled.⁹¹² The Emperor Theodosius ordered an ecumenical council to convene in Ephesus ...lacuna... of about fifteen lines.

In this time Acacius, bishop of Amid, having seen the captives whom the Romans brought from the Arzen district, summoned his clergy and said to them, "Sons, know that Almighty God does not need to be served by cups and dishes of gold and silver. Let us sell the church's vessels and redeem our captive brethren." The clergy agreed. He gave the money to the Romans and ransomed the captives. He fed them and clothed them and sent them back to Persia. The Persian king rejoiced for their repatriation. He admired the effort of the bishop and longed to see him.⁹¹³

Nestorius composed a discourse in Constantinople. Addressing the emperor, he said, "O king! Give me a land purged of heretics and I will give you heaven instead. You should destroy the heretics and I will destroy the Persians." The emperor and many others rejected his proposition. In fact, his wrath and vanity became manifest because he did not utter these words in vain, but as the proverbial phrase goes, "He was determined to persecute the country before tasting its water."⁹¹⁴

One day, the presbyter Anastasius, a disciple of Nestorius, delivered a homily in which he said "Let no one call Mary *Theotokos* (Mother of God), for Mary was but a woman; and that it is impossible for God to be born of a woman."⁹¹⁵ The congregation thought that Nestorius would immediately condemn him for his blasphemy, but he did not. The congregation then perceived that what the presbyter said was with Nestorius' permission. The city (of Constantinople) burst into uproar. Consequently, it became necessary to convene an ecumenical council. Nestorius was eloquent in common language and believed he was a savant. Truthfully though, he was not what he claimed to be. The divinity is united with the humanity in the Lord Christ. Thus, the Lord Jesus is not two but one. Concerning Christ, Nestorius did not say that he was a mere man, as did Photinus and Paul of Samosata. He admitted his hypostasis.⁹¹⁶ Consequently, the Emperor Theodosius II ordered an ecumenical council to assemble ...lacuna...

⁹⁰⁹ Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 37, p. 244 of the English translation.

⁹¹⁰ Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 18, pp. 272-274 and Chapter, 20, pp. 274-275 and Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 37, p. 244 of the English translation.

⁹¹¹ Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 30, pp. 285-286 of the English translation.

⁹¹² Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 31, p. 286 of the English translation.

⁹¹³ Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 21, pp. 275-276 of the English translation.

⁹¹⁴ Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 29, pp. 284-285 of the English translation.

⁹¹⁵ Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 32, p. 287 of the English translation; Evagrius, *Ecclesiastical History*, the anonymous English translation printed together in one volume with the *Ecclesiastical History of Theodoret* (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1854), Book One, Chapter 2, p. 258 of the translation.

⁹¹⁶ What the author means in this context is that Nestorius did not deny the hypostasis, or the divine and human persons of

In this time, the remains of the proto-martyr St. Stephen were discovered.

In this period, St. Simon the Stylite flourished in the district of Antioch and Aleppo. Through him, God accomplished many marvelous deeds just as he had done through the chosen, the Apostles and Saints.

About this time, the blessed and distinguished Mor Barsoum became illustrious among the chosen saints in Lesser Armenia, Syria and the district of Samosata in the Claudia Mountain. God wrought great wonders through him. His grave remains a fountain of help for the people.

Praylius became the bishop of Jerusalem for 5 years. He was succeeded by Juvenal for 40 years.

About this time and due to the peace established between Theodosius and Yazdagird king of Persia, the number of Christians increased in Persia. However, Yazdagird's son Varahran who succeeded him, persecuted the Christians of Persia because of that peace, and the number of martyrs multiplied. It is said that a bishop named Abda destroyed a Pyrosum, a temple dedicated to the worship of fire. The king became furious and ordered the destruction of all churches and the killing of all bishops. A great number of chief priests and other clergymen were martyred. Among them were Shahin, Abba Manides and Deacon Benjamin, the *malphono* (teacher), and many others. They dislocated the shoulders of some of them while they flayed the backs and heads of others. They pillaged the possessions of the notables of the cities and the country because they did not recant, thus receiving the crown of martyrdom by the sword. The persecution extended to all the Christians in Persia. They endured severe oppression and hardships. Some of them were tied by pointed reeds thrust into their bodies. They tied them with coarse bands from head to toe. They flogged them and pulled the reeds from under the bands to intensify their agony. Finally, they cast them into wells with huge rats to feed on them.⁹¹⁷

Chapter Four: On the time of the First Council of Ephesus

In the twenty-second year of the reign of Theodosius, which is the year 742 of the Greeks/423 A.D., the First Council of Ephesus assembled.⁹¹⁸ It was attended, as Zachariah Rhetor says, by 193 noteworthy bishops. The others were fathers and teachers who adhered to the orthodox faith. They condemned Nestorius.⁹¹⁹

About this time, Theodosius made his tutor Antiochus a grand chamberlain and patrician who took everything that was in his house. He issued a law forbidding eunuchs to be elevated to the dignity of a patriarch.

In this same period, Cyrus the prefect renovated the wall of Constantinople. He was commended by the citizens who said, "Constantine built and Cyrus renovated." Upon hearing this, the emperor was displeased and removed Cyrus from his position accusing him of holding pagan ideas.

Theodosius gave his daughter Eudoxia to Valentinian as wife. Valentinian came to Constantinople and married her.⁹²⁰

In this time, the conflict between the Romans and the Persians intensified for the following reason. As the Persians were persecuting the Christians in their country because of their faith, many of them fled to Roman territories. The Persians demanded that they should be handed back to them, but the Romans refused. Therefore, the Persians waged war with the Romans and a great number of soldiers on both sides perished.⁹²¹ *End of the narrative.*

Christ; he only could not comprehend how the human can bear the divine. See Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 32, pp. 287-288 of the English translation.

⁹¹⁷ Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 39, pp. 245-249 of the English translation.

⁹¹⁸ This council met in 431.

⁹¹⁹ The *Ecclesiastical History* of Zachariah Rhetor or Bishop of Mitylene was translated into English by J. Hamilton E. W. Brooks under the title *The Syriac Chronicle known as that of Zachariah of Mitylene* (London, 1899).

⁹²⁰ Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 44, p. 297 of the English translation.

⁹²¹ Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 18, pp. 272-274 of the English translation.

The Story of the People of the Cave Derived from the History of Zachariah Rhetor⁹²²

In this period, seven young men came back to life in Ephesus. They preserved their faith and did not attend the ceremony of sacrificing to the idols despite the fact that they were forced to attend. Rather, they stayed home. Some entered into their dwelling and found them rolling in dust with their faces downward. The dust had mingled with their tears. People betrayed them to the Emperor (Trajanus Decius 249-251) saying, "At a time when you have compelled distant peoples in your kingdom to offer sacrifices, there exist people who are nearby who disdain the sacrifices and secretly perform Christian ceremonies. Chief among them is their leader Archelides who comes from a family of prefects." The emperor summoned the young men to his presence and they appeared with tears in their eyes. The emperor asked them, "Why didn't you attend the celebration of offering sacrifices? You should offer sacrifices now." Archelides replied, "There is a true God in heaven to which alone we raise the aroma of our faith." The emperor talked to each one of them individually and they unanimously confessed their true faith. The emperor issued an order to divest them of their prominent positions. He gave them a chance to think the matter over. Then, the emperor proceeded to visit other cities. The blessed young men distributed their inheritance to the poor secretly and publicly. They went up to Mount Ankilos where they found a cave and entered into it. They persisted in prayer awaiting the emperor's return. They sent one of them named Dionysius to bring them food. Dionysius, disguised, entered the city (of Ephesus), but he hastily returned with some food upon learning that the emperor had returned to the city. The young men began to pray receiving food mingled with their tears and grief. They rested and by providence fell into deep sleep. The next day, the emperor asked for them and was told that they were hiding in a cave. He ordered its entrance blocked that they may be buried alive. Two Christians, Athenodorus and Domnus who were also in hiding, wrote down the story of these confessors and placed it in a part of the cave. After 188 years, which is in the 18th year of Theodosius, controversy arose over the resurrection of the dead. Some men were of Origen's opinion that after death the bodies are destroyed. That they will not resurrect because they are composed of different elements. They only look corporeal in appearance like the appearance of the Lord at his transfiguration on the mountain, and like Moses and Elijah who appeared to the three apostles.⁹²³ Others proved the reality of the resurrection of the dead from the Prophet Ezekiel⁹²⁴ and by the resurrection of Christ, whose body the apostles touched. They also proved the reality of the resurrection from the letter of Paul to the Corinthians concerning the seed,⁹²⁵ and from the book of Methodius of Olympia, Eustathius of Antioch and Epiphanius of Cyprus.

The emperor was confused by these contradictory opinions. Nevertheless, God wanted to remove the doubt and reveal the truth. He inspired Aladius to build a sheep pen for his cattle. While raising the stones, the entrance of the cave opened in the first part of the night. God breathed the breath of life into those who were sleeping and they woke up from what seemed a deep sleep. They told Dionysius who had brought them food, "Go and investigate what has happened." Carrying with him ancient coins, Dionysius was surprised to see the stones of the edifice had changed. He took a rough road lest anyone would recognize him. Reaching the gate of the city, he was astonished to see that it was topped by a cross. He saw that the city had changed. He moved to the second gate and saw another cross on top of it. He was stunned thinking that he was seeing a vision. He entered the city and heard people down the street swearing by the name of Jesus Christ. He asked someone about the name of the city and was told it was Ephesus. He decided to buy bread and return quickly to his companions. But when people saw the ancient coin they looked at each other whispering that, "It seems this young man has found a treasure." Dionysius suspected

⁹²² The Sleepers of Ephesus. Zachariah only alludes to the seven youth who slept in the cave in the district of Ephesus. See *The Syriac Chronicle Known as that of Zachariah of Mitylene*, pp. 18-19. The original Greek text of this Chronicle is lost to us. It survived in Syriac. It is most likely that the Syriac translators, who abridged the original, only alluded to the story of the seven youths. See Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, *al-Lulu al-Manthur*, translated into English by Matti Moosa under the title, *The Scattered Pearls* (Gorgias Press, 2003), 294.

⁹²³ See Matthew 17:1-7; Mark 9:1-8; Luke 9:28-36.

⁹²⁴ Ezekiel 37:1-14.

⁹²⁵ 1 Corinthians 15:35-49.

that the people knew who he was and would undoubtedly drag him to Decius. He said to them trembling, "Here is the coin, take it. I don't want bread." However, they held him fast saying, "Show us the treasure you have found and make us your partners. We will never betray you." The crowds rushed to see him saying, "He is a stranger." Meanwhile, Dionysius looked here and there to find someone who knew him, but could find no one. The news reached the prefect who was visiting the bishop of the city. He ordered him to be brought to his presence. Dionysius thought they were taking him to Decius, but he was completely dumbfounded when they brought him into the church. The bishop and the prefect asked him, "Where is the (full) treasure, some parts of which are in your hand?" He said, "I did not discover a treasure." They went on asking, "Then, who are you and where do you come from?" He said, "I am from Ephesus." He went on to tell them the names of his parents, but no one recognized them. They said, "You are lying." Others said he was crazy. Still others believed he was feigning craziness to save himself. The prefect said to him, "How can we consider you crazy or believe you while here is the signet on the coin which was minted two hundred years ago by the Emperor Decius? I should commit you to prison." With his face down, Dionysius said, "Please tell me where is Emperor Decius?" They said that he had died a long time ago. He said, "Maybe I am seeing a vision and that what I am seeing you would not believe. Come along and I will show you my companions in the cave. We have fled from Decius." The bishop believed that the whole thing was but a vision. However, he and the rest accompanied him to the mountain. As they entered the cave, they found a chest written on it the names of the confessors Achelides, Dionysius, Stephen, Probatius, Sebastius and Cyriacus who had fled from the face of Decius. They were astonished. They entered the cave and saw the confessors with glowing faces. They listened to their story. The emperor (Theodosius II) fell at their feet sobbing and with tearful eyes said, "I see in you King Christ calling forth Lazarus from the grave. For a long time, I have been envisioning the glory of Christ when the dead will resurrect to life in the twinkling of an eye to meet him." Achelides said to the emperor, "Know, Emperor, that the Lord has resurrected us before the general Resurrection because of you. We were lying down in utter peace like the living infant in the womb of its mother without knowing honor or dishonor. Remain in peace in the integrity of faith." Having said this, the young men slept and committed their souls while the emperor and the people were watching. The emperor rose up crying and covered their bodies with his royal robe. He ordered seven gold coffins be made for them, but the youth appeared to him in a dream and said, "Our bodies are made of dust and not of gold. You should leave us on the dust of the cave." The emperor ordered gold bricks to be placed underneath their bodies and a church was erected over them. May their memory be a blessing and their prayer a help to us. Amen.

The king (of Persia) asked Hormizd, son of the governor of Hamadan, to deny Christ. The saint replied, "If anyone denies your kingship deserves punishment. How much more should be punished the one who denies God, the creator of everything." The king deprived Hormizd of his possessions and ordered him to run naked with only a loincloth. A few days later, he saw him covered with sand and scorched by the sun. He summoned him and clothed him with linen. He urged him to recant. Hormizd tore up the clothes and said with avid enthusiasm, "Take back what you have given me." The king delivered him and his wife to a wicked servant (to be tormented), but he endured the torment. In the meantime, the king seized the deacon Benjamin and cast him into prison. Two years later, peace was achieved between the Persians and the Romans. The Roman emperor asked the Persian king to release the prisoner Benjamin. The king said, "If he promises not to proselytize the Magi, I will let him go." The blessed Benjamin refused this condition. After much insistence, the king's messenger released him, and Benjamin began instantly to fish the Magi into life. A year later, the king summoned Benjamin and ordered him to recant, but he refused. The king drove split reeds into his nails and toes and even through his penis and a knotted rod into his anus. With these torments, the blessed Benjamin ended his life as an honorable martyr. Indeed, the state of peace makes us cool and listless. However, persecution opens our eyes and makes us despise the glories of the world.⁹²⁶

⁹²⁶ Theodoret, Book Five, Chapter 39, pp. 246-248 of the English translation.

The First Council of Ephesus met in June by the command of Emperor Theodosius (II).⁹²⁷ It was presided over by Celestine, bishop of Rome through his delegates; Cyril of Alexandria; Memnon, bishop of Ephesus; Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem; Acacius, bishop of Melitene; and Theodotus, bishop of Ancyra. The bishop of Rome was represented by the bishops Arcadius and Philippus. We have not been able to find in any document the rest of the fathers who attended the council. Nestorius had already arrived in Ephesus. Cyril and Juvenal arrived after Easter; John of Antioch tarried behind.

Cyril provoked the question about Nestorius. It was then that Nestorius began to blaspheme against Christ, saying, "I will not call God he who is one or two months old, nor will I attend." He was summoned four times but refused to attend. In fact, he insulted the bishop with obscene words. His blasphemous ideas became public. Thus, based on his own words and his impious discourses, they condemned him justly.⁹²⁸

Nestorius met with his partisans and condemned Saint Cyril and Memnon, bishop of Ephesus. John of Antioch, who did not wish to ratify the condemnation of Nestorius, attended only two days later. He was furious at Cyril. However, when it was discovered that he was a supporter of Nestorius, the council likewise condemned him. John had with him twenty-six bishops in addition to the Eastern bishop, save Rabula of Edessa and Acacius of Aleppo. Witnessing what happened, Nestorius obligingly said, "Let us then call Mary, Mother of God." However, his fanciful repentance was not accepted and he was banished to Oasis (in Egypt) by the command of the victorious Emperor (Theodosius II). In the meantime, John and his partisans convened a false council in which Theodoret, a partisan of Nestorius, refuted the Twelve Anathemas of Cyril. However, the wise Cyril refuted in turn the precepts of Theodoret holding him in contempt. When John and his partisans were summoned to the council three times and did not attend, the council condemned them until they had repented and confessed their fault.⁹²⁹

The Council of Ephesus resolved that no one should create another definition of faith apart from what had been established by the 318 bishops who met at the Council of Nicaea. Anyone who dared to establish another definition of the faith should be deposed and expelled whether or not he was a presbyter or bishop.

As the council dispersed, John and the Easterners returned to Antioch without obtaining any benefit from the council. With the emperor's command, a delegation from both sides went to the capital to examine the case diligently.⁹³⁰ *End of this narrative.*

Chapter Five: On the period of the assembling of the First Council of Ephesus

About this time, the king of Persia seized Christian merchants and looted their merchandise. Also, he did not pay those who manufactured for him gold articles. Therefore, the Romans invaded Armenia and pillaged Persian regions. The Persians declared war on the Romans but were defeated. The Roman generals Ardaburius, Areobindus and Vitianus killed seven Persians generals. Most of the Tayoye (Arabs)⁹³¹ who rushed to support the Persians drowned in the Euphrates River. Afterwards, peace was achieved and the persecution of the Christians in Persia quieted down.⁹³² Then, the barbarians ravaged Thrace and Illyria and carried many captives.⁹³³

In this time, there appeared a comet and swarms of creeping insects. Tribulations were everywhere, which made people believe that the end of the world was at hand because of these signs.

⁹²⁷ Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 34, p. 289 of the English translation, and *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu*, 97.

⁹²⁸ Socrates, *Ibid.* pp. 289-290 of the English translation, and *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu*, 97-98.

⁹²⁹ See Evagrius, *Ecclesiastical History* bound with the *History of Theodoret*, Book I, Chapters 4-7, pp. 258-267.

⁹³⁰ On the Council of Ephesus and the controversy between Cyril of Alexandria and Nestorius and the rapprochement made between Cyril and John of Antioch, see J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines* (New York: Harper and Row, 1978), 323-330 of the revised edition and V. C. Samuel, *The Council of Chalcedon Re-Examined* (Madras, 1977), 4-8.

⁹³¹ Throughout this translation, the term Tayoye is used for Arabs and Muslims. I have used the terms Arab/Arabs and Muslims to mean Tayoye according to the occasion.

⁹³² Socrates Book Seven, Chapter 20, pp. 274-275 of the English translation.

⁹³³ Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 18, pp. 272-27 of the English translation.

BOOK EIGHT

At this time there flourished the church historians Sabinus, another Eusebius, and the deacon Philip of Constantinople.

On April 7 and July 6, an earthquake took place and dust fell from the sky.

In this period, there emerged the heresy of those who maintained that sin is inherent in the nature of man.⁹³⁴

Fire broke out in Constantinople consuming prisons and houses. Eutyches, abbot of a monastery in Constantinople, appeared in this period. He was known by many for his good conduct. Eutyches held that there is one (divine) Nature in Christ, at the time when Nestorius was condemned for holding Two Natures in Christ after the union, and for claiming that the formation of the fetus (Christ in Mary's womb) preceded the dwelling of the Holy Spirit in him. Nestorius further simply called him a mere "Jesus," as was also maintained by Paul of Samosata, Deodore and Theodore,⁹³⁵ and refused to call the Virgin, "The Mother of," as did the holy fathers.⁹³⁶ Eutyches rejected the truth that the body (of Christ) derives from the Virgin, which God the Word (Christ) took in her and from her. He maintained that the Word became flesh as the atmosphere assumes bodily form and becomes rain or snow under the influence of the wind, or as water due to the cold air becomes ice.⁹³⁷

This is inaccurate teaching. Not having been well instructed, Eutyches generated a new dogma knowing not what he did. When the report of his vile teaching was published abroad, it was investigated by Eusebius of Dorylæum, who happened to be in the city and he informed the chief priest (Flavian). Eutyches was summoned by the bishops to investigate his opinions but refused to show up. At one time, he said that it was his fixed determination to remain in perpetual seclusion; other times he said that he was sick, or had a cough or was old. At last, when he was compelled to appear before the council of bishops, he kept saying, "Just as you teach Two Natures in Christ, so do I hold." After a lengthy deliberation as mentioned in the minutes of the meeting, Eutyches was deposed and his teaching rejected. The teaching of Eusebius (of Dorylæum) who, like Nestorius, held to Two Natures was condemned as well. Flavian's questioning indicated that he held the same dogma.⁹³⁸

After the questioning of Eutyches by Flavian's partisans, Eutyches addressed a letter to Leo of Rome to investigate the things discussed at the council of Flavian. Upon learning this, Flavian's partisans in turn addressed a letter to Leo. Leo addressed a letter to Flavian that came to be known as the *Tome*, which omitted the names of several archpriests.⁹³⁹ He was also criticized by Dioscorus and Timothy the great who succeeded him.⁹⁴⁰

By the decree of Emperor Theodosius II, bishops from both parties assembled at the capital. Because of their deliberation, the party of Cyril triumphed and the Easterners were defeated. The council's procedures were now affirmed. The Easterners submitted to the decision of the council which was endorsed by the emperor, and associated with threats. Peace was finally achieved between Cyril and the Easterners, and the bishops were confirmed each in his own see.⁹⁴¹ However, the peace was shaky because in their hearts, Theodoret of Cyrus, Andreas, bishop of Samosata and Alexander, bishop of Mabug, were Nestorians

⁹³⁴ The Pelagians. See J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*, 357-361.

⁹³⁵ They were members of the School of Antioch. For the heresy of Paul of Samosata see Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Five, Chapter 28, 213-216 of the English translation; *The Chronicle of George Synkellos*, 473-478.

⁹³⁶ Meaning Athanasius of Alexandria, Basil and Gregory the Cappadocian fathers and Julius, bishop of Rome.

⁹³⁷ In this context, the author seems to be relying on Zachariah of Mitylene. He tried to paraphrase what Zachariah said but failed to convey the exact wording, which renders his statement confusing. I have followed Zachariah verbatim. See *The Syriac Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, pp. 20-21.

⁹³⁸ For the case and heresy of Eutyches, Evagrius, Book One, Chapter 9, 267-268 of the English translation and Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*, 330-334.

⁹³⁹ See *The Tome of Pope Leo the Great*, (with Latin text), translated by E. H. Blakeny (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1923), and *The Tome of Leo*, translated by William Bright in *Christology of the Later Fathers*, ed. Edward Rochie Hardy (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1954), 359-370.

⁹⁴⁰ On the case of Eutyches, see V. C. Samuel, *The Council of Chalcedon Re-Examined*, 14-26.

⁹⁴¹ See the Formula of Union of 433 in *Christology of the Later Fathers*, ed. by Edward Rochie Hardy (Philadelphia, 1954), 355-358.

and adversaries of Cyril. Irenæus, bishop of Tyre; John, bishop of Cilicia who was from Egea; Euthérius, bishop of Tyana and other Eastern bishops likewise supported them.

Upon the deposition of Nestorius, the venerable Maximianus was set up in his place by the church (of Constantinople).⁹⁴²

In Rome, Xystus succeeded Celestine for 8 years. Celestine was succeeded by the notorious heretic Leo for 21 year.

In Edessa, the heretic Hiba (Ibas) was the 25th bishop.

The venerable Silvanus was ordained by Atticus as bishop for the church of Philippopolis. Three years later, he left because of cold weather and physical frailty, and settled in Constantinople. He was humble to the point that he walked through the city wearing only sandals. Upon the death of the bishop of Troas, Atticus told him, "You have no reason to avoid the administration of the church's flock, and Troas is not that cold a place." Silvanus went to Troas and found some men launching a ship into the sea but could not because of the power of demons. He prayed, and, touching the ship, some churchmen pushed it and it slid quickly into the sea. Those who saw what had happened praised God.⁹⁴³

As Proclus was chosen to be bishop of Constantinople, envious men cried out, "But he was ordained for another city." Emperor Theodosius consulted with Cyril and Celestine, bishop of Rome, and John, bishop of Antioch. He was told that the transference of a bishop from one city to the other was a usual practice in the church if it was done by agreement.⁹⁴⁴ Proclus entered Constantinople. He was a great teacher. He was the one who brought the remains of John (Chrysostom) to the capital and united the congregation. Since it was permitted to transfer a bishop from one city to another when necessary, the Eighteenth Canon instituted that if a bishop was ordained for a certain church, who did not take up his position due to the demand of the congregation or for personal reasons, he only had the right to serve, but not interfere in the affairs of that church until a local council would meet and resolve his case. Therefore, many bishops were transferred from one city to the other when it became necessary. For example, when the congregation rejected Perigines, bishop of Patras, the bishop of Rome transferred him to Corinth, which had been bereft of a bishop. Gregory, the theologian (of Nazianzus), had been ordained a bishop for Sasimus, but was transferred to Nazianzus, then to Constantinople and then back to Nazianzus. Meletius, bishop of Sebastea was transferred to Antioch. Dositheus, bishop of Seleucia was transferred to Tarsus. Palladius, bishop of Helenopolis was transferred to Spain. Alexander, bishop of Helenopolis was transferred to Adrana. Theosebius, bishop of Apamea was transferred to Eudoxiopolis. Polycarp was transferred from Axita to Nicopolis of Thrace. Hierophilus was transferred from Trapezopolis in Phrygia to Potinopolis in Thrace. Optimus was transferred from Agdamia in Phrygia to Antioch of Pisidia. Silvanus of Philippopolis was transferred to Troas and Anthimus from Troas to Constantinople. Other bishops were transferred legally from one see to the other by the agreement, or by the invitation of the clergy and the congregation. In this case, they were not to blame for their transference. However, the bishops who moved from one diocese to other by machination or force are guilty and deprived of grace.

Chapter Six: On the Second Council of Ephesus which assembled in the time of Theodosius (II)

Having learned of the account of Flavian and Eutyches, the emperor convoked a council in the same city of Ephesus in the year 760 of the Greeks /A.D. 449, the 39th year of his reign and the year 18 since the convocation of the First Council of Ephesus. One hundred and thirty-eight bishops assembled. Saint Barsoum (Barsoum) represented the abbots of the monasteries of the East. The council was presided by Dioscorus of Alexandria, Juvenal of Jerusalem and Domnus of Antioch. They deposed Flavian, bishop of Constantinople, Eusebius, bishop of Dorylæum and Domnus, bishop of Antioch who held the same

⁹⁴² Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 35, p. 290 of the English translation; Evagrius, Book One, Chapter 8, 267 of the English translation.

⁹⁴³ Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 37, pp. 292-293 of the English translation.

⁹⁴⁴ CF. Socrates, Book Seven, Chapter 40, p. 295 of the English translation.

doctrine as Nestorius, Theodoret (bishop of Cyrus) and Ibas (bishop of Edessa). However, they accepted Eutyches when he endorsed the definition of faith by the Council of 318 (Nicaea).

About this time, there appeared in Crete a person who seduced the Jews into believing that he was Moses, who had come to save them and lead them through the Red Sea. He took many men and women to the seashore and asked them to throw themselves in with heads bowed down saying, "In this manner the sea will receive you and will be split before you." As they threw themselves into the water, they hit the rocks. Some of them were bruised and drowned and their bodies floated over the water. Some Christians saw them, and rushing with their boats pulled out of the water those who were still alive. When the Jews realized that they had been deceived, they searched everywhere for the fraudulent Moses, but could not find him. They thought he was a demon who had deceived them. Therefore, many of them became Christians.

In this period, Gensericus revolted in the province of Carthage in Africa. Great tribulations also occurred.

Emperor Theodosius (II) addressed letters regarding the Second Council of Ephesus. He wrote about a person called Stephen, an impudent person, that he was the root of all evil and did not heed matters of justice. He also addressed a letter to Elpidius, the imperial commissioner, saying:

To the distinguished Count Elpidius, the Victorious and The Holy Council:

We have commanded a second council to convene at Ephesus for the purpose of eradicating the root of evil. And when we have uprooted what disturbs the serenity of the faith, we may guard, by the power of prayer, the purity and the orthodoxy of our intentions for the good conduct and the benefit of the people. For this reason, we have chosen your Excellency and the distinguished Eulogius, Tribune and Pretorian Notary, for the service of the faith, as experienced men who are both upright in other matters and hold religion purely, and are able to execute our commands with efficiency. And you will allow no opportunity to stir up commotion on any side that these and other matters would be done in order.⁹⁴⁵

The libel of Eutyches presented to the Holy Council assembled at Ephesus

From the Archimandrite Eutyches:

I give thanks to God, holy in all things, at the present time in which the true religion, through your means, has received a well-established ground of trust, and I give information to your Holy Council concerning what has been done against me and especially against the Orthodox faith. My main aim and object from my childhood to a ripe old age has been to lead a life of quiet, apart from my business, and to continue to do so without any disturbing causes. I was not, however, permitted to continue in the enjoyment of such an object, but experienced great suffering arising from the intrigues of others. I ask for the verdict of your Blessedness. My witness is Jesus Christ who offered before Pontius Pilate a good confession. I maintain that my faith, and my good opinion of you, is that you should affirm the same magnificent faith established by the holy fathers at Nicaea. It is the faith that was affirmed by the holy fathers of the First Council of Ephesus. Now, if anyone entertains any idea other than this faith, I condemn him in accordance with the anathemas issued by the council. I further anathematize Manes, Valentinus, Apollinaris, Nestorius, and all heretics up to Simon Magus, and others.⁹⁴⁶

⁹⁴⁵ See the *Second Council of Ephesus*, translated into English by the Rev. Samuel Gideon Frederick Perry (Dartford, Kent: The Orient Press, 1881), pp. 407-408 and *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, translated into English and edited by Richard Price and Michael Gaddis, 1 (Liverpool University Press, 2005), 137-138. The author (Michael Rabo) gives only excerpts of this letter. It should be noted that this translations varies in terminology from that of Perry.

⁹⁴⁶ Perry, *Second Council of Ephesus*. The Libel of Eutyches covers pp. 412-417. The author uses only excerpts, which occur on pp. 412-413, 417. The last sentence is on p. 413 and Price and Gaddis, *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, ed., 1, 156-157, and the Arabic translation of the *Acts of the Council of Chalcedon* by R. P. F. Francis Maria of Salem entitled *Madmun al-Majma' al-Khalqedoni fi Illat Hartaqat Awtakbi al-Munafiq* (Compendium Sacri Ecumeninici Concilii Chalcedonensis), (Rome, 1694), 48-52 The pagination is mine.

Upon the death of St. Cyril, Dioscorus became a bishop of Alexandria for eight years. In Constantinople, St. Proclus was followed by the heretic Flavian. He was the cause for the assembling of the Second Council of Ephesus.

Copy of the royal letters:

The Imperial Caesars, Theodosius and Valentinian, Victors and Illustrious By Victories, the Noble, the Ever Worshipful, the Augusti, to Pope Dioscorus Archbishop of Alexandria:

It is obvious to everyone that the good order (status) of our government and of human affairs generally is established and confirmed by an exalted piety toward God; and so long as God is favorable to us, matters usually advance and are regulated readily, and according to our wishes.

Seeing, then, that we are deemed worthy to reign by Divine Providence, we necessarily take every care of the Religion and the prosperity of those who are under our authority, whereby our true religion and our government may shine forth, being maintained by a true service toward God and the faith.

Seeing that a bitter controversy has lately emerged touching our catholic and apostolic doctrine of the orthodox faith, which caused the disturbance of opinions from every quarter, and corrupted the conscience of men, we thought that such an ugly matter should not be overlooked. Meantime, we are afraid that some might think that such a matter is a disgrace to God. Therefore, we think that by summoning a group of pious and God-loving bishops of much zeal for the orthodox faith to assemble in this place, the truth will be clarified, controversy will be put to rest, and the orthodox and true faith which is so dear to God be consolidated. We then suggest that your piety should take with you ten venerable metropolitans and ten pious bishops from the province under you, distinguished for eloquence and integrity of life and for orthodoxy in the unerring and true faith, and illustrious to all for knowledge and learning, before the first of the month of August, and proceed without delay to Ephesus, the Metropolis of Asia. And no one person beside these mentioned above is allowed to trouble the Holy Council, so that the whole error of deceit may be removed from our midst. It is necessary, and God's will that no bishop should stay away from attending the Council. But Theodoret, the bishop of the city of Cyrus, whom on a former occasion we ordered to confine himself within his own Church, we forbid to attend the Holy Council, unless it should seem fit to the whole Holy Council when it has assembled, that he also should come and participate. However, if, on his account, there should arise any division of opinion, we order that the Holy Council should assemble without him and execute the commands given.⁹⁴⁷

The Bishop Julius, filling the place of Leo, bishop of Rome said, "According to a command similar to this one from the emperors, our holy father of the Church of Rome Leo, was summoned to the Council."

John, Presbyter and Prime Notary said, "Another gracious order was forwarded to Dioscorus, which, too, I hold in my hand."

Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem said, "Let it be read and deposited among the accredited documents."

The Autocrat Caesars, Theodosius and Valentinian, Victors and Illustrious by Victories, the Noble, the Worshipful, the Augusti, to Dioscorus:

It has come to the hearing of our Serenity that many venerable Archimandrites of the East, with orthodox people, have been troubled by certain bishops said to be infected with the impiety of Nestorius, and have had a great contest for the catholic faith. For this reason, then, it has seemed fit

⁹⁴⁷ Perry, *The Second Council of Ephesus*, pp. 3-and 401-404; Price and Gaddis, *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, 1, 132-134 and the *Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, translated into Arabic by P. R F. Francis Maria of Salem, 45-46.

BOOK EIGHT

to our divinity (Serenity) that the God-loving presbyter and Archimandrite Barsoum (Barsoum), who is distinguished for integrity of character and orthodoxy of faith, should proceed to the city of Ephesus, and acting as representative of all the God-loving Archimandrites, should assemble with your piety, and with all the holy fathers who are collected there. Your piety will therefore be induced, bearing in mind our entire anxiety for the catholic faith, joyfully to receive the above-named Archimandrite, and to arrange that he take a part in your Holy Council.⁹⁴⁸

Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem said, "The same was addressed to me respecting the Archimandrite Barsoum, and therefore it is with right and justice that he will assemble with the Holy Council."⁹⁴⁹

Barsoum attended the Second Council of Ephesus. He had been well known for his venerable conduct, orthodox teaching, and for the miracle working he did similar to what was done by the holy Apostles.

About this time, the pious ascetic Jacob the Stylite, who was a teacher of Simon the Stylite, flourished.

The Instruction of Count Elpidius to the Council

Count Elpidius said, "Satan, who is the originator of every evil, never ceases from making war with the holy churches. The God-fearing king (emperor) does not neglect to contend with justice, with him (Satan) who so wars. He rightly considers that he is fighting on his kingdom's behalf, when he arms himself for a struggle on behalf of religion. Nor does the emperor do prejudice to himself, because from the beginning many things have been adjudged in his favor rather by reason than by arms. Moreover, for this cause he has, with you (the assembled bishops), condemned the rebellion of Nestorius, who, although had been appointed for the service of God, became the father and teacher of impious doctrine. Therefore, concerning those matters which the Royal (Divine) Emperor has enjoined upon us, and has written to you, I now clearly make known to you, adding this as being one of them who rightly, under your authority, hold to the true religion.

Today, the Lord of all, God the Word and Savior, submits himself to you for judgment. Moreover, when you are judging, he is present among you, and is honored by the authority of your sentence. So that, seeing you judge rightly matters concerning him, he will here honor you now, and before the Father.⁹⁵⁰

Up to this period, Socrates and Theodoret had written their accounts. Following is the continuation of their histories.

At this point, there commenced the histories of John of Ephesus and Zachariah Rhetor (Bishop of Mitylene).

Extract from the Petition of the Archimandrite Eutyches presented to the Christ-loving Emperors Theodosius and Valentinian, and which moved him Theodosius) to convoke the Holy Council of Ephesus.

Eutyches said, "Your piety is illumination to me. You are, too, in no way backward in making investigation of matters concerning the faith and my troubles."⁹⁵¹

When the council convened, Eutyches declared that he was in agreement with Cyril and the definition of faith instituted by the First Council of Ephesus. Thus, he was accepted. Later, however, he was exposed for being untruthful. In fact, the Second Council of Ephesus did not constitute a new definition of the faith, but only affirmed the definition of faith by the First Council of Ephesus. However, the *Tome* of Leo, which was presented by his representatives to the Second Council of Ephesus, was not read in the council. The reason was to avoid the condemnation of its author (Leo) and to forestall any commotion that

⁹⁴⁸ Perry, *Ibid.* p. 405 and Price and Gaddis, *Ibid.* 1, 136-137 and Francis of Salem *The Act of the Council of Chalcedon*, 45-46.

⁹⁴⁹ Perry, *Ibid.* 405 and Price and Gaddis, *Ibid.* 1, 150 and Francis of Salem, 86-87.

⁹⁵⁰ Perry, pp. 406-407 and Price and Gaddis, 1, 150-151.

⁹⁵¹ Francis of Salem, *The Act of the Council of Chalcedon*, 48 and Perry, 411 and Price and Gaddis, 1, 156.

might arise among the people. Because the *Tome* was not read, Leo bore a grudge against Dioscorus. *End of the narrative.*

Chapter Seven: The accomplishments of the Second Council of Ephesus

One hundred and thirty eight bishops assembled at the Second Council of Ephesus. Chief among them were Leo, bishop of Rome through his representatives; Dioscorus, Pope of Alexandria; Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem; Domnus, bishop of Antioch; Eustathius, bishop of Beirut; Thalassius, Bishop of Caesarea Cappadocia; Eusebius, bishop of Seleucia and Barsoum (Barsoum)m who represented the ascetics (monks).

The Emperor addressed similar letters that were read by John, the Proto-Notary.

The Autocratic Caesars, Theodosius and Valentinian, Victors and Illustrious by Victories, the Noble, the Worshipful, the Augusti, to the Holy Council at Ephesus:

We hoped that nothing would have disturbed the serenity of the church. We expected you to continue serving your holy churches offering them priestly services, as you were accustomed, without trouble or disturbance. However, the God-loving Flavian tried to disturb the holy faith of the Archimandrite Eutyches, especially when questioning him in a (church) tribune. We wrote to Flavian several times to stop the disturbance, with the knowledge that the faith that was defined by the Council and Nicaea and endorsed by the Council of Ephesus is perfect. We have also asked Bishop Flavian to desist from doing these things lest he becomes the cause of a trouble that will engulf the whole world. However, he did not obey. Issuing a verdict in this case is not our business but it is the business of your council. Your holiness knows that the events that disturbed the church were for the interest of the faith. Therefore, we find it very necessary to convene a council in order to put an end to fraudulence, and keep at bay those who follow the blasphemous Nestorius.⁹⁵²

Dioscorus said, "Our king (emperor) commanded that we should not set up a new faith other than the faith instituted by our fathers in the past. We should examine this faith to see whether it is in agreement or not with the faith of the fathers. However, if you wish, you may revise the faith of the fathers."⁹⁵³

The Council responded, "Condemned is anyone who revises the faith or deviate from it. We should preserve the faith of our fathers. That saves the world, that maintains the faith."⁹⁵⁴

Dioscorus said, "Although two Councils are mentioned, yet only one faith has been delivered."⁹⁵⁵

The Council said, "With perfection did the Fathers determine everything. He who goes beyond them is excommunicated. No man must add to or subtract from them."⁹⁵⁶

Dioscorus said, "Seeing that God accepts your voices and that you yourselves accept what is true and pleasing to God, whoever, as an enquirer, investigator, or teacher, exceeds what was done and what was decreed by the Holy Fathers who assembled at Nicaea and who gathered together in this place, must be excommunicated."⁹⁵⁷

The Council responded, "To the great preserver of the Faith, to Dioscorus the Archbishop, may you have many years."⁹⁵⁸

⁹⁵² Perry, *Ibid.* pp. 409-410 and Price and Gaddis, 1, 139 and Francis of. Salem, *The Act of the Council of Chalcedon*, 47-48 and 83-84.

⁹⁵³ Perry, 418; Price and Gaddis, 1, 154.

⁹⁵⁴ Perry, *Ibid.* Price and Gaddis, *Ibid.* and Francis of. Salem, *Ibid.* 49.

⁹⁵⁵ Perry, *Ibid.* Price and Gaddis, *Ibid.*

⁹⁵⁶ Perry, 418-419; Price and Gaddis, 1, 154.

⁹⁵⁷ Perry, *Ibid.* Price and Gaddis, 1, 154-155 and Francis of Salem, *Ibid.* 47-48.

⁹⁵⁸ Perry, pp. 418. Price and Gaddis, 1, 155. The last phrase "To Dioscorus the Archbishop, many years," is not in the present translation.

After prolonged deliberation, the transactions were read which revealed that the partisans of Flavian had transgressed the truth. One of these transactions concerned Basil, bishop of Seleucia, who held Two Natures of Christ.⁹⁵⁹ Other transactions concerned Julius, bishop of Cos, Eudoxius, bishop of Bosphorus, and Seleucia, bishop of Amasia, purporting the same doctrine.

When these things were read, the Council said, "No one proclaims our Lord to be two after the Incarnation; no one divides that which is indivisible." Dioscorus said, "You indeed charge only Nestorius. Lo! There are now many Nestorians."⁹⁶⁰ From the documents of Flavian, we learn that Eutyches was asked whether or not there is a union of the Two Natures (of Christ), in one person and one substance. Eutyches said, "I affirm our Lord to be of Two Natures." Eusebius, bishop of Dorylaeum said to him, "Do you confess Two Natures, my lord Archimandrite, after the Incarnation? And do you affirm that Christ in the flesh is consubstantial with us?"⁹⁶¹

When this was read, the Council said, "Take and burn Eusebius. This man ought to be burned alive. He ought to be divided into two as he divided (Christ)."⁹⁶²

Dioscorus said, "Is it pleasing to you to affirm, that after the Incarnation, Two Natures?"

The Council responded, "Anathema to him who affirms so."⁹⁶³

After condemning who divided (Christ) into two, Basil and Seleucus repented and anathematized their former statement and confessed the belief in one nature of the Incarnated Word of God.⁹⁶⁴ The entire council including Basil, bishop of Seleucia, and the Archimandrite Barsoum, absolved Eutyches of the anathemas issued against him. They condemned and deposed Flavian and Eusebius, who showed no repentance, like some others. They furthermore deposed Domnus of Antioch and seven others, who were Irenaeus, bishop of Tyre, Aquilnus, bishop of Biblus, Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus, Ibas, bishop of Edessa, Sophronius, bishop of Tella and Daniel, bishop of Harran.⁹⁶⁵

We append here with more clarity the bishops from the First Council of Ephesus until the death of Emperor Theodosius and the reign of Emperor Marcian in Rome.⁹⁶⁶

In Rome, Leo was bishop after Celestine for 20 months and 52 days.

In Alexandria, Dioscorus was bishop after Cyril for eight years and three months.

In Constantinople, Flavian was bishop after Proclus for 6 years.

In Antioch, John succeeded Domnus. He was deposed and was followed by Maximus.

In Jerusalem, Juvenal was bishop for 36 years. He attended the three councils. *End of the narrative.*

Copy of the letter addressed by the Council to the Emperor

If anyone should describe your illustrious and Christ-loving kingdom as a source of the true religion, good confession and faith, he would not be surpassing the bounds of the truth. However, it is possible for him to be confused in trying to find the proper and adequate words of the greatness of the Godly love which attaches to you, O Glorious and Victorious Emperors! For every day there flows from you, O Venerable Sirs, a refreshing drink of the true knowledge of God upon those who are under your authority. In continuous descent it comes, as a spiritual and life-giving power, copious upon all the earth, so that the powerful authority of the kingdom will perpetually abide, not as much by the force of arms as by prevailing through service toward God. By this, you will prevail over your enemies, and prevail abidingly, since the King of Kings raises up invisible hosts against them (enemies), because of your watchfulness over the

⁹⁵⁹ After their union in the Incarnation.

⁹⁶⁰ Perry, p. 422; Price and Gaddis, 1, 191, Francis of Salem, 53.

⁹⁶¹ Perry, 424; Price and Gaddis, 1, 219, Francis of Salem, 54.

⁹⁶² Perry, 425; Price and Gaddis, *Ibid*, Francis A. Salem, *Ibid*.

⁹⁶³ Perry, pp. 422-425; Price and Gaddis, 1, 219, Francis of Salem, 55-57.

⁹⁶⁴ Perry, 424; Price and Gaddis, 1, 224.

⁹⁶⁵ For the condemnation and deposition of these bishops, the reader should read the entire translation of the transactions of the Second Council of Ephesus by Perry, *Ibid*.

⁹⁶⁶ Marcian was emperor from 450 to 457.

catholic faith. He will preserve the scepter of your kingdom from destruction and render it terrible to those who set themselves up in opposition to you.

On you lay the responsibility, not only of guarding the human race from the army of the barbarians, but of keeping it completely unmolested and preserved from novelties of language. Such novelties are used by those who, with adverse notions, spread mischief, like some deadly poison upon an arrow. They shoot a destructive volley against the souls of the simple, which, it is true, causes no wound to the body, but lasting death to the soul. Further, it is now known that this formerly faithful and Christ-loving desire continues to move your Venerableness to be zealous for the Lord. It has very rightfully been diligent in serving, in accordance with the expression of the Prophet, spiritual weapons and a shield, and in standing up in defense of your orthodox and spotless faith which people have been caught—and they are not far off—bent on unsettling. They have in doing so unmasked themselves by their deeds, showing that they discuss things other than those discussed by the Disciples of Christ, and preach to them errors strange even to themselves. For this reason, you commanded us by royal and illustrious letters to assemble at the city of Ephesus and to repair to John the Theologian, with whose help the fathers had previously cut off, with the sword of the Spirit, the tongue of Nestorius, who had armed himself against the glory of Christ. Moreover, while in this noble contest, they had the blessed Cyril as their Leader, who was our Father and Bishop.

As soon as the letters of your Serenity, like a loud voice and devout trumpet, summoned us to fight for the faith, we hastened hither. Everyone gathered from a different side, this from afar, and that from near, another out of the midst, and all from all quarters to the city of John and Timothy, where all of us assembled and reached the temple of the Holy Church, named Maria (Mary). So that the place itself might become a monument and a witness of our true and divine belief, we thereupon directed our thoughts to the investigation of the matter.

Now, stood in our midst the venerable Archimandrite Eutyches, who presented to us his complaint. Invoking Christ as a witness of his thoughts and speech, he said at the end that he had learned from his youth the holy confession of faith of the Fathers of Nicaea, and that he had kept that faith intact up to the present time, and had never deviated at all from those principles.

Subsequently, in a similar way, he had adhered to the principles decided on a former occasion at the city of Ephesus by the holy council assembled there. He also adhered to the laws then promulgated to protect the orthodox faith. He persisted in his opposition of those who were deposed by the First Council of Ephesus whose teachings were similar to those of the presbyter Arius, and those who were subject to him.

After the presbyter (Eutyches) had communicated this, and as there were present people who had adjudged him in the royal city (Constantinople), as a matter of obligation, we held an investigation into the matter; the revered words of your Christ-loving authority commanded us to do that.

When the (documentary) Acts were then presented, we ordered them to be read aloud, without leaving out anything whatsoever established therein, so that, by that means, the truth should be elicited and delineated.

We forbear to relate that some of our official brethren at Constantinople charged some of the (determinations) depositions that were put in the Acts as their own personal ones, with being falsely returned, (distinctly) affirming them—"they are fraudulent"—and others, on their part, blamed what was affirmed of them (the latter) as not well done.

We shall not speak too long, but will address briefly the subject lest we being tiresome.

We found that the Archimandrite Eutyches confessed the true faith whether in his words, or in the Libel which he now presents to us. He has held fast to the confession of the orthodox faith. He also confessed that he had not introduced any novelty whatsoever (to the faith), or anything alien from what was defined by the holy Fathers who assembled at Nicaea and Ephesus. For that reason we have expressed respect of his faith, which is orthodox and which does not deviate from the true one on any side. Accordingly we have decided that he should exercise the office of the priesthood, as he has done up to this time. Indeed, he was unjustly condemned, unlike those who condemned him, referring to his astute accusers

and judges. In this, they have not only done wrong, but also committed other mistakes that deserve censure. They endeavored to present the teaching of Nestorius for discussion, while knowing that the First Council of Ephesus resolved that no one has the authority to seek or introduce another faith, or make an effort to revise it. If the bishops will audaciously do so, they should be deprived the dignity of the Episcopate. As to the presbyters of the congregations, they should be denied partaking of the holy mysteries.⁹⁶⁷ The Council knows the truth exactly because it is filled with the Spirit, and by this Spirit, it speaks. There is no benefit from the worthless disputation over the faith that causes those who listen to it to fall. The wise Paul said, "Avoid godless chatter, because those who indulge in it will become more and more ungodly."⁹⁶⁸ To these belong Flavian and Eusebius, who after having erred from the truth, were ejected from the dignity of the priesthood, and deprived of all the honor of the Episcopate. They were pronounced guilty by us all unanimously, and with one voice and tongue have been condemned by the assembly, because they went beyond what was formerly established in Ephesus and Nicaea, and because they stood forth as inventors and teachers of idle subtleties.

Further, since they brought a violent storm on the churches, which has thrown disquiet and alarm into the minds of the faithful, and as they do not well nor skillfully understand how to pasture their flock, it should consequently be said to them, "Go hence in your own fire, and in the flame which you have set ablaze." Now, may these eat the fruit of their own ways, and be satisfied with their own devices, as it is written.⁹⁶⁹ As to us, we have decided to adhere to the Council of Nicaea decrees, and what was resolved by the Council of Ephesus, seeing that we should not change the definition (of faith) established by our fathers according to the Holy Scriptures which say, "Do not move an ancient boundary stone set up by your forefathers."⁹⁷⁰ For it is not allowed us to add anything to them nor to take away anything from them.

Now, we beg your Invincible Power that you would have compassion on the bodies of us who have become old, and through being weary with the journey upon our long way, are sick and cast down, especially in consequence of the old atmosphere in Ephesus. That you will command that we depart from this place somewhat quickly, particularly because of the long delay, so that everyone may get back to his own church and town, and may offer up prayers for the pure and Christ-loving dignity of the Sovereign.

On this, all subscribe.⁹⁷¹

Chapter Eight: On the last period of the life of the victorious Emperor Theodosius (II)

After the Second Council of Ephesus dispersed, Emperor Theodosius went to Asia. He visited the Saints John and Timothy and received their blessings. He visited the churches supplicating God and the saints to reveal to him who would succeed him in the empire. He distributed immense charity to the people and then returned to the capital. One day he mounted his horse and went for a ride as was his custom. The horse tripped and Theodosius fell down breaking his neck. They carried him in a litter but he felt uncomfortable. He thought his end was imminent. He summoned his sister Pulcheria and told her that Marcian would succeed him. He summoned Marcian into his presence and instructed him saying, "See that you administer the Empire with the fear of God." Two days later, he died. He lived only fifty years, forty-six of which were spent in governing. He was eight years old when his father died. The church enjoyed peace and safety under him, as did the Christians who enjoyed plenty of goodness as they did under his father Arcadius and grandfather Theodosius I. May, their memory be a blessing. *Here ends the narrative of the death of the victorious Theodosius (II).*

After the Second Council of Ephesus dispersed, Leo's representatives returned to Rome and told him that his *Tome* had been rejected. Leo became filled with hate and wrath, and harbored even more animosity toward Dioscorus. Meanwhile, the wife of Emperor Theodosius and his sister, Pulcheria, went to

⁹⁶⁷ Combined clergy and laity.

⁹⁶⁸ 2 Timothy 2:16-17.

⁹⁶⁹ Proverbs 1:31.

⁹⁷⁰ Proverbs 22:28.

⁹⁷¹ Perry, pp. 431-436.

Rome to worship. Valentinian was then governor of the city. On visiting the churches accompanied by Valentinian and his mother, they came to the Church of the Apostles. The attendant who was guarding the church refused⁹⁷² to open the door. The royal members were astonished. They ordered him to open the door, but he would not. Meanwhile they heard from the inside the voice of Leo (bishop of Rome) crying. As they entered, they found him prostrated and weeping. They raised him up and asked him the reason he was crying. He said, "The Apostolic See (of Rome) has been dishonored in your time, and the apostolic canons have been trampled upon by the Council of Ephesus and what took place in it."⁹⁷³ Realizing what his intention was, each of them addressed a letter to Emperor Theodosius appealing to him to renounce the Council of Ephesus and to convene an ecumenical council. The emperor responded saying. "The Second Council of Ephesus acted with the fear of God and in conformity with the orthodox faith. No harm has been done to the canons of the Fathers. I have become sure of all what took place. You would do better if you did not interfere in this matter." Although they received this response, Leo continued to bear a grudge against Dioscorus.⁹⁷⁴

Upon the death of Theodosius II (450), Marcian, who was chosen by Pulcheria, reigned.⁹⁷⁵ Leo (bishop of Rome) took this as an opportunity to have his *Tome* accepted. He also tried to find supporters in his effort to antagonize Dioscorus. He addressed a letter to Marcian and Pulcheria to convoke a council to invalidate the Second Council of Ephesus, and to transport the remains of Flavian from exile to Constantinople. All of this was accomplished and Anatolius, bishop of Constantinople, endorsed the *Tome* of Leo. The formula of faith of Flavian was read to the clergy and the monks, together with those who were assembled at the bishopric and to those who were sent by Rome to transport the remains of Flavian. Anatolius had, in fact, written this formula of faith deceptively and handed it to Theodosius. It contained (the formulation) that "Christ is of Two Natures and that one is the Incarnated Word and absolutely not Two Natures." From this statement, it was clear that this man's doctrine had not yet crystallized, especially as it concerned the formula of Two Natures after the Union. Consequently, they drew up an Act of their deliberation and added to it the doctrine of Leo and his *Tome*.

Chapter Nine: The beginning of Marcian's reign and how this impious ruled

Upon the death of Theodosius the Victorious, Marcian the old man reigned with the approval of Pulcheria (Marcian was emperor from 450 to 457). He was a simpleton and deficient of knowledge. He ruled for six years and seven months. It is said that he had suspicious relations with Pulcheria and for this reason married her unashamedly.⁹⁷⁶

In the first year of his reign, Marcian ordered the convocation of a council. In November, the second year of his reign, the year 765 of the Greeks (451 A.D.), a council met at Chalcedon attended by seven hundred and forty bishops⁹⁷⁷ most of whom adhered to the orthodox faith tenaciously. Those who had no fear of God, changed the truth with a lie either from fear or to please the emperor. They set up strange formulations and trampled on the canons of the former Holy Councils.

About this time, three stones fell from the sky, a phenomenon completely unnatural. Many interpreted it as a sign of the impiety that took place in the church by suppressing the orthodox faith and introducing the heresy of Two Natures through the wicked Council of Chalcedon. This was done by the efforts of Pulcheria and her husband Marcian, who wanted to cajole Leo of Rome in order to solidify their

⁹⁷² *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, II (Walter de Gruyter, 1933):65.

⁹⁷³ See Joannes Dominicus Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova Et Amplissima Collectio* (Florence and Venice, 1759-1798, reprinted, Graz; Akademische Druck-U. Verlagsanstalt), 6:49, and Francis Maria of Salem, 64.

⁹⁷⁴ Mansi, 6, 67-68 and Francis of Salem, 64-66.

⁹⁷⁵ *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu*, 107.

⁹⁷⁶ According to John, Bishop of Nikiu, Pulcheria married Marcian and sacrificed her virginity. See *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu*, 107, and Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 67-68, and by the same author, *Tarikh Mukhtasr al-Duwal* (Compendium of the History of Dynasties), (ed. Anton Salihani (Beirut: The Catholic Press, 1958), 85.

⁹⁷⁷ Six hundred and forty-five bishops according to John, Bishop of Nikiu. See *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu*, 108.

rule. Leo had secretly embraced the ideas of Nestorius under the influence of Satan, the root of all evil. *End of the narrative.*

In Edessa, Nonus was the 31st bishop. There was also a poet and archimandrite by the name of Isaac. However, he fell into heresy and changed his allegiance according to the circumstances.

We append below an account of the impiety introduced by the Council of Chalcedon and how it began. We have divided the subject into sections within Book Eight in order to make it understandable to the reader. The First Chapter is taken from Book Three of Zachariah Rhetor (of Mitylene) derived from what had been written in Greek by a believing man named Eupraxius, a minister of the emperors. He related what had occurred at Chalcedon through the influence of Marcian, following the death of Theodosius in the year 764 of the Greeks.⁹⁷⁸

Section One

Since it is acceptable and desired by you, Christ-loving Eupraxius, dwelling in the royal palace and occupied in the service of kings, to learn what happened in the reign of Marcian to the holy Church of God, from the time of the Council of Chalcedon—that Council which ostensibly was convened about the matter of Eutyches—(know that it) introduced and increased the heresy of Nestorius. It shook the whole world, adding evil upon evil and set the two heresies one against the other. It filled the world with divisions, confounded the faith delivered by the apostles and the good order of the Church, and completely tore asunder the seamless Robe of Christ. Therefore, we anathematize these two heresies and every wicked teaching of doctrine. We only accept the orthodox faith of those three Councils that skillfully maintain the true doctrine, and to that end, we employ this history, which you urged us to undertake.⁹⁷⁹

After the death of the holy Cyril of Alexandria, Dioscorus succeeded him. He was a holy man and a champion, but did not have the same speed and boldness as Cyril.

At that time, Theodoret and Hiba (Ibas), who were deposed by the Second Council of Ephesus along with Flavian of Constantinople and Eusebius, met there because they upheld the doctrine of Nestorius. Theodoret (Bishop of Cyrus) went up to Leo of Rome, and, with the bribe that blinds the eye of the soul and with false words, he got the better of him. He filled him with anger against Dioscorus and other truthful bishops. Whereupon Leo composed that letter which is called the *Tome*, which was ostensibly written against Eutyches, and had him carry it to Marcian and his wife Pulcheria. Marcian favored the doctrine of Nestorius and was well disposed toward him, but was under the influence of his wife. When Pulcheria received the letter, she circulated a memorandum to the bishops containing, beside other things, the following: “Our Serenity received a letter from the God-loving blessed Father Leo, archbishop of the Roman Church, concerning the blessed Flavian, bishop of the capital. Your holiness should order that his name be inserted into the divine Diptychs⁹⁸⁰ along with the names of all the blessed saints. His honorable remains should be brought and laid in the private place of the venerable Fathers as well. It should be known that if you decided to do this, we, by our authority, shall oblige all the God-loving bishops to subscribe to your decision. No one who disobeys our command will escape punishment pertaining to what is desired by the archpriest of Rome.”

Following the reading of the memorandum, the remains of the above-mentioned person (Flavian) were brought to Constantinople) and everything with the memorandum and the *Tome* were recorded in the Acts. They were delivered, according to Pulcheria’s promise, with a high official to those who had carried the *Tome*. Leo, in turn, sent it everywhere to the bishops with some of his Nestorian associates. Anyone who

⁹⁷⁸ Eupraxius was one of the eunuchs of the royal bedchambers. Evidently, Zachariah wrote to him the account of this history. See *The Syriac Chronicle Known as that of Zachariah of Mitylene*, translated by F. J. Hamilton and E. W. Brooks, Book Three Chapter One, p. 41.

⁹⁷⁹ Zachariah of Mitylene, Book Three Chapter One, 41 of the English translation.

⁹⁸⁰ The Diptychs are the tablets, which contain the names of the saints, bishops, and archbishops of the church usually read by a deacon during the celebration of the holy Eucharist. Thus, it was a great honor to have the names of distinguished churchmen mentioned in the Diptychs.

presented himself to him was supposed to do two things: either subscribe to it, or be deposed. With such a stratagem, Leo operated in order to ensnare the bishops one by one. Indeed, he was able to denigrate four hundred and forty-six bishops. After this catch, the Council (of Chalcedon) convened as intended by Marcian and Pulcheria, and after Leo had accomplished his objective.

Section Two

The reasons Marcian and Pulcheria wanted to fulfill the wishes of Leo with the intention to undo what the late Emperor Theodosius had done (are provided below).

Two factors drove Marcian and Pulcheria to the brink of insanity. One was that they had committed a shameful act⁹⁸¹ in the lifetime of Theodosius, which enraged the emperor to the point of killing Marcian if he came to the capital. This is why Marcian and Pulcheria bore enmity towards the emperor. The other factor was that Marcian feared Valentinian because he ruled without his assent. The custom was that when the emperor of the East in Constantinople died, the emperor of the West in Rome would install someone in his place. Since Marcian and Pulcheria reigned without Valentinian's consent but by their own authority, they feared the emperor. They tried, however, to delude the emperor into believing that they were of good conduct in order to insure their authority and have him make peace with them. Nevertheless, when they learned about the conflict between Theodosius and Valentinian, who wanted to execute the will of Leo, and the refusal of Theodosius as said earlier, they tried to win Valentinian's favor and convene a council to rescind the acts of the Second Council of Ephesus and affirm the ideas of Leo. Ostensibly, the council was to meet in order to investigate the ideas of Eutyches. Actually, it was intended to introduce and affirm the ideas of Nestorius. This is why Marcian sent John the Tribune to recall Nestorius back from Oasis (in Egypt). Nestorius gleefully returned (to Constantinople). He mocked the Virgin Mary loudly saying, "What is Mary? And why she should be called *Theotokos* (Mother of God)?" The righteous judgment of God speedily overtook him, as had been the case formerly with Arius. Accordingly, he fell from his mule, his tongue was cut off, his mouth was eaten by worms, and he died on the roadway. His companion, Dorotheus, died receiving similar punishment. Moreover, Marcian, hearing of it, was greatly grieved.⁹⁸²

However, written directions from Marcian were delivered by John the Tribune to Pope Dioscorus and Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem, calling on them to meet in Council. John also informed them of how Nestorius had died.

When the bishops were preparing to meet, the emperor ordered them to meet at Nicaea, and (ordered) that their number should be three hundred eighteen to resemble (number of attendees of) the Council of Nicaea. Providence, however, did not allow the name of Nicaea to be used in vain. An earthquake took place that shook the great church at Nicaea. This forced the emperor to issue a new order that the assembly should move to Chalcedon.

The partisans of Nestorius urged the emperor to appoint Theodoret as the president of the council. Thus, the enemies of Dioscorus assembled, of whom were the legates of Leo who had already ratified and subscribed to Leo's *Tome*, along with the chief counselors of the emperor. Now, it was their opportunity to decide everything at will. All those assembled entered the Church of the Martyr Euphemia. The chief bishops sat facing the altar. To their left sat Leo's representatives together with Anatolius, bishop of Constantinople, Maximus, bishop of Antioch, Thalassius, bishop Caesarea Cappadocia, Stephen, bishop of Ephesus and the rest of the Eastern bishops of the provinces of Asia and Thrace. To their right sat Dioscorus, bishop of Alexandria, Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem, Quintillus, representing Anastasius, bishop of Thessalonica, Peter, bishop of Corinth, and the rest of the bishops of Egypt, Illyricum and Palestine.⁹⁸³

Section Three

On the Proceedings of the Council

⁹⁸¹ The author insinuates that they were engaged in immoral sexual relations before their marriage.

⁹⁸² Zachariah of Mitylene, Book Three, Chapter 2, pp. 42-43 of the English translation.

⁹⁸³ Price and Gaddis, 1, 128-129.

Paschasinus, representative of Leo, along with Lucentius and Boniface, said, "We have orders from the most blessed and apostolic man, the pope of Rome, the head of all churches, forbidding Dioscorus to take a seat at the council. He is only allowed to attend as a listener. We are obliged to obey this injunction. Your excellency may order, therefore, so that either he goes out or that we depart."⁹⁸⁴

The imperial commissioners said, "What are the charges against the venerable Dioscorus?" Paschasinus said, "When he comes to be interrogated, he will be definitely charged." The chief commissioner said, "We have already said that the charge against him should be specified." Lucentius, one of the legates, said, "He has usurped the office of a judge and dared to hold a council without the authorization of the apostolic see, a thing which has never happened and should not have happened." Paschasinus rejoined, "We cannot act against the order of the apostolic see or the canons of the fathers." The respectable commissioners said, "You should remember what his (Dioscorus) transgression is." Lucentius replied, "Neither we nor you can accept such insolence addressed against us by this one (Dioscorus) who came to be judged." The commissioners and the counselors said to Lucentius, "If you have the authority to act as a judge, you should not bring charges, acting as if you were a plaintiff."⁹⁸⁵

Then they had Saint Dioscorus move to the place where the defendants usually stand. The Nestorians then began launching their arrows of accusations against him from every direction. Theodoret, who was divested of the dignity of the priesthood, slipped among them yet no one reproached him. Dioscorus and the bishops with him were outraged for the violation of the canons of the Holy Church. Dioscorus' opponents behaved this way to prevent him from participating in the Council of Chalcedon. Later, when he was summoned by the council, he did not respond. He did not want to subscribe to the *Tome*, which was filled with impiety. Furthermore, he did not want to accept the Nestorians, including Eusebius, bishop of Dorylaeum, Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus or Hiba (Ibas), bishop of Edessa who had been condemned for their blasphemies. Eusebius provoked many things and presented a libel promising to protest for himself and for Flavian. The leaders said, "Let Theodoret participate in the council because the Archpriest Leo has restored his priestly dignity to him." The revered bishops of Egypt, Illyricum and Palestine shouted out, "Mercy, mercy. The faith has vanished. The canons reject a man like this. Drive him out. Expel the teacher of Nestorius." The venerable Dioscorus said, "Why do you cast out Cyril who has condemned this man?"⁹⁸⁶

As Theodoret took his seat, the Eastern bishops shouted, "He is worthy, he is worthy."⁹⁸⁷ The Eastern bishop replied, "In the council he is orthodox." The Egyptian bishops rejoined, "Drive away the impious and mischief-maker. Drive away him who insulted Christ and condemned Saint Cyril." Basil, bishop of Tripoli said, "We also have taken a part in condemning Theodoret." Then, the Egyptian bishops exclaimed, "If we accept Theodoret we would be rejecting Cyril. God has turned his face away from him (Theodoret)."⁹⁸⁸

Shortly, the Acts of the Second Council of Ephesus were read. Also were read the statement of Saint Dioscorus in which he stated, "The decisions of the council are clear and cannot be avoided. Our Christ-loving emperor did not convoke this council to institute a new formula of faith; our former father had done so. Now, you want to alter the faith instituted by them." The council said, "Condemned is he who alters the faith. We keep the faith of our fathers." The Eastern bishops and their associates in the council said, "We did not say this." Others asked, "By whose hand, then, were the minutes recorded?" The venerable Dioscorus said, "Every bishop had them recorded by his own notary. If you do not agree with what my

⁹⁸⁴ *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, II (Walter de Gruyter, 1933): 65; Price and Gaddis, 1, 129.

⁹⁸⁵ Price and Gaddis, 1, 129-130. The reader will notice throughout some slight variations between my translation and that of Price and Gaddis. For a thorough investigation of the case of Dioscorus in Arabic see Gregorius Bulus Behnam, *Al-Papa Dioscorus Hami al-Iman* (Dioscorus the Protector of Faith) 444-454 (Cairo, 1968). The reference in this context is to the accusation of the representatives of the Bishop of Rome on pp. 133-137.

⁹⁸⁶ Price and Gaddis, 1, 134.

⁹⁸⁷ Price and Gaddis, 1, 135. while the Egyptian and other bishops shouted, "He is unworthy, he is unworthy. Do not call him a bishop because he is not. He is the enemy of God. Out with Judas." According to Price and Gaddis, 1, 135, "Drive out the Jew."

⁹⁸⁸ Price and Gaddis, 1, 136.

secretary has recorded, everyone had his own notary.” Juvenal of Jerusalem said, “Like other secretaries my own notary recorded the minutes.” Thalassius, bishop of Caesarea said, “My notary also has recorded it.” Dioscorus said, “Here are the notaries of Bishop Juvenal, Bishop Thalassius and the Bishop of Corinth who have also written it down. Why do you object solely to what my notary has recorded?”⁹⁸⁹ Another document of St. Dioscorus, which he submitted to the Second Council of Ephesus, was read wherein he said, “If the Holy Spirit was with the blessed Fathers of the council, which it actually was, their decisions were then correct. He who alters them offends the grace of the Spirit.” The council said, “We also say that he who alters them will be anathematized and cast out.”

While these matters were being discussed at the Council of Chalcedon, Theodore, bishop of Claudiopolis said, “No one said this.” The venerable Dioscorus said, “It seems that they try to deny everything that has happened, let them also deny they were present.”⁹⁹⁰ When a portion of Eutyches’ complaint was read in which he said, “The Holy Council chaired by Cyril of blessed memory, resolved that anyone who alters the definition of the faith of Nicaea or adds or subtracts from it shall be punished,” Eusebius, bishop of Dorylaeum said, “This is a lie. There is no canon that states this.” Dioscorus said, “There are four documents containing this definition. Is what the Fathers defined not a definition? Or, to him (Eusebius) is this canon is not a canon? There are four copies recorded by the notaries. They are in my possession and in the possession of such and such (individuals). If they are collected, it will be revealed who intends to alter the faith of the holy Fathers.”⁹⁹¹

Section Four

Discussion intensified at Chalcedon after the reading of these things together with what took place at Constantinople in the presence of Flavian and his bishops, and which were read at the Second Council of Ephesus. They were recorded in the minutes of these two councils. In addition, the document of Basil, bishop of Isauria, was read which contained (the statement), “We worship One Lord Jesus Christ acknowledged in Two Natures.”⁹⁹² Following this the document of Seleucus, bishop of Amasia was read, saying that, “We also believe in One Lord Jesus Christ, light from light and life from life in Two Natures after the Incarnation.” The council’s reply read as follows, “No one should say Two Natures of the Lord after the Incarnation. The bishop of Amasia is not a bishop, but a wrecker.” Then the instruction of Julius, bishop of Corinth was read in which he says, “We believe in Two Natures of One Person.” In addition, the argument that took place before Flavian at Constantinople against Eutyches was read regarding the statement of Two Natures after their union. This argument contained the words of Eusebius, bishop of Dorylaeum trying to force Eutyches to confess “Two Natures” after their union and the decision of the council that contained the passage, “Burn the document of Eusebius.” It also contained Dioscorus’ statement to the council, “Is it admirable in your eyes to say Two Natures after the union?” The council replied that, “He who says this is anathematized.” It also contained Dioscorus’ appeal, which said, “I need your voices and a show of hands. He who cannot cry out let him raise his hand.” The council responded, “He who says “Two” is anathematized.”⁹⁹³

When these things were recited at the Council of Chalcedon, the Eastern bishops and those with them renounced the Second Council of Ephesus saying, “No one said this. Dioscorus and the Egyptian bishops said it.”⁹⁹⁴ The venerable Egyptian bishops said, “We have said this yesterday and we say today that he who reads should comprehend what is inquired by the magistrates regarding the documents mentioned above, the response to them and their discussion.”⁹⁹⁵

⁹⁸⁹ Price and Gaddis, 1, 152-153.

⁹⁹⁰ Price and Gaddis, 1, 152.

⁹⁹¹ Price and Gaddis, 1, 157.

⁹⁹² Price and Gaddis, 1, 159-160 and 223.

⁹⁹³ Price and Gaddis, 1, 219.

⁹⁹⁴ Price and Gaddis, 219 and 222.

⁹⁹⁵ See *Sacrorum conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, 6, ed. Giovanni D. Mansi (Florence and Venice, 1759-1798), 685, hereafter Mansi.

While the Acts of the Second Council of Ephesus and what followed, which were kept in records, were read at Chalcedon, no one denied a word of them except what has been said above. Perhaps they expected to find falsehood. Indeed, when the statement of Athericus, bishop of Smyrna, which he had read at the Synod of Flavian in Constantinople, was presented to the Second Council of Ephesus, he denied it. He became disturbed when it was read. He argued with Dionysius who demanded two witnesses. The venerable magistrates asked him, "In front of whom did Dioscorus say this to you?" Athericus said, "He said it in everyone's presence." The venerable Thalassius retorted, "You have already said that you subscribed to what was recorded without coercion. Why do you deny it now?" Dioscorus said, "Athericus has denied it and was not charged with a thing, while I have been accused without doing anything wrong."

While the document of Basil, bishop of Seleucia, which he presented to Ephesus denying what he said at the home synod of Constantinople concerning the Two Natures, was read at Chalcedon, Basil, feeling ashamed, rose up and said, "I wanted to correct what I said."

Upon hearing the words directed against him by the Nestorians indicating their readiness to alter the faith of the holy Fathers, and to interpolate into it the doctrine of Two Natures after the union, he (Dioscorus) came to the realization that they had received support from the magistrates to grasp what they had desired for a long time, and he adhered tenaciously to the love of God and the orthodox creed; thus he joined the holy Fathers. He (Dioscorus) declared before all, that because of these things he deposed Flavian who professed Two Natures after the union. "As to me," said Dioscorus, "There are many proofs in different places of the writings of the holy Athanasius, Gregory and Cyril which do not say Two Natures after the union, but One Nature of the Incarnate Word. Therefore, I add my voice to the voices of the Fathers. I adhere to the teaching of the Fathers and will never deviate from it one bit. Their statements are recorded; they are authentic and not haphazard writings."

These matters prompted the blessed Dioscorus not to respond to the summons of the Council (of Chalcedon) according to the Scriptures, "Or sit in the seat of mockers."⁹⁹⁶ Those who remained at the Council of Chalcedon did not do that for faith, but for expediency. They changed their words every now and then according to the circumstances and favorable standpoints. As we leave aside many issues and overlook those who altered their words while denying what their documents contained, we place before our eyes only one issue. It is this: when Flavian met with the Nestorians at Constantinople, he argued with them regarding their opposition to Eutyches. The truth, however, was that their argument was for the benefit of the Holy Church, namely to expose the impious doctrine of Nestorius. To prove this they (used) two discourses by the holy Cyril. The first he addressed to Nestorius with the intention of mitigating his wickedness. It began thus, "Some men traduce me to your piety." The second discourse was addressed to John of Antioch. It was written intelligently and sent to a sick man. It began thus, "The heaven rejoices." Both discourses were added to the records of those hypocrites that were presented to Flavian's synod in the capital and were read at the Second Council of Ephesus.

Section Five

While the minutes of Ephesus and the letters of the blessed Cyril mentioned earlier were read, the venerable Eustathius, bishop of Beirut said, "You should know your holiness, that God has allowed doubt to surround the writings of the blessed Cyril, the archbishop, because some did not comprehend it thoroughly. Nevertheless, he has understanding of everything he knew. He also endeavored to publish all his excellent writings. All have demanded, especially those who incline toward alteration, an examination of his traditional teaching. Others disputed the doctrine of the blessed (Cyril) based on his letters which had been read. Therefore, he found it imperative to continue this venerable work all his life and to declare his objectives and explain himself by means of corresponding with the holy men of blessed memory: Acacius, bishop of Melitene, Valerian, bishop of Iconium, and Succensus, bishop of Diocaesarea in the province of Isauria. How should we then understand the reality of the advent of the Savior in the light of the letters

⁹⁹⁶ Psalm 1:1.

which have just been addressed to these blessed men, and which emphasized not the doctrine of Two Natures, but of One Nature of the Incarnate Word.⁹⁹⁷ By his reasoning, the blessed Cyril confirmed the testimony of the blessed Athanasius and those who attended the first Council of Ephesus.⁹⁹⁷ As this document was read at Chalcedon along with the Acts of the Second Council of Ephesus, the judges and the commissioners said, "It is required from the council to declare whether the letters of Cyril of blessed memory, which have been just read in this council, are canonical or not?" Indeed, they agree with the document of the venerable Eustathius, bishop of Beirut. However, before the council replied, Eustathius stood in the center and threw down a book saying, "If I have spoken wrongly, I should be anathematized and the book of Cyril should be anathematized too." The Egyptian bishops and those with them said, "The Orthodox Eustathius has spoken well. The memory of Cyril is everlasting." Eustathius, bishop of Beirut said, "This is what the letter of Cyril of blessed memory contained." He added it to the other letters (of Cyril). He enunciated the phrase, "We should not conceive of Two Natures of the Incarnate Word, but One Nature. We should scrutinize closely the words of the blessed Dioscorus mentioned above and their connotations."⁹⁹⁸

Evidently, the deposition of Flavian took place because he professed Two Natures after the Union. Now, if the idea of the Two Natures was studied by the Fathers, the council, or the majority of its members, they should have been obliged to admit that the deposition of the man (Flavian) was unjust. This is what we have learned and admitted while no one raised a question in this context. For the phrase, "Two Natures after the Union" not only was not examined by the Fathers, but it is also repugnant. This is well known from what occurred in the presence of Flavian and those with him in Constantinople. They antagonized Eutyches and forced him to admit Two Natures after the Union. They anathematized anyone who did not profess it. When Eutyches refused to yield, they condemned him. They altered this phrase fearing that the Emperor Theodosius and the Orthodox bishops might know their condemnation of him. They instituted the phrase "From Two Natures before the Union" instead of "Two Natures after the Union" which was set in a confusing and improper manner. Instead of his (Eutyches) confession in One Nature of the Incarnate Word after the Union according to the minutes, they innovated, in his absence, the term "One abstract Nature" which they did not do without deception. Upon learning of these alterations, Eutyches informed the emperor accordingly. For this reason, it was necessary to have these terms reinvestigated and to find out who had distorted them. In order to investigate the question, the emperor sent Florentius the patrician, who had participated with them during the first investigation, and Bishop Thalassius and others. As they proceeded, Constantinus, Constantine and Eleusinius, presented themselves as the representatives of Eutyches. The minutes were read and many alterations were discovered. The deacon-monk Constantine asked, "Why was the Archimandrite (Eutyches) anathematized? Is it not because our venerable Archbishop (Flavian) had asked him whether he would acknowledge Two Natures after the union and anathematize who does not acknowledge it? However, when he (Eutyches) rejected their anathema, they deposed him. This statement is not contained in the minutes." The magnificent Patrician (Florentius) said, "Let the rest of the minutes be read to see whether what Constantine said is found in them." When the minutes and the document addressed to Eutyches were read by order of the patrician in which he had stated, "He who does not confess from Two Natures even after their union, his confession is incorrect." The patrician said, "I never said this. I was unable to argue the dogma." The venerable bishop of this city (Constantinople) said, "Put a mark on what he believed he did not say which was recorded in the minutes. It is your responsibility to discuss these matters and by your competence the truth will be revealed." Aetius, the deacon and notary, said, "This is an opportune time to disprove these matters. There are bishops at hand here. Your eminence has listened several times to the minutes read before the nobles, fathers and bishops, and no one blamed you." The eminent patrician said, "When the minutes were read for us, I demanded that they be handed to me but they were not." After the rest of the minutes were read, Constantine, the devout deacon, said, "The phrase for which the (Archimandrite Eutyches) was deposed is not mentioned in the minutes. In fact, our

⁹⁹⁷ Price and Gaddis, 1, 184-185.

⁹⁹⁸ Price and Gaddis, 1, 185. The last phrase regarding Dioscorus is missing.

lord the Archbishop (Flavian) asked him (Eutyches) to acknowledge Two Natures after the union, but he refused. He said, "Woe is me if I anathematized the holy Fathers. Thus, he was deposed. These words are not in the minutes." When Bishop Basil asked him (Eutyches): "Do you, archimandrite say Two Natures?" The archimandrite said, "I believe in One Nature." Basil said, "Even the blessed Athanasius said One Nature of the Incarnate Word. But this phrase is not included in the minutes." The devout Bishop Basil of Seleucia in Isauria said, "Truthfully, I do not remember the words you have mentioned. After short deliberation, however, I began to calm the Archbishop (Flavian) and quietly urged the archimandrite to agree with us. I said to him "It would not do you any harm if, like the fathers, you would say One Incarnate Nature of God the Word." After short deliberation, the venerable Deacon Constantius said, "I have already said that our lord the archbishop had asked the archimandrite whether he acknowledges Two Natures after the union and anathematize those who do not. This discussion is contained in the minutes, and it was the cause of his (Eutyches) deposition."

Bishop Thalassius said, "The holy council has heard what the venerable Deacon Constantine said. The holy council should then declare candidly if it is absolutely sure that the venerable Flavian had said such a thing or not." Basil said, "We remember how more than once Eusebius criticized (Flavian) for not saying Two Natures after the Union. We also remember him asking, 'Do you know what he (Eutyches) is saying to you and what his intention is? What do you say?'" Deacon Constantine said, "I have not heard these words from our lord the archbishop." The venerable Bishop Basil said, "At the beginning of the fourth session you will find that the venerable bishop asked the archimandrite, 'Do you acknowledge Two Natures after the Union, and that we worship the Lord Jesus Christ who is consubstantial with us in his body, and we anathematize whoever does not acknowledge this?' Moreover, Archbishop (Flavian) had asked him (Eutyches) if what he said is subject to a charge. Consequently, a great uproar took place. Truthfully, I do not remember anything except that the venerable bishop had submitted such a request." Deacon Constantine said, "I entreat your holy council to pay attention to what the lord archbishop has asked (Eutyches) that is, 'Do you acknowledge Two Natures?'" The venerable Bishop Seleucus said, "This was said during the investigation. Whether it was said by the venerable Eusebius or by our venerable Archbishop Flavian, I do not know. As to when it was said, I cannot remember." The eminent patrician said, "I cannot remember that the phrase 'Two Natures after the Union' was then said by the archbishop or that he had said it. This phrase did not occur in the writings of the holy Athanasius and other bishops. How can I then say it?" Deacon Aetius said, "This question was posed by the venerable Eusebius in the agenda of the council." The venerable Bishop Julian said, "I do not remember who said it because of the great commotion at that time." The venerable Bishop Eudoxius said, "I remember that Eusebius asked the archbishop to agree, and force the archimandrite to agree to what Eusebius had said." The venerable Bishop Longinus said, "I say, and God is my witness, that I do not remember these things because of the uproar at that time."⁹⁹⁹

It could be deduced from the above that the acknowledgment of Two Natures was affected because of fear and not because of conviction, for all the bishops dodged it when the investigation was carried out. They had attributed it to Eusebius, the enemy of Eutyches. This was a just reason for the deposition of Flavian and Eusebius for their profession of Two Natures after the union as the records prove.

Section Six: On the matters accomplished at Ephesus

In this section, the ideas of the Second Council of Ephesus are made manifest. These were distorted by the attendees of the Council of Chalcedon, and thus have deviated from their faith. It is also clear that the phrase "Two Natures after the Union" is simultaneously superfluous and harmful to the faith. Our discussion here, concerning what transpired at the Second Council of Ephesus, though succinct, still is not without benefit.

⁹⁹⁹ Mansi, 6, 808-817; Price and Gaddis, 1, 252-264. It should be noted that Michael Rabo does not maintain the same chronology of events as Price and Gaddis do.

The pious Emperor Theodosius, entertaining doubt about this matter, commanded the convocation of an ecumenical council at Ephesus. It was presided over by Dioscorus, Juvenal and Thalassius. At this council the minutes of the Council at Constantinople were read. In addition, numerous extracts from the Acts of the First Council of Ephesus were read. The members resolved, in agreement with the holy Cyril, to reject any addition to or diminution of the creed of the 318 (Nicaea).¹⁰⁰⁰ After these things were read, Dioscorus said, "I believe that everyone sees that what the fathers have instituted is proper."¹⁰⁰¹ After a short discussion, Thalassius, bishop of Caesarea Cappadocia said, "The investigation of what had been written about the faith by the 318 (members of the Council of Nicaea) reveals that they have proclaimed that faith after submitting to Divine Grace. This was confirmed by the fathers who assembled at the Episcopal house. It is known that whoever investigates will be sure that there is no addition or reduction of the canons issued with the fear of God by the holy Fathers at Nicaea, and which were confirmed by those who assembled (at the First Council of Ephesus). I personally feel very annoyed by those who maintain otherwise."¹⁰⁰²

After each one presented his opinion, the council declared, "We all adhere to this faith." As to the deposition of Flavian and Eusebius, Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem said, "Flavian and Eusebius have divested themselves of the priesthood and the episcopal dignity for their audacity in inserting additions or making deletions regarding the faith which had been fixed by the Holy Council of Nicaea and confirmed by the Councils of Constantinople and Ephesus. Those who add to or subtract from the faith are deprived of the priesthood, especially since they have provoked such contention. Therefore, and in conformity with this ecumenical council (Second Ephesus) and the holy Dioscorus, I strip them of the priesthood." Domnus, bishop of Antioch, Syria, said, "I, too, acknowledge your holy council which deposed Flavian and Eusebius for not heeding the Holy Council of Nicaea which convened here since time ago. I also subscribe to your just punishment of them." Meletius, bishop of Larissa and representative of Domnus, bishop of Apamea, both said, "I agree with your lordship and confirm the just decision of deposing Flavian and Eusebius who were formerly bishops. Since they transgressed the instructions of the holy councils, I consider them unworthy of the episcopal dignity." John, bishop of Sebastea in Armenia said, "Whoever unjustly dares to innovate will find that his innovation will be the cause of his punishment. Therefore, since Flavian and Eusebius have transgressed the law, they are stripped of the priesthood in accordance with the decision of the pious Dioscorus, Pope of Alexandria, and with the ecumenical council. I add my voice to their voices." Photius, bishop of Tyre, said, "I, the weak one, also subscribe to the punishment imposed by the three holy ecumenical councils, that is stripping the wicked Flavian and Eusebius of the priesthood because their ideas contradict the Council of Nicaea." Musenius, bishop of Nyssa, said, "Whereas Flavian and Eusebius have done wrong to the former council which met at Ephesus, they deserve legal punishment. Therefore, I subscribe." Eustathius, bishop of Beirut said, "It is known that the just decision taken by the holy fathers who had assembled here by the command of the authoritative emperors, and who ordered that those who add to or subtract from the faith of Nicaea should be deprived of their dignity. Now, Flavian and Eusebius, who cherished this idea, have fallen under the weight of severe punishment." This is what everyone said and thus orthodox faith prevailed in the church.

Section Seven

Upon the death of Theodosius, Marcian reigned. He convened a council at Chalcedon at the instigation of Leo (Bishop of Rome). The Council of Chalcedon inserted an innovative definition to the faith and thus, rendered invalid the truth proclaimed by the fathers that is, the acknowledgment of Two Natures after the Union (in the Incarnation). Such a matter not only is shameful but also very disruptive. This is evident from what Flavian had secretly confided to his partisans that he acknowledged Two Natures. However, when he talked to the people or wrote to the emperor Theodosius, he would say that He (Christ)

¹⁰⁰⁰ Members of the Council of Nicaea.

¹⁰⁰¹ Mansi, 6, 901.

¹⁰⁰² Mansi, 1, 904.

was of Two Natures, and then go on to explain that the Incarnate Word was of One Nature. However, those who tried after his death to show that he (Flavian) was of same faith as Cyril and the fathers, who proclaimed One Nature of the Incarnate Word, did mention him with sentimentality and demanded that bishops should determine, whether or not, his faith was in harmony with the faith of the fathers. Apparently, Leo's envoys delegated to Constantinople and the presidents of the Council of Chalcedon were deceived by him with the exception of Dioscorus, who exposed his deception. When each bishop was asked individually whether Flavian's creed was in harmony with the faith of Cyril and the fathers, he said, "No."

Dioscorus said, "Let the rest of what Flavian had said be read first and then I will answer." It is evident from what Flavian said that he contradicted himself. He said Two Natures after the Union." As the holy Dioscorus said this, the Nestorians cried out, "What has been read of Flavian's statement is in conformity with Cyril and the fathers." Indeed, they did not ask God's forgiveness for those sitting to the left, but demanded that the sequel of Flavian's statement be read in order to understand them with more clarity. When they passed by those who sat to the left, they were excited as though they were acting on the stage. They said, "O so and so bishop. You have done well by attending. We should have but one unified document." Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem said, "What the blessed Flavian said is in conformity with the sayings of the blessed Cyril. Let the sequel be read in order that the ideas be clearer." The pious bishops of Palestine said, "We add our voices to Juvenal's." Juvenal rose and spoke to the other side. The Easterners and those with them cried out, "God, how wonderful you are the Orthodox. You have done well by attending." The rest repeated the same and left with the exception of the pious Egyptian bishops, small in number, who remained with the holy Dioscorus. Now, if they said the phrase "Two Natures," or "Two Natures after the Union" is said by the fathers, why did they constitute expressions like these and then inquire about their connotation? Furthermore, if the question was that this one said this and the other said that, why did not all of them proclaim it, i.e., (Two Natures after the Union)? Moreover, why is it that no one objected except the blessed Dioscorus when he said that it would be shown afterwards that he (Flavian) has contradicted himself and acknowledged Two Natures after the Union? Finally, they justified Flavian for acknowledging Two Natures and condemned Dioscorus. They did this because iniquity darkened their judgments.

The sayings of the fathers were recorded in the minutes of the Fifth Session. Dioscorus said, "I accept from Two Natures." However, the holy Leo, bishop of Rome, said, "There are Two Natures in Christ, (meaning Two Natures separate from each other after the Incarnation). So, who do you follow—Leo or Dioscorus?" The Bishops exclaimed, "We believe as Leo does. Those who object are Eutychians."¹⁰⁰³ In fact, when Flavian presented the expression One Nature of the Incarnate Word to the emperor, it was accepted. However, this expression itself was rejected and used as a reason for the deposition of Eutyches. One might say that Eutyches did not add the term Incarnate and thus was criticized by those who were delegated by Flavian to summon Eutyches. They were John, presbyter and advocate, and the Deacons Andrew and Athanasius. These men said that Eutyches said, "One Nature after the Incarnation of God the Word and he worships the God who was incarnated and became man." They also said that Eutyches produced a book containing these dogmas and read from it. However, they did not know what they were saying because they simultaneously censured and praised. Now, if we put aside many things, we will be able to single out only one issue of all of them, namely the *Tome* of Leo which contains that, "Each form performs what is proper to it in communion with the other, the Word, achieving what is the Word's, while the body accomplishes what is the body's; the one shines with miracles, while the other has succumbed to outrages."¹⁰⁰⁴ Leo derived other passages from Bishop Hilary's discourse *On Faith* and inserted them into his *Tome*. Of these are the following, "The only Son of God was born in the flesh by the Virgin. In the fullness of time, he was to accomplish the elevation of the humanity to the divinity. He kept the rule in all the words of the Gospel to teach us that we must believe him to be the Son of God, and to remind us that we must

¹⁰⁰³ Price and Gaddis, 2, 200. What Dioscorus is saying, "from two natures," meaning these two natures are united in one. According to Leo's *Tome*, Christ has two natures, still separate after the Incarnation.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Price and Gaddis, 2, 19. The entire text of the *Tome* covers pp. 14-24.

proclaim him Son of man. As a man, he says and does the things coming from God. As God, he speaks and acts like man. He did not say anything peculiar to the two forms, except to what indicates that he is God and man.” This contradiction they (members of the Council of Chalcedon) called orthodoxy.

Section Eight

Flavian handed extracts of the profession of faith to the emperor when the emperor was not sure of his faith. However, when Flavian realized that all the believers rejected the expression “Two Natures after the Union,” he presented an apology beginning thus, “We proclaim our Lord Jesus Christ.” Then, he produced the expression “true God and true man. He assumed rational soul peculiar to the flesh. He is consubstantial with the Father in his divinity and consubstantial with his mother in his humanity. We profess Two Natures of our Lord after the incarnation from the Virgin. He is Two Natures in one Person and Prosopon. He is One Christ, One Son and One Lord. We do not disapprove the saying, “One Nature of the Incarnate Word,” because he is one from two. He is our Lord Jesus Christ.” With such force, Flavian comprised the document that he wrote down because of the two letters of Cyril. This document, after these letters, was added to the minutes of Constantinople (the local synod of Constantinople) after his death. Thus, his partisans were able to project him as holding the same faith as the teacher (Cyril), especially that some of his expressions contained no formula of the combination of the Two Natures.

Extracts from the Third Act of the Second Session: The Summons of Dioscorus

The Council (of Chalcedon) sent to Dioscorus saying, “The holy council bid your most God-beloved to appear before it.” Dioscorus said, “I am under guard. Let them say if I am allowed to come.” He also said, “I am ready to appear at the council, but I am prevented.”¹⁰⁰⁵

Emperor Marcian sent John the Silentiary to bid him come and subscribe to the formula of faith of Chalcedon. Dioscorus said, “Sooner would Dioscorus see his own hand cut off, and the blood falling on the paper, than do such a thing as that.”¹⁰⁰⁶ The bishops issued an unjust verdict deposing the blessed and the witness to the truth, Dioscorus. In this context, we learn that he was not deposed on account of the faith, but because he was summoned three times and did not appear (at the council). The Bishop of Iconium said, “It would have better for the devout Dioscorus, who is experienced in canon laws and traditions, to obey the holy council which summoned him three times by means of the devout bishops to appear before the council, and apologize to those who summoned him.” Dionysius, bishop of Heraclea said, “He (Dioscorus) deserves punishment for disobeying the will of the holy bishops, archbishops and the fathers of the capital, because he, who was a former bishop, was summoned twice and three times and did not obey. I subscribe to deposing him from the dignity of the priesthood and from service.” Eupithius, bishop of Stratonicea, emphasized the punishment of Dioscorus. Thus also did Flacillus, bishop of Iasus.

Acts of the Third Session

The magnificent commissioners and magistrates said, “Apply yourselves without fear, favor or enmity to produce a pure exposition of the faith.”

The most devout bishops exclaimed, “No one makes a new exposition, nor do we attempt or presume to do so. For it was the fathers who taught that what they expounded is preserved in writing and we cannot go beyond it.” The most devout bishops rejoined, “This is what we all say, that what has been expounded is sufficient. It is not permissible to produce another exposition.”

The most glorious commissioners said, “If it seems good to your devoutness, let the most sacred archbishops (patriarchs) of each diocese select, each one, one or two (bishops) from their dioceses to come together, sit in the center and deliberate in common about the faith, so that if all are in accord, the dispute

¹⁰⁰⁵ Price and Gaddis, 2, 44, and Metropolitan Gregorius Bulus Behnam, *Al-Papa Dioscorus a-Iskandari Hami al-Iman 444-454* (Pope Dioscorus of Alexandria the Protector of faith), (Cairo, 1968), 148.

¹⁰⁰⁶ *The Syriac Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 44.

will be resolved. We pray for this. However, if some prove to be of contrary opinion, which we do not expect, this may reveal their opinions as well."

The most devout bishops exclaimed, "We will not produce a written exposition. There is a canon which declares that what has already been expounded is sufficient."¹⁰⁰⁷

Every now and then, the commissioners bring up the subject of formulating the creed.

The creeds of Nicaea and Constantinople were then read together with the two letters of Cyril, which the Nestorian partisans usually cite as testimonies. The *Tome* of Leo, about which many bishops raised objections, was read as well.

Atticus, the most devout bishop of Nicopolis, said, "Since your magnificence have shown readiness to listen to us with patience, we implore you to have patience for few more days, that we may issue a decision with a clear mind and tranquil meditation, and do what is pleasing to God and to the holy fathers. And since the letter of our master and holy father and Archbishop Leo has been read to us, it is necessary that we should also be provided with the letter of the blessed Cyril written to Nestorius in which he urged him to assent to the Twelve Chapters, so that at the time of the examination we may be found well prepared."¹⁰⁰⁸

The most devout bishops said, "We request some time to find the writings of the fathers." The commissioners and the exalted senate replied, "The hearing will be adjourned for five days, so that in the meantime your holiness may meet in the residence of the most blessed Archbishop Anatolius and deliberate together about the faith, so that the objectors may be instructed." They rejoined, "It is not necessary for you all to meet, but since it is appropriate to convince all the objectors, let the most devout Archbishop Anatolius select from among the bishops who are competent to instruct the objectors."

The most devout bishops exclaimed, "Restore the fathers to the council. Report our acclamations to the emperor. Report these decisions to the orthodox one. We have all erred; forgive us all."¹⁰⁰⁹

The clerics of Constantinople exclaimed, "Only a few are clamoring. The council is not speaking."

The most devout Eastern bishops and those with them exclaimed, "The Egyptian (Dioscorus) into exile!"

The Illyrian bishops and those with them exclaimed, "We beg you, have mercy on us all. We have all sinned. Report these exclamations to the orthodox emperor. The churches are divided."

The clerics of Constantinople and those with them again exclaimed, "We have sinned. Forgive us all. Restore Dioscorus to the council. Restore Dioscorus to the churches. May no misfortune occur in your time. May no misfortune occur in your reign. May there be no division in your reign."¹⁰¹⁰

Section Nine

When the magnificent commissioners and magistrates took their seats as usual, and the documents attached to the acts of the former session were read for all to know that they were expected to draw up a definition of the faith, the Nestorian bishops fell at the feet of Marcian and the Queen (Pulcheria), beseeching them not to allow the blessed (Barsoum) to attend the conference. They realized that if he attended he would reject their objectionable teaching. However, when the blessed (Barsoum) was not invited, they resorted to the corrupt teaching (of Nestorius).

The commissioners said, "Now that we have seen the decisions which have been rendered on account of the orthodox faith in our former document, what does the council say?"

The devout bishops exclaimed, "We all believe accordingly."

Diogenes, bishop of Cyzicus said, "Barsoum who entered among the archimandrites, murdered the holy Flavian. He was standing there and saying, 'Slaughter him.' Since he was not summoned, why has he come in?"

¹⁰⁰⁷ Price and Gaddis, 2, 10-11.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Price and Gaddis, 2, 26-27.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Price and Gaddis, 2, 27, as closely as possible.

¹⁰¹⁰ Price and Gaddis, 2, 28.

The bishops cried out, "Barsoum destroyed all Syria. He incited thousands of monks against us." They went on, "Drive out the murderer Barsoum. Anathema to Barsoum! Send Barsoum into exile."¹⁰¹¹

When the commissioners saw what had happened, they told the bishops, "Here is the Gospel laid before you. Let every bishop declare whether the *Tome* of the devout Leo is compatible with the definition of the faith of the 318 bishops assembled at Nicaea and the council assembled at the capital."

Those bishops who subscribed to it said, "Yes." Those who were in doubt, did not sign, and were once evicted from the council, were intimidated and assented.

The commissioners said, "Let those devout bishops who did not assent follow suit and sign."

The bishops exclaimed, "We agree. We all follow the fathers. Let them be admitted to the council."

After exchanging courteous words, the commissioners said, "We have informed our devout master (the emperor) and are awaiting his response. However, you will answer to God for Dioscorus whom you sent to exile without the devout head and without us also. You will also answer for these five : Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem, Thalassius, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, Eusebius, bishop of Ancyra, Eustathius, bishop of Berytus, and Basil, bishop of Seleucia in Isauria."¹⁰¹²

After some deliberation, the commissioners said, "Having learned of your pursuit, our God-fearing emperor granted you the freedom to decide whatever you find appropriate concerning these five bishops: Juvenal, Thalassius, Eusebius, Basil and Eustathius."

When these bishops entered the council, the Egyptian bishops handed the emperor a petition containing their belief. They asked the council to let them in and to have their petition read. When they were let in, the other bishops mocked them with arrogance and demanded that they anathematize Eutyches and they forced them to sign the *Tome* of Leo.

The devout Egyptian bishops said, "We cannot sign without the approval of our archbishop."¹⁰¹³

All the most devout bishops insulted them and exclaimed that they were heretics."¹⁰¹⁴

Narcissus, one of the Egyptian bishops said in their language, "We have already in a petition made our faith plain and not to hold beliefs contrary to the catholic faith. But since most bishops of our diocese happen to be very many, while we, being easy to count, entreat your pre-eminence and this holy and great council, and wait for our archbishop to be instilled."¹⁰¹⁵

After being reviled and insulted, the commissioners and the bishops allowed them to wait after receiving a pledge from them not to leave the city until a new archbishop of Alexandria had been appointed. Following this account, nothing else was recorded in the minutes.

Section Ten: Acts of the Fifth Session ¹⁰¹⁶

Slowly but surely, the officials united all the bishops and obliged them to sign the *Tome* of Leo and draw up a definition of the faith. After the bishops had taken seats the commissioners said, "Please make known to us what you have determined about the faith."

Ascelpiades, deacon of the church of Constantinople, read aloud the definition.

After the reading, some raised objections. John, bishop of Germanicia said, "The definition is not a good one and needs to be precise."

Anatolius, archbishop of Constantinople said to the council, "Does the definition satisfy you?"

¹⁰¹¹ Price and Gaddis, 2, 156. The above passages given by Michael Rabo are truncated and leave the reader wondering what actually happened during this session. To obtain a full understanding of the deliberation, the reader is referred to pp. 148-156 of Price and Gaddis.

¹⁰¹² Price and Gaddis, 2, 119.

¹⁰¹³ Price and Gaddis, 2, 151.

¹⁰¹⁴ Price and Gaddis, 2, 152.

¹⁰¹⁵ The name of this bishop does not appear in the Acts of the Council translated by Price and Gaddis, 2, 151. The whole passage is stated by the most devout bishops of Egypt.

¹⁰¹⁶ In order to have a full grasp of this session, the reader is advised to read the commentary of Price and Gaddis, 2, 183-194.

BOOK EIGHT

All bishops apart from the Romans and some of the Easterners exclaimed, "The definition satisfies us all. This is the faith of the fathers. If anyone holds a different view, he is a heretic and anathematized. Drive out Nestorius (the Nestorians). Let those who do not anathematize Nestorius leave the council."

Anatolius, bishop of Constantinople said, "Did the definition of the faith satisfy everyone yesterday?"

The most devout bishops said, "The definition satisfies everyone. We do not hold a different belief. This is the faith of the orthodox. May the faith not suffer from chicanery?"

Shortly afterwards, Paschasinus, Lucentius and the rest of who came from Rome (the representative of the bishop of Rome) said, "If you do not agree with the apostolic letter of the pope of Rome, order a letter to be given us so that we may return home and the council will concluded there."

The commissioners said, "If it seems good, let us, taking six of the Eastern bishops, three from the diocese of Asia, three from Pontica, three from Illyricum and three from Thrace, accompanied by Bishop Anatolius and the men from Rome (retire together into the oratory of the holy Martyrium). When they have examined everything in order, their recommendations concerning the holy faith will be reported to you."

The devout bishops exclaimed, "The definition has satisfied everyone. Report our statements to the emperor. This is the definition of the orthodox."

John, bishop of Germanicia, again went up to the commissioners exclaiming, "Drive out the Nestorians. Drive out the fighters against God. The world is orthodox. Yesterday the definition satisfied everyone. The emperor is orthodox. The Augusta is orthodox. The commissioners are orthodox. Many years to the Augusta! Many years to the emperor! We demand that the definition be signed on the gospels. Let there be no chicanery about the faith. Whoever will not sign the definition is a heretic. The holy Mary is *Theotokos*. Whoever does not hold this view is a heretic. You orthodox commissioners, protect the faith. No one disowns the definition. The Holy Spirit dictated the definition. Drive out the heretics. Drive out the Nestorians. Christ is God."

The commissioners said, "Dioscorus said that the reason for Flavian's deposition was that he said there are Two Natures, but the definition states *from* Two Natures."

Anatolius of Constantinople said, "It was not because of the faith that Dioscorus was deposed. He was deposed because he broke off communion with the lord Archbishop Leo and was summoned a third time and did not come."¹⁰¹⁷ The commissioners said, "Do you accept the letter of Archbishop Leo?" The bishops said, "Yes, we have accepted and signed it." The commissioners said, "Then its contents must be inserted in the definition." The bishops said, "Another definition must not be produced. Nothing is lacking in the definition. The definition has confirmed the letter. Archbishop Leo believes as we believe. The definition contains the faith. Leo spoke the words of Cyril. One baptism, one Lord, one faith! Exclude all chicanery from the definition." The commissioners said, "Your acclamations will be reported to our pious master (the emperor)."

Veronicianus, the hallowed secretary of the consistory, went to the place with the order of the commissioners. After a short time, he returned and addressed the council as follows:

Our most divine and pious master has issued the following demand. Either, in accordance with the decision of the most magnificent and glorious commissioners, six of the most devout bishops of the diocese of the East, three from Pontica, three from Asia, three from Thrace, and three from Illyricum, in the company of the company of the most holy Archbishop Anatolius and the most devout men from Rome, are to go into the oratory of the most holy Maryrium and produce a correct and unimpeachable definition of the faith so as to please everyone and leave not a single doubt. Or, if you do not approve this, each one of you is to make his faith known through his

¹⁰¹⁷ This clearly and unequivocally proves that Dioscorus was orthodox and the sentence of Flavian by the Second Council of Ephesus (449) which he chaired, was orthodox. His deposition at Chalcedon was only to satisfy the intentions of Leo the bishop of Rome. For more analysis see Price and Gaddis, 2, 30-34, V. C. Samuel, *The Council of Chalcedon Re-Examined*, entire Chapter Two, pp. 44-70 and Bulus Behnam, *Al-Papa Dioscorus al-Hami al-Iman* (Cairo, 1968), 132-180.

metropolitan as likewise to leave no doubt or disagreement. If your holiness does not want this, you are to know that the council will have to meet in the western parts, since your religiousness is unwilling to issue here an unambiguous definition of the true and orthodox faith.

The devout bishops exclaimed, "Many years to the emperor! Let the definition be confirmed or we shall leave."

Cecropius, bishop of Sebastopolis, said, "We propose that the definition be read out and those who dissent and will not sign it should leave. For we have agreed with what has been well defined."

The devout bishops of Illyricum said, "Let those who dissent make themselves known. The dissenters are Nestorians. Let the dissenters go off to Rome."

The commissioners said, "Dioscorus said, 'I accept *from* two natures, but I do not accept two.' However, Archbishop Leo says that there are two natures in Christ, united without confusion, change or separation in the one and only-begotten Son, our Savior. So who do you follow, the holy Leo, or Dioscorus?"

The bishops exclaimed, "We believe as Leo does. Those who object are Eutychianists."

The commissioners said, "Then add to the definition two natures united without change, division or confusion in Christ."

At the request of the commissioners, the bishops went into the temple of the Martyr Euphemia with Anatolius, Archbishop of Constantinople, Bishop Paschasinus, his companions who were from Rome¹⁰¹⁸ and the rest of the bishops selected from the different provinces.¹⁰¹⁹

After all of them came out and took their seats, the commissioners said, "May the holy council, in its upholding of the faith, deign to listen in silence to what has been defined in our presence by the holy fathers who have met together and expounded the definition of faith."

Aetius, archdeacon of Constantinople read the second definition of faith produced at Chalcedon:

The holy, great and ecumenical council, assembled by the grace of God and the decree of our most pious and Christ-loving emperors, Valentinian and Marcian Augusti, in the metropolis of Chalcedon of Bithynia and in the Martyrium of the Martyr Euphemia, has issued the following definition:

Christ our Lord and Savior...This then, we have renewed the unerring faith of the fathers...We anathematize those who invent two natures of the Lord before the union and imagine one nature after the union for they are of the one and same Christ, Son, Lord, only-begotten, acknowledged in two natures without confusion, change, division, or separation."¹⁰²⁰

After the reading of the definition all the bishops exclaimed, "This is the faith of the fathers. Let the metropolitans sign at once. This is the faith of the apostles. To this, we all assent. We all believe accordingly."

The commissioners said, "That which has been defined by the holy fathers and has pleased everyone will be made known to the divine head."¹⁰²¹

¹⁰¹⁸ Lucentius, Boniface and Julian.

¹⁰¹⁹ For the names of these bishops, see Price and Gaddis, 2, 200.

¹⁰²⁰ Most unfortunately, the author did not produce the lengthy definition of faith read by Aetius but offered some excerpts, which do not convey the whole intention of the definition. For the entire definition read by Aetius, see Price and Gaddis, 2, 201-205.

¹⁰²¹ All of the previous passages pertaining to the Fifth Session are based on the translation by Price and Gaddis, 2, 196-205.

Section Eleven¹⁰²²

After the bishops had taken their seats according to their ranks in the council, the emperor entered with the commissioners and spoke to them. They praised the bishops as usual.¹⁰²³

Aetius, archdeacon of Constantinople, said, "Through the inspiration of grace from above and the Christ-loving zeal of your serenity, most pious and faithful emperors, who received from God authority, this ecumenical council has issued an unerring definition fortified by the power of the divine Scriptures which I have in my hand. If it pleases the will of your serenity, I shall read it."¹⁰²⁴

The Emperor, said, "Read."

After the definition was read, it was signed by four hundred and seventy-five bishops.¹⁰²⁵ The bishops signed, not without Marcian issuing a threat to anyone in Constantinople who criticized the definition. Indeed, the bishops were not at all free to set up their own agenda of the remaining items of business. Their coercion by Marcian was obvious.¹⁰²⁶

Emperor Marcian said, "Let the holy council say whether the definition which has now been read is in accordance with the consensus of all the bishops." All exclaimed, "We all believe accordingly. We have all assented and signed." The Council of Ephesus (431) excommunicated the impious Nestorius. Moreover, when the presbyter Charisius read the formal of faith set up by (Emperor) Theodosius, he decreed that no one had the authority to produce a new definition of faith by the holy fathers of Nicaea, who were motivated by the Holy Spirit, or add to it or diminish from it. Those who dared to produce a new definition of faith, even for the purpose of those newly guided to the knowledge of the truth, whether from Judaism or heathenism, or from any other heresy, should be removed if they were clerics. If they were from the laity, they should be excommunicated."¹⁰²⁷

To men like these, Cyril points out in his letter to Acacius of Melitene saying, "The Council of Ephesus (431) emphasized in its decision that no one should insert another definition of faith in the church of God, save what the blessed fathers had decreed who were motivated by the Holy Spirit."¹⁰²⁸ They had even prevented the reading of the letter of the holy Athanasius of Alexandria on faith, addressed to the clerics of Antioch in Syria, of which some spread the rumor that it was written at the Council of Sardica. Athanasius wrote, "The Council of Sardica did not define anything of the like. Some however, dared to claim that there were lapses in the Council of Nicaea. Therefore, the Council of Sardica decided not to introduce any revision of the definition of the faith established by the fathers of Nicaea, because it was complete and that the fear of God was manifested in it. Thus, it is not permissible to define the faith once more except that which was defined by the Council of Nicaea, in order to obviate any doubt about its consummation and create a pretext for those who tried to redefine the faith more than once. In this case, it is possible for corruption to creep into the faith through one person or more. Therefore, it is imperative that such men should incline toward peace."

The Council of Chalcedon falsely abrogated the definition of faith by the fathers. Because of this, the holy Dioscorus was sent to exile to Gangra in Thrace. The Nestorians traduced him of holding the faith of Eutyches. I am obliged to present quotations from his letter addressed in exile to Secundinus.

Dioscorus said, "It is not permissible to say that the body our Lord took from the Virgin through the Holy Spirit is alien from our body. If this is the case, then those who believe in the Incarnation declare as false Paul who said, "For verily he took not on him the nature of angels, but he took on him the seed of Abraham."¹⁰²⁹ The Scriptures show that the Virgin was not estranged from him "Wherefore in all this it

¹⁰²² This is actually the Sixth Session.

¹⁰²³ Marcian addressed the council in Latin and then in Greek. For the text of his Latin address, see Price and Gaddis, 2, 213-216.

¹⁰²⁴ As usual, the author gives only excerpts of what has been said thus far.

¹⁰²⁵ For the signatures of the bishops see Price and Gaddis, 2, 217-233

¹⁰²⁶ See, Price and Gaddis, pp. 207-208.

¹⁰²⁷ Mansi, 4, 1361.

¹⁰²⁸ Mansi, 5, 316.

¹⁰²⁹ Hebrews 2:16.

behooved him to be made like unto his brethren.”¹⁰³⁰ Without exception that is of our own nature whether veins, hair, bones, arteries, abdomen, heart, kidneys, liver or lungs. In brief, the body of the Lord was born of Mary who is endowed with a rational soul. His body had everything peculiar to us except human cohabitation. If this was not so as the heretics claim, how is it that he is called our brother if his body was alien to our own? And how can his saying addressed to his Father, ‘And I have declared unto them your name,’¹⁰³¹ be believed? Therefore, we dispel these thoughts and reject those who maintain them. He (Christ) became like us, for our sake, not through fantasy or imagination as the Manicheans hold, but he has truly shone upon us through the Mother of God as he willed. By his advent, he put together the vessel that has been broken. He declared that God is with us. He became poor for our sake as Paul said, “That you through his poverty might be rich.”¹⁰³² He became like us that we, like him, become mercy received from him. He became man without losing the characteristic of the nature of the Son of God that we, by grace, become the children of God. This is my opinion.”¹⁰³³

The man (Dioscorus) who held this belief was sent into exile because he did not worship the double-faced image, which was introduced by Leo (Bishop of Rome) into the Council of Chalcedon.¹⁰³⁴ Moreover, when he saw the deposed Theodoret speaking in the council, he left his seat and sat on a rock saying, “I will not sit with the ungodly or have anything to do with the shameless.” The rest of the bishops exclaimed, “If Theodoret is admitted (to the council) the faith has died. He is like Nestorius. We exclude Cyril if we admit Theodoret.”¹⁰³⁵

Here ends the narrative of what happened at Chalcedon where the fourth uncanonical Marcionite council convened. It treated the three ecumenical councils¹⁰³⁶ where the fathers produced canons and definitions of the faith as invalid and unacceptable to all. These councils decreed to deprive anyone of dignity if he introduced a definition other than that which they had decreed without addition or diminution, whether by a bishop, a presbyter or layman because what they have defined is by the Holy Spirit.

I appeal to any brother, whoever he is, who may come across these few lines and read them, to pray for the weak one who transcribed them.

Names of those who assembled at the Council of Chalcedon

The representatives of Leo of Rome:

- (1-3) Paschasius, Lucentius, the presbyter Boniface and Anatolius¹⁰³⁷
- (4) Anatolius of Constantinople

From Thrace I

- (5) Cyriacus bishop of Heraclea.
- (6) Romanus of Eudoxiopolis
- (7) Lucian of Bizye¹⁰³⁸.

From Thrace II

- (8) Francion of Philippopolis

¹⁰³⁰ Hebrews 2:17.

¹⁰³¹ John 17:26.

¹⁰³² 2 Corinthians 8:9.

¹⁰³³ Cf. *The Syriac Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 45-46.

¹⁰³⁴ For defending St. Dioscorus against the injustice done him by the Council of Chalcedon, see Bishop Bulus Behnam, *Al-Papa Dioscorus al-Iskandari Hami al-Iman* 444-454 (Pope Dioscorus of Alexandria the Protector of the Faith), (Cairo: Matba'at Dar al-'Alam al-Arabi, 1968).

¹⁰³⁵ Price and Gaddis, 1, 136.

¹⁰³⁶ Nicaea, Constantinople and First Ephesus.

¹⁰³⁷ Anatolius was bishop of Constantinople. It is not known why the author included him within the representatives of Rome.

¹⁰³⁸ He represented Cyriacus of Heraclea. See Price and Gaddis, 2, 6.

- (9) Sebastian of Beroe
- (10) Epictetus of Diocletianopolis

From Rhodope

- (11) Basil of Trajanopolis
- (12) Docimasius of Moronea
- (13) Serenus of Maximianopolis
- (14) Macarius of Aenus

From Haemimontus

- (15) Jovian of Deultum

From Illyria

- (16) Anastasius of Thessalonica. Represented by Quintillus of Heraclea
- (17) Sozon of Philippi
- (18) Dardanius of Bargal (Macedonia)
- (19) Maximus of Serrahae (Macedonia)
- (20) Nicholas of Acarssus
- (21) Anapatus of Thasutus
- (22) Eusebius of Doberus
- (23) Melicenus

From Hellade (Hellas)

- (24) Peter of Corinth
- (25) Nicias of Megara
- (26) John of Messene
- (27) Ophelimus of Tegea
- (28) Athanasius of Opus
- (29) Irenaeus of Naupactus
- (30) Domnus of Plataea
- (31) Onesimus of Argos
- (32) Magnus the deacon

From Syria I

- (33) Maximus of Antioch
- (34) Macarius of Laodicea
- (35) Theoqtistus of Borea (Aleppo)
- (36) Gerontius of Seleucia
- (37) Romulus of Chalcis
- (38) Peter of Gabbula
- (39) Marianus of Gaza
- (40) Sabas of Paltus
- (41) Ouranius of Gabala

From Syria II

- (42) Domnus of Apamea representing Meletius, bishop of Shayzar
- (43) Mark of Arethusa
- (44) Amachus of Seleucobelus representing Paul of Srimona
- (45) Meletius of Shayzar

- (46) Lampadius of Rapahnea represented by Deacon Nimor
- (47) Timothy of Balaneae
- (48) Paul of Mrimme
- (49) Eutygianus of Epiphanea (Hama) represented by Meletius of Shayzar

From Cilicia I

- (50) Theodore of Tarsus
- (51) Matronianus of Pompeipolis
- (52) Alexander of Sebastea
- (53) Philip of Adana
- (54) Hypatius of Zephyrium
- (55) Theodore of Augusta
- (56) Chrysippus of Mallus
- (57) Sallustius of Corycus represented by Philip of Adana

From Cilicia II

- (58) Cyrus of Anazarba
- (59) Polychronius of Epiphania
- (60) John of Flaviopolis
- (61) Indimus of Irenopolis
- (62) Julian of Rhosus
- (63) Bassianus of Mopsuestia

From Isauria

- (64) Basil of Seleucia
- (65) Theodore of Claudiopolis
- (66) Julian of Calandiopolis
- (67) John of Diocaesarea
- (68) Epiphanius, of Cestrus
- (69) Tyrranus of Germaniciapolis
- (70) Acacius of Antioch represented by Phapha the deacon
- (71) Ammonius of Iotape
- (72) Aelianus of Selinus represented by the sub-deacon Paul
- (73) Patlis of Philadelphia

From Phoenicia I

- (74) Photius of Tyre
- (75) Damian of Sidon
- (76) Paul of Ptolemais (Akka)
- (77) Olympias of Paneas
- (78) Paul of Aradus and Antarads
- (79) Thomas of Porphyreon
- (80) Peter of Byblus
- (81) Eustathius of Berytus (Beirut)
- (82) Theodore of Tripoli
- (83) Heraclitus of Arqa
- (84) Alexander of Antaradus
- (85) Porphyry of Botrys
- (86) Phosphorus Orthosia

From Lebanese Phoenicia

- (87) Theodore of Damascus
- (88) Uranius of Emessa (Homs)
- (89) Joseph of Heliopolis (Ba'lbak)
- (90) Thomas of Euaria
- (91) Valerius of Laodicea
- (92) Eustathius of the Saracens
- (93) Jordanes of Abila¹⁰³⁹

From Arabia

- (94) Constantine of Bostra
- (95) Eulogius of Philadelphia
- (96) Proclus of Adraa
- (97) Theodosius of Canatha
- (98) Hormizda of Philippopolis
- (99) Placcus of Gerasa

From Augusta Eupraesia

- (100) Stephen of Hierapolis (Mabug)
- (101) Rufinus of Samosata
- (102) Theodoret of Cyrrhus (Qurush)
- (103) John of Germanicia (Mar'ash)
- (104) Timothy of Doliche (Duluk)
- (105) Euolcius of Zeugma
- (106) Sabinianus of Perrhe
- (107) Patricius of Neocaesarea

From Osorhoene (Edessa)

- (108) Nonnus and Hiba (Ibas) of Edessa
- (109) Caiumas (Qayuma) of Morcopolis
- (110) John of Carrhae (Harran)
- (111) Abramius (Abraham) of Cercesium
- (112) Daniel of Birta
- (113) Damian of Callinicum
- (114) Sophronius of Constantina (Tella)
- (115) John of the Saracens (Arabs)

From Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia)

- (116) Symeon (Simon) of Amida
- (117) Noah of Hisn Kipha
- (118) Maras of Anzetine (Hanzit)
- (119) Zebennus (Zebina) Of Miypahrqat (Mertyropolis)
- (120) Eusebius of Ingilene (Agel)
- (121) Caiumas (Qayuma) of Sophene

From Palestine I

- (122) Juvenal of Jerusalem

¹⁰³⁹ He was represented by the Chorepiscopus Paternius. See Price and Gaddis, 3, 271.

- (123) Clycon of Caesarea
- (124) Leontius of Acalon
- (125) Phontinus Diospholis (Lydda)
- (126) Paul of Anthelon
- (127) Heraclius of Azotus
- (128) Pacratius of Livias
- (129) Polycronius of Antipatris
- (130) Stephen of Jamnia

From Palestine II

- (131) Severianus of Scythopolis (Baisan)
- (132) Anianus of Capitolias
- (133) Zebennus of Pella
- (134) John of Tiberias
- (135) John of Gadara

From Palestine III

- (136) Beryllus of Aela
- (137) Aretas of Elusa
- (138) Musonius of Segor- Zoara
- (139) Marcian Diotanus
- (140) Niz Tiras
- (141) Marcian Gazes

From Epirus Vetus

- (142) Atticus of Nocopolis
- (143) Mark of Euroea
- (144) Peregnus of Phoenice
- (145) Eutyches of Haddrianopolis
- (146) Claudius of Anchiasmus
- (147) Soterichus of Coreyra
- (148) Philoctetus of Dodona
- (149) John of Photice, signed for Zenobius of Buthrotum

From Epirus Noiva

- (150) Luke of Dyrrachium
- (151) Eusebius of Appolonia
- (152) Parricius of Akineos

From Thessaly

- (153) Constantine of Demetrias

From Crete

- (154) Matyrius of Gortyna
- (155) Gennadius of Cnossus
- (156) Cyril of Subrita
- (157) Euphratas of Eleurherna
- (158) Demitrius of Lappa

From Bithynia

- (159) Eunomius of Nicomedia
- (160) Anastasius of Nicaea
- (161) Julian of Cos representing Pope Leo
- (162) Eleutherius of Chalcedon
- (163) Callinicus of Apamea

From Galatia I

- (164) Eusebius of Ancyra
- (165) Julius of Antioch
- (166) Acacius of Cinna
- (167) Meliphthongus of Juliopolis
- (168) Euphrasius of Lagania
- (169) Leucadius of Mnizus
- (170) Euphrasisu of Lagania

From Galatia II

- (171) Theoctistus of Pessinus represented by Photius, archdeacon
- (172) Helpidius of Thermae
- (173) Mysteries of Amorium
- (174) Aquilla of Eudoixias
- (175) Cyriacus of Trocnade
- (176) Pius of Petnissus
- (177) Longinus of Oreistus

From Cappadocia I

- (178) Thalasius of Caesarea
- (179) Musonius of Nyssa
- (180) Firminus of Therma

From Cappadocia II

- (181) Patricius of Tyana
- (182) Theodosius of Nazianzus
- (183) Aristomachus of Colonia
- (184) Cyrus of Cybistra

From Armenia I

- (185) John of Sebastea
- (186) Tecropius of Sebastopolis
- (187) John of Nicopolis

From Armenia II

- (188) Constantine of Melitene
- (189) Acacius of Melitene
- (190) Adolius of Arabissus
- (191) John of Arqa represented by Euphronius, presbyter
- (192) Domnus of Cauculus represented by Euphronius, presbyter
- (193) Armos of Comanon

From Pontus Polemoniacus

- (194) Dorotheus of Neocaesarea
- (195) John of Polemonium
- (196) Gratidianus of Cerasus
- (197) Atarbius of Trapezus (Trebizond)
- (198) Asoterichus of Coreyra

From the Helenopontus

- (199) Seleucus of Amaseia
- (200) Antonianus of Amisus
- (201) Paralius of Andrapa
- (202) Palladius of Amasia¹⁰⁴⁰
- (203) Uranius of Ibora
- (204) Atticus of Zela
- (205) Antiochus of Senope
- (206) Peter of Dardanus¹⁰⁴¹

From Paphlagonia

- (207) Peter of Gangra
- (208) Atherius of Pompeiopolis
- (209) Rhenus of Ionopolis
- (210) Polchronius of Dadybra
- (211) Theodore of Sora¹⁰⁴²

From Honorias

- (212) Calogerus of Claudiopolis¹⁰⁴³
- (213) Theodore of Heraclea
- (214) Apragmoius of Tiem (Tayoye, Arabs)
- (215) Theophilus of Hadrianopolis
- (216) Genethlius of Creteia
- (217) Olympius of Prusias

From Hellespontus

- (218) Diogenes of Cyzicus
- (219) Peter of Dardanus
- (220) Thalasius of Parium
- (221) David of Hadrianeia
- (222) Eulalius of Pionia
- (223) Pionius of Troas
- (224) Stephen of Poemanenum
- (225) Theosebius of Ilium
- (226) Hermias of Abydus
- (227) Daniel of Lampsacus
- (228) Patricius of Hadrianutherae
- (229) Hesyschius of Parium¹⁰⁴⁴

¹⁰⁴⁰ Added by the translator.

¹⁰⁴¹ Added by the translator. See Price and Gaddis, 3, 273.

¹⁰⁴² Added by the translator. See Price and Gaddis, 3, 283.

¹⁰⁴³ Myriopolis in the Syriac text.

(230) Atticus of Zela¹⁰⁴⁵

From Asia

- (231) Stephen of Ephesus
- (232) Aetherichus of Smyrna
- (233) Thomas of Amid
- (234) Eusebius of Clazomenae
- (235) Cyriacus of Aegea
- (236) Mamas of Aninetus
- (237) Leontius of Magnesia [On the Maeander]
- (238) Quintus of Phocaea
- (239) Proclus of Algiza
- (240) Basilicus of Palaeopolis
- (241) Isaiah of Elaea
- (242) Rufinus of Briulla
- (243) Olympius of Augaza-Theodosiopolis
- (244) Esperos of Epitania
- (245) Proterius of Myrina
- (246) Maeonius of Nyssa
- (247) Paulinus of Theodosiopolis-Perperine
- (248) Marcellinus of Metropolis
- (249) Julian of Hypaepa

From Lydia

- (250) Florentinus of Sardis
- (251) Menecrates of Ceraseis
- (252) Patricius of Acrasus
- (253) Polycarp of Tabala
- (254) Paul of Tripoli
- (255) Helias Blaundus
- (256) Cossinius of Hierrocaesarea
- (257) Amachius of Saittae
- (258) Amndrew of Satala
- (259) Dionysius of Attaleia
- (260) Gemelius of Stratonicea
- (261) Alcemedes of Silandus
- (262) Leuqius of Apolonisieru

From Pamphylia I

- (263) Epiphanius of Perga
- (264) Theophilus of Ariassus
- (265) Diodotus of Lysinia
- (266) Neon of Sillyum
- (267) Paul of Pogla
- (268) Marcellinus of Isinda
- (269) Macedon of Magydus
- (270) Maras of Codrula

¹⁰⁴⁴ Added by the translator. See Price and Gaddis, 3, 258.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Added by the translator. See Price and Gaddis, 3, 242.

From Pamphylia II

- (271) Amphilochius of Side (Sidon)
- (272) Gaius of Syedra
- (273) Eudoxius of Etenna
- (274) Marcellinus of Carallis
- (275) Eugenius of Cotenna
- (276) Obrimus of Coracesium

From Lycia

- (277) Romanus of Myra
- (278) Aristocritus of Olympus
- (279) Eudoxius of Choma
- (280) Palladius of Corydalla
- (281) Cyrinus of Patara
- (282) Stephen of Limyra
- (283) Zenodotus of Telmessus and the island of Macra
- (284) Fronto of Phaselis
- (285) Philip of Barbura
- (286) Theodore of Antiphellus
- (287) Leontius of Araxa
- (288) Antipater of Caunus
- (289) Cratinus of Panormus
- (290) Andrew of Tlos
- (291) Nicholas of Acrassus
- (292) Romanus of Bubon

From Lycaonia

- (293) Onisephorus of Iconium
- (294) Neoptolemus of Corna
- (295) Paul of Derbe
- (296) Plutarch of Lystra
- (297) Rufus of Hyde
- (298) Turranus of Homanada
- (299) Julius of Arcada
- (300) Eugenius of Cana

From Pisidia

- (301) Pergamius of Antioch
- (302) Eutropius of Adana
- (303) Paul of Philomelium
- (304) Pulinus of Apamea
- (305) Theotecnus of Tyriaeum
- (306) Heorticius of Metropolis
- (307) Cyrus of Sinethandus
- (308) Libanius of Parlais
- (309) Alexander of Seleucia
- (310) Ollympus of Sozopolis
- (311) Fontianus of Sagalassus

- (312) Messalinus of Laeodicea
- (313) Bassonas of Neapolis
- (314) Forentius of Hadrianopolis
- (315) Maximinos of Zozoulon

From Caria

- (316) Critonianus of Aphrodisias
- (317) Dionysius of Antioch
- (318) John of Alinda
- (319) Flaccillus of Iasus
- (320) Papias of Eriza
- (321) Dionysius of Heraclea
- (322) Menander of Heraclea
- (323) Alphius of Myndus
- (324) John of Amyzon
- (325) Tynchanus of Apollonia
- (326) Theodore of Alabanda
- (327) John of Cnidus
- (328) Calandion of Halicarnassus

From Phrygia Salutaris

- (329) Marinianus of Synnada
- (330) Eusebius of Dorylaeum
- (331) Mirus of Eulandra
- (332) Lucian of Ipsus
- (333) Philip of Lysias
- (334) Epipahnius of Midaem
- (335) Abericius of Hieropolis
- (336) Cyricus of Eucarpia
- (337) Eutochius of Docimium
- (338) Basil of Nacoleia
- (339) Aquila of Aurocra
- (340) Strategius Polybotus

From Phrygia Pacatiana

- (341) Nunechius of Laodicea
- (342) Daniel of Cadi
- (343) Madestus of Sebastea
- (344) Eulalius of Sibia
- (345) Matthias of Temenothyrae
- (346) Paul of Aristium
- (347) Chares of Dionysopolis
- (348) Gennadius of Acmonia
- (349) Evander of Diocleia
- (350) Gennadius of Mossyna
- (351) Thomas of Theodosiana
- (352) Philip of Ancyra and Synaus
- (353) John of Trapezopolis

From the Islands

Four bishops

From Cyprus

Seven bishops

From Africa

Two bishops

These are the name of the bishops who attended the Council of Chalcedon found in the copies.

Also, we shall append true testimonies with great accuracy derived from the significant books of John the disciple of Bishop Peter the Iberian. They show clearly, and by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, that the impious Council of Chalcedon was convened far from the fear of God, and that it abandoned justice.

Story 1. Our Father Saint Bishop Peter,¹⁰⁴⁶ who was in Constantinople before he shunned the world, related that Nestorius was delivering a sermon at the church of Maria while celebrating the commemoration of the Forty Martyrs. He had a melodious voice. Nestorius said, "Mary! Do not be proud as if you have given birth to God. Most pious, you have not given birth to God but to a man who is an instrument of God." Instantly, a demon possessed him and he almost fell off the pulpit. The deacons carried him to their private chamber. Thereafter the congregation distanced itself from his communion. I personally used to hold him with great respect.

Story 2. Father (Peter) informed us about the wonderful man and prophet Pelagius of Edessa. He said when Pelagius heard the blasphemy of Hiba (Ibas) he became mightily grieved. When he was persecuted, he went to settle in Palestine shortly before the Council (of Chalcedon) when Juvenal (Bishop of Jerusalem) was still living. Whenever Pelagius saw a vision, he repaired to father Peter who was seeking solace in the wilderness of Mayuma in Gazza. One day, when Pelagius was discussing with Peter matters concerning virtue, he went into a swoon. He saw the transgressions of the Council of Chalcedon seven years before it was convened. He even got into conversation with Emperor Marcian who said to him, "Father! You and I will behold that time. If we will be persecuted with the saints, we, through this persecution, will end our lives." This is what exactly took place.

Story 3. Pelagius saw another vision before the convocation of the Council. He exclaimed while crying, "Woe, woe to you Pulcheria (Pulcheria was the wife of Marcian and very instrumental in the convocation of the Council of Chalcedon.) When asked to explain what he meant, he said, "Pulcheria vowed to God to preserve her virginity. She also expelled Nestorius. Nevertheless, she will defile its virginity, split the faith and persecute the saints. She actually married Marcian and corrupted the true faith.

Story 4. Pamphilus, deacon of Jerusalem, said that while Pelagius was praying near Golgotha he was raptured by the Spirit. His tears began to follow and he uttered the name of Juvenal (bishop of Jerusalem) three times. Pamphilus asked him to interpret his vision, and how he saw Juvenal who is the subject of respect of the monks and the congregation. Juvenal said "Thus you will see him from heaven and from ...lacuna... where he will be taken."¹⁰⁴⁷

Story 5. In another vision, Pelagius saw what was to happen. He said to father Peter and John the eunuch, "Sons, study the Scriptures. And when Christ entrusts you with his churches, pray for me." Actually, he had a foreknowledge of their ordination and thus revealed it to them. Peter was amazed at what he (Pelagius) said, for he then had no inclination toward ordination but rather fled from it. He said to the old man "You don't know what you are saying." Pelagius said with ease, "I know what I am saying. He who is disturbed let him be disturbed."

¹⁰⁴⁶ The Iberian.

¹⁰⁴⁷ This probably means that he will be seized and abused by the Roman soldiers and wicked men.

Story 6. At the time when the truth was violated, Pelagius prayed, saying, "O Lord my God. Keep me from violating the sanctity of faith until the end. Take my soul wherever you will even on the road or in the inn. Only keep me from transgressing the faith." Pelagius died in Ascalon, at the house of Cyril the innkeeper, to which he escaped from persecution. Some people from Mayuma took his body and buried it in the monastery of Aaron, the wheat merchant. On the night when the bishops were persecuted, Bishop Peter who was exiled to Thebaid passed away. Before his death, he saw Father Pelagius coming joyfully toward him. He said to Pelagius, "Father, pray for me because I am going to the Lord." Taking note of that day, he discovered that it was the same as when Pelagius had died. His mother had fasted for many weeks before she conceived him, then delivered him and raised him. When he grew up, he saw a dead pious man who was taken to be buried with sighs. It was then that he repaired to that monastery.

Story 7. John, presbyter of Alexandria of the Tatianus family, said that when he was a boy he went to see Abba Elladius who prophesied death, to reveal to him whether God would straighten his ways. The oracle told him, "Be patient until I gain some calm." He went on to say, "In a short while the church will be persecuted and then you will come to see me." John asked for more explanation. Abba Elladius said, "There will arise an impious emperor named Marcian who will force the bishops to admit in writing that he who was crucified (Christ) was not God. However, Dioscorus of Alexandria will not submit to him. Marcian will persecute him, banish him, and he will die in exile. He will be succeeded by another impious emperor. However, yet another priest will arise to fulfill the will of the Lord."¹⁰⁴⁸ But he will pass away after a short while." John says, "When I wanted him to explain more about what would transpire, he said that this was sufficient. After this, the age of the Antichrist will begin."

Story 8. Abba Zenon, the wanderer, was a prophet from Kfarserta, a village in Palestine. He went to see Abba Stephen who admired the good things about sojourning before the Council (of Chalcedon) convened. He asked him his opinion about the council. Abba Stephen said to him, "Keep quiet. The heretics are about to stir up a persecution, and you will then hate being a sojourner." This is exactly what took place. Abba Zenon died one year after the council, grieved and resentful.

Story 9. Abba Innocent, an archimandrite of Pamphylia, related that there was an ascetic who lived in a deep valley. After the convocation of the council, Satan approached him saying, "When you wake up prostrate yourself before me." The saint rebuked him and the evil one departed saying, "Why did you not bow down before me? Behold many bishops are doing so."

Story 10. When the council (of Chalcedon) was about to convene, the sun suddenly darkened. In the Holy City (Jerusalem), and in many places in Palestine, hail fell from the sky like balls made by people. They were marked with diverse and strange signs. People began collecting them. When some, out of foolishness used them, they were struck with blindness. Eusebius, the spokesman of Jerusalem, collected some of them and showed them to Queen Eudocia. He sent some of them to Constantinople as a sign of what shall befall the world as a result of the apostasy of the bishop, as the Prophet Isaiah said, "Who is blind but my servant?"¹⁰⁴⁹ Beneath the torrent was seen fine dust. This was attested to by the saint Peter and his disciple Andrew. It was also manifested by the miracle that happened to a blind Samaritan who applied to his eyes the blood of the monks who were killed in Neapolis during the apostasy and beheld the Communion (*qurbano*) turn into flesh and blood at the church of the Apostles in Caesarea. Many people took it and kept it. It remained in this state for a long time.

Story 11. During the coronation of Marcian, darkness covered the whole earth. The incident was recorded in the official registers. The darkness signified the darkness that was to cover the whole church because of him (Marcian). It also signified the darkness that will take place because of godlessness. The darkness persisted until the evening. In order to conceal the distress caused by that darkness, Marcian issued a proclamation saying, "The world shall witness unprecedented prosperity in a kingdom from which the darkness of former emperors has been dispelled, and the light of my primacy has shined."

¹⁰⁴⁸ He is referring to Timothy, the successor of Dioscorus, who would be restored to the throne of Alexandria.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Isaiah 42:19.

Story 12. In Jerusalem, another proof appeared of the lying against God. The Cross of the Church of Resurrection burned down and was scattered into dust. Believers were sorely grieved because of it. The queen had another Cross of bronze made instead of it weighing six thousand pounds.

Story 13. While Abba Peter and Abba Isaiah were conversing, Isaiah said, "Abba Paul of Thebes, who was hundred years old, told me that a transgression will take place by the bishops with the support of the impious Emperor Marcian. Marcian will reign for six years and then die. He will be succeeded by another for a short period during which peace will prevail in the church. Thus, things will be disconcerting until the Antichrist comes."

Also, concerning Abba Zeno known as "He of the three merits" from Eanton of Alexandria, Phantitus Symmachus wrote about him that, "When I visited him I saw him holding a chain in his hand and his eyes were looking toward heaven. I thought he was praying. When he delayed much, I wanted to leave. He said, 'Why are you leaving?' He rejoined, 'Write down that Saint Timothy (of Alexandria) who is now in exile will shortly return to his see and confirm orthodoxy.' Two years later he will pass away and will be succeeded by his archdeacon in whose time schism will take place in the church. It will not be cured until the coming of the Antichrist."

Story 14. Abba Paul, the sage (Sophist), reported that one of the saints in Egypt saw a vision before the convening of the council, an infant wrapped in light thrown into a furnace. Three days later, the infant came out of the furnace untouched by the fire. Abba Paul realized that He was the Lord (Christ). He asked him, "Who did this to You?" The infant said, "The bishops have betrayed me the second time and concealed my glory. Today's Jews are the Nestorians who say that the Incarnated God was not crucified, but thought was crucified."¹⁰⁵⁰ Abba Paul went on asking the Lord about the bishop who did not agree to have the infant thrown into the furnace. The infant said, "He was Dioscorus who opposed the unlawful act of the bishops." He also said, "Since Simon of Cyrene carried my cross, Cyrene was considered a town of Egypt which will carry my cross and follow me to the end."

Story 15. While about to leave this life, Timothy reported that when he was a child on his way to school, an old man met him, kissed him in the head and said to him, "Peace be unto you Timothy, the bishop of peace. He repeated this three times and then disappeared."

Story 16. The same Timothy said, "As I was about to leave Shiloh in the company of a person who was an expert about the holy places, I saw a monastery surrounded by dried up trees, thorns and neglected vineyards. I said, 'how is it that no one has any concerns to restore this place?' My companion replied, 'This monastery is Juvenal's and from it he was called to become a bishop. But when he blasphemed the monastery turned into ruins as a result of God's wrath, and now no one can inhabit it.' Then, I remembered Dioscorus said that Juvenal was a companion of Judas (Iscaiot who betrayed Jesus). Therefore, his monastery will be desolate and no one will dwell in it, as it is written."¹⁰⁵¹

Story 17. During Lent, Juvenal made rounds of the old monasteries to visit the ascetics according to the old custom. He visited an old ascetic who shut the door in his face when he saw him approaching. He and the monks with him kept knocking, but the ascetic would not open the door. They threatened to break down the door. The ascetic said, "Away from me O Antichrist. No Antichrist can enter my cell. I will never allow Judas to enter this place. Juvenal's companions said, 'Leave him alone. He has lost his mind. Asceticism has dried up his brain.'" These words were heard by the inhabitants of the city and the entire region.

Story 18. In the church called the Church of Baptism of Siloam, there was a boy reader.¹⁰⁵² On the day of his turn to serve, he saw our Lord entering the church and angels with him. The Lord saw lamps that were put off on their own. He asked, "What shall I do with those whom I have given plentiful goodness of oil and wine and yet they have neglected my service. Woe to Juvenal who made this house a den of robbers

¹⁰⁵⁰ This is what the Quran holds, which indicates that Muhammad was greatly influenced by the teaching of the Nestorian monk Bahira.

¹⁰⁵¹ Acts 1:20.

¹⁰⁵² Reader or lector is the lowest rank of the diaconate who usually reads the Psalms during the service.

and filled it with adulterous, godless and defiled men.” He entered the chamber of deacons and ordered the cupboards opened. He saw the Body and the Blood placed in dirty vessels. He said to those with him, “Purify them and sprinkle them with soil.” When he came out, he saw the boy reader trembling from fear. He said, “Take this one out also.” The boy fell on his face and said, “Have mercy on me Lord.” The Lord said to him, “Get out because you don’t know your duty.” He rejoined, “Will you repent and never be negligent?” The boy said, “Help me with your mercy.” He spent that day in sorrow and distress. When it was daylight, the people noticed the miracle. They saw the vessels shine like the bright light of a furnace and the soil spread over them was like incense and they smelled like a perfume, a thing that invoked wonderment. When Juvenal learned what had happened, he was ashamed and accompanied that boy at night. However, the boy disappeared and no one knows where and how he disappeared. Only God knows.

Story 19. In the time of the blessed Peter, I do not know whether it was he or someone else, saw a vision. He beheld the impurities that would defile the Temple. Since then, he did not enter the Temple or administer communion to others.

Story 20. In one of the monasteries, the ascetic Paul desired to add another piety to his pieties. He decided not to look at the face of a woman. His hermitage was fourteen kilometers away from Jerusalem. In a vision concerning the Council of Chalcedon, he saw a vast plain in whose midst stood a high hillock topped by an earthen chest for the preservation of the communion and a golden pillar inlaid with precious stones and jewels. From the pillar sparks of light shot out in an inconceivable manner. It was surrounded by hosts of saints performing the service and a voice came down from heaven exclaiming, “Anathema to those who proclaim Two Natures.” Those around the altar responded, “Amen.” Those on the plain kept silent for fear. Behold, another voice exclaimed, “Anathema to anyone who divides the One indivisible (Christ). To those who deny, anathema.” Others responded to the voice saying, “Amen.” Juvenal who passed by said, “I have passed by here because I will never see you again. We are preparing to fight or exile is ahead of us. Or, we should step on our conscience in the face of God because they (the Chalcedonians) intend to force us to transgress the faith of our fathers and profess the ideas of Simon (Magus) and the Jews who proclaim that the Christ who died for us is not God. Father, pray for me lest I become disgraced in my old age.”

Story 21. This same old man (the ascetic Paul) saw Juvenal hiding in place from shame. He was naked and his face was blackened like the soot of the furnace. He was wearing a filthy patched garment. The ascetic cried out, “Whatever has happened to you, my lord?” Juvenal said, “I don’t know what to do about my sins. I feel ashamed. I have collected plenty of money for the Antichrist, for he is ready to fight even against the dust.” The ascetic, desiring to know the essence of the vision, the spirit replied, “His (the Antichrist) struggle against the dust means that he will triumph over those who have been created from the dust of the earth, those who stick to this earth shall be overcome by the Antichrist.”

Story 22. In Isauria, there is a city called Titopolis built by the Emperor Titus. Its bishop, Panoproprius, was a prior of a monastery. Then he became a bishop by force. When the Council of Chalcedon convened, Basil, the metropolitan of Seleucia, took him in his company to the council. He perceived at the beginning that the bishops anathematized those who held Two Natures in agreement with Dioscorus. Later when he saw them condemn Dioscorus, profess Two Natures and accept Flavian, Ibas and Theodoret without investigation, he went to the house where he was staying and locked himself in. He wept and prayed to God to inform him of the truth. Three days later, he saw in a vision a huge leaf extending from heaven to earth. On both sides was written in luminous letters, “The Council of Chalcedon is anathema. It has rejected me, it has rejected me. The bishops are anathema.” Immediately he fled at night to his city and told the people what has happened and informed them about the vision he had seen. He asked them to persist in orthodoxy until death and never to submit to Basil. Following these events, he remained in his episcopate for seven years. He kept his flock wholesome and endured much from Basil’s machinations.

Story 23. Stephen, abbot of the Monastery of Tagon in Seleucia, said that he never expected Basil to violate the truth for he was a successful preacher. However, when the council convened and he deviated from the truth, he returned to his flock. At night, Stephen supplicated God to reveal the truth to him. He

saw Basil entering the church at night and received by the congregation with honor. While he was at the altar, a man of strange appearance entered the church through the western door. He made his way through the congregation and stuck his right finger in Basil's mouth while he was about to conclude the prayer. He dragged him outside the church. This event signified what Severus the Great¹⁰⁵³ did, who obliterated the memory of Basil and removed his name from the diptychs. Eventually he was rejected and expelled.

Story 24. The same Stephen said, "One of the servants of Christ saw me in a vision, I the wretched, entered a great mansion. I saw the bishop seated and said, 'Here are the miscreants. I held a whip and drove them away.'" This vision indicates that the orthodox were still in control and the heretics were overcome."

Story 25. Romanus was an archimandrite of a great monastery located opposite the village of Thecua about fifteen miles south of Jerusalem. It housed six hundred monks. The believers pressured him to fight those who transgressed the faith. He asked them to be patient. He left for the wilderness where he spent ten days in prayer desiring the truth to be revealed to him. At the end of these days, he heard a voice saying, "Believe in the creed of the 318¹⁰⁵⁴ and you will be saved." After revealing his vision to the brethren, they said to him, "The bishops of Chalcedon confirmed this creed." For the second time he repaired to the wilderness. After fasting and prayer, he heard a voice saying, "Go and follow Peter of Alexandria, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Julius, Athanasius, Gregory, John Celestine, Cyril and Dioscorus." Romanus informed the brethren of his monastery of what he saw. They said to him, "Those who deny do themselves believe that they follow these dignitaries, but they twist their teachings. It is your duty to find a satisfying answer." Romanus went out to the wilderness. At noon, he saw a huge *Tome* coming down from heaven written on the following, "The bishops at Chalcedon have denied and committed a sin. Woe to them. They are anathema." Because of this spectacle, kindled with zeal for the faith, he reproached Juvenal and participated with the orthodox bishop in ordaining Theodosius as a bishop of Jerusalem. Then he anathematized Juvenal. Later however, the tyrant Juvenal evicted Romanus who went to Antioch.

Story 26. (Appius), bishop of Caesarea, who was in exile in Chersone, said that he went to visit Timothy, bishop of Alexandria. He noticed a malicious putrid boil in his leg. He also noticed that his attendants did not care for him. He did not even allow physicians to treat him. Intending to treat him, Appius fell at Timothy's feet and had him swear to let him do what was beneficial for him. Timothy asked him to rise up saying, "I am doing what pleases God." He put his figure on his eye and said, "Look at the pupil of my eye and notice the deep cut in it." Appius said, "I see it." Timothy said, "One day while I was keeping vigil in a short service, Satan came to me in a dreadful black form just like the one Job had seen. He smashed the wall and entered in. In his hand was a big *Tome*. He shouted, 'Who can challenge me? Take this and sign it.' He was trying to frighten and upset me. Gaining strength from the Lord, I said to him, 'I will not accept your words or submit to your counsel.' He became angry and hit my eye leaving this cut in it. I thought that my eye was gouged. On the next day, the brethren noticed something like a drop of blood and a piece of flesh coming down my eye. Most likely, my eye had become blinded. They tried to treat me but I would not let them. A short while afterwards, comfort came from God. He appeared to me, placed his hand on my eye and healed me. My sight was restored but he left this cut as a testimony. He who afflicted me with this cut is the same who struck me in the leg. As Christ healed me from that wound, he will also heal me from this one." Saint Timothy used to call the Council of Chalcedon the Satan's assembly.

Story 27. Peter, the Emperor's guardian, told the soldier Zeno who loved Nestorius and praised the council assembled by Marcian, he saw that in a dream a man saying to him, "How much longer will you stay in error and not follow the truth? Follow me and I will show you the place where Theodosius and Marcian are." First, he saw Theodosius in a place brighter than the sunrays. He then took him to another dark place filled with smoke. When he prayed, Marcian appeared a little. I saw him tormented and fastened to an iron chain in the midst of the fire. Zeno said that he repented and became a good Christian.

Story 28. Cyriacus and Julius, the Cyprian monks, related that there was Martyrium in Cyprus called Spyridon in which miracles were performed. Even if someone vowed a lamb or a dove (as a sacrifice), they

¹⁰⁵³ Patriarch of Antioch, d. 538.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Number of the bishops assembled at Nicaea.

would release themselves voluntarily and go to the Martyrium unguided. After the council, the Cypriot saint appeared to those who went to his temple and said to them, "Don't go to the temple and participate with the deniers. I have abandoned them."¹⁰⁵⁵

Story 29. At the Martyrium in Sebastea, where the remains of John the martyr were laid to rest, there were two chests: one for (John the Baptist) and the other for the Prophet Elisha, and a throne in the same place. The presbyter Apollos asked the doorman Constantine about them, and he replied unwillingly, "One chest belongs to St. John on which he appears at night. I come in to offer him honor." When the council (of Chalcedon) convened, the pious Constantine was grieved. He realized that if he partook of the communion, he would no more honor St. John. If he did not, he would be (considered) a transgressor. As he supplicated, St. John appeared to him saying, "Do not lose your soul by recanting. Rather, preserve your faith unblemished. And wherever you go I will be with you." Constantine went out unsullied. He led a saintly life in sojourn.

Story 30. While the ascetic Zosimus wandered around seeking solitude, he reached as far as Bethel. The superintendent of the church asked him to stay with him. Zosimus pretended that he was fleeing from partaking with the wicked. The church superintendent promised that no harm would come to him from those who deny. Zosimus consented and remained. At night he saw James, chief of the fathers, wearing a cloak and walking in the place. James asked, "How is it that you, an orthodox man, want to stay in this place? Do not contravene your faith on this account, but flee from the unbelievers."

Story 31. Abba Peter told about St. Heliodorus who went up a mountain in Cilcia. He lived with wild animals sustaining himself by eating roots and herbs. He covered his body with his hair. Shortly afterwards, he was captured by hunters. Under the pressure of people, he was forced to live in a monastery among the brethren. When he was near death, he said to his disciples, "Twenty-four years from now the bishops will deny the faith. Flee to Egypt where the glory of orthodoxy is protected." They did flee. One of Heliodorus' disciples told this story to Abba Peter.

Story 32. The same Abba Peter said, "Upon the death of Theodosius (the emperor), one of the saints who was sitting in his cell heard a voice saying that heaven would shake up and was about to fall down and destroy the earth, but cause no harm to anyone."

Story 33. When Nestorius was in exile at Thebes, a person was sent to this place to distribute bounties to the soldiers. He rushed to Nestorius and extended to him the glad tidings of having been invited by the council (of Chalcedon). When Megistros went to summon Nestorius to attend the council, Nestorius said haughtily, "Was I wrong in having said that Jesus is not God and Mary did not give birth to God?" Immediately, his tongue was loosed and hanged down out of his mouth. He chewed it up and died. Bishop Theodore confirmed that the earth rejected his remains and ejected him forcefully three times. The people placed him a bag and hanged him on the wall. Timothy testified in his writing about this incident.

Story 34. Photamon the monk went from the Scete to Egypt. He saw Abba Peter and said to him, "Don't despair Abba Peter, for God will take revenge soon. The church of God prays for you chief priests. Divine justice will definitely extend to this sodomite and companion of murderers, Proterius." Three months later, Proterius was killed.

Story 35. A certain deacon, who had studied under Abba Peter for thirty-five years and lived in the wilderness of Thebes, heard a voice saying, "Basill! Go unto the world and strive for the faith. The kings and the bishops are about to deny the faith. Basil came to the district of Lycia and found a cavern on the seashore wherein he lived for twelve years. When the inhabitants of the district made his acquaintance, he departed for a ruined monastery. He built in it two compartments, one for men and the other for women. He heard another voice saying, "Basill! Go rebuke Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople who has denied me." He went and rebuked Nestorius before the congregation while he was delivering the homily. When Nestorius did not return to his senses and to the truth, Basil cried out, "You are condemned Nestorius." When Emperor Theodosius saw him, he said, "Why were you baptized in the name of the Trinity which you

¹⁰⁵⁵ For Spyridon, bishop of the Cypriots, see Socrates, *The Ecclesiastical History*, Book One, Chapter 12, pp. 33-34 of the English translation.

do not believe in? For Nestorius teaches against the Trinity.” When the Prefect Flavian arrested Basil, he had him tortured and sent to exile. As Basil was supplicating God, a brick fell on the head of Emperor Theodosius and he was close to death. One of his adjutants saw him in a dream and said to him, “You have been tormented because of Basil.” Immediately, Theodosius recovered and had Basil released. Basil reproached Theodosius. He asked him to convene a council and depose Nestorius the miscreant. Theodosius consented and convened the Council of Ephesus.

Story 36. Four hundred-thirty years ago, an angel appeared to the pious Eliana, wife of Marius. He said to her, “Eliana, Eliana! Three years from now Nestorius will sit on the (patriarchal) throne of Constantinople. Make sure you do not receive communion from his hands.” When Basil was reproaching (Nestorius) as has been said earlier, Eliana cried out from an upper window, “You are anathema, Nestorius.” She said this because she knew it through a vision. In fact, she pointed to the anathema of those who held Two Natures. Moreover, when Nestorius was banished to Oasis, he was captured by Barbarians called Mariceans (Mazices) who took him captive. However, he managed to release himself and flee to a city of Phanos, so named after an animal of dual natures. At this city, he ended his life in great torment.

Story 37. Abba Peter related that he was with ‘Arqa (Barqa) the Phoenician when he was still a child and now an ascetic in Constantinople. He had on his mind the question, “How do we believe in one God and at the same time believe in a consubstantial Trinity and that one of the Trinity was incarnated?” He saw in a vision the Apostle Peter who took him to a very high place and had him stand before him like a child. He showed him in heaven an immensely brilliant light in the form of a chariot, which could not be approached. He told him, “This is the Father.” Then, another light like the first one followed and the Lord was standing in it in the form of a Nazarene man. He said to him, “This is the Son.” Along with him there was yet a third light like the first two. He said to him, “This is the Holy Spirit. The three are one essence, one nature, one splendor, one Godhead, but three persons.” Apostle Peter went on saying, “Since it is not possible to draw near from all three, the one in the middle appeared in the form of a Nazarene man indicating that the one who was crucified is a person of the Trinity and no one else. The other two lights are mere light and have no form and are beyond comprehension.”

Story 38. Annianus of Alexandria, before receiving baptism from our spiritual father, had a wife who was of those who held the doctrine of Two Natures. She fell ill and was close to death because she did not submit to the truth. In a dream, she saw that she was taken to a dark place from which issued sounds of wailing. She was then transferred to another bright place where the saints were praising God. The angels said to her, “To these your husband belongs. The others were the bishops who participated in the Council (of Chalcedon) and those who followed them. If you want to be in the light, we will appeal for you and you will live one additional year.” When she woke up, she called her husband and told him her dream. She received communion from the orthodox. A year later she passed away.

Story 39. The confessor steward of the church Lothropolis was near death. He saw the same dream as the woman saw in the former story. He asked to be taken to the Monastery of Abba Romanus five miles away. He confessed what he had seen and received communion. Then he became a monk, and three days later passed away. His miraculous redemption became the cause for mercy.

Story 40. Bonifatius, a Roman presbyter, did not want to engage in conversation with those who held Two Natures. In a dream, he saw a dead person laid in a coffin before a pillar. The atmosphere was filled with the odor of his decaying body. Suddenly, he returned to life and became a magistrate. He handed a book, decorated from the outside but filthy on the inside, to presbyter Bonifatius. The presbyter realized that it was pointing to Nestorius who lived before Juvenal.

Story 41. A certain deacon waiting for his turn to serve, cohabited with a woman and then went to sleep as usual in the summer compartment of Golgotha. He heard a voice saying, “Juvenal has so much defiled my house. Throw away the unclean.” In the morning, the deacon was seen cast away with his bed on the street. They woke him up and he confessed his sin.

Story 42. The blessed Miqa of Ascalon, who lived a hundred years in piety, alerted the people to the transgressions of the council. Satan appeared threatening her saying, “Why do you provoke people’s doubts

regarding the great council?" He threw off the platform and began fighting her with its bricks, but she was given power and drove him away.

Story 43. Two monks from Cilicia told our spiritual father that they went to see Theodore, bishop of Mopsuestia, and found that he had lost his mind when he tried to remove the Acts of the Apostles and the Gospel of John from the canon. When they scolded him for what he was doing, he repulsed them saying, "Monks have no business investigating these matters." Three days later, he became possessed by a demon. He bit himself and ate his flesh until he succumbed.

Story 44. In Pamphylia, orthodox monks debated with monks who held the doctrine of Two Natures while they were collecting firewood. They thought that fire should be the test of the faith. They cast into the fire a roll containing a canon of the faith and another one containing the definition of faith by Chalcedon and the *Tome* of Leo. Immediately, the roll containing the definition of faith by Chalcedon and the *Tome* of Leo was consumed while no harm came to the other one. Those who maintained Two Natures saw what happened, repented and embraced orthodoxy.

Story 45. The blessed Basilides related that a priest of a village near Ptolemais debated with a simple orthodox man. The priest asked him, "Do you want to know which of us embraces the most correct faith? If you want to know, then we should build a fire and every one of us should put his right hand in it. The one whose hand does not burn is orthodox." Both wrapped their right hands with twigs and drew them near the fire. The hand of the priest was immediately burned while no harm was done to the hand of the simple orthodox believer.

Story 46. The blessed Epiphanius was from the village of Salto. The priest of the village who was an adherent to the faith in Two Natures antagonized him, and Epiphanius refused to take communion from him. The priest threatened him with all kinds of threats, if he refused to take communion from him. Epiphanius prepared to escape with those whom he lived. One day, however, the priest fell down dead. Fear gripped the inhabitants of the village who began to receive communion from the hands of Epiphanius.

Story 47. Abba Phetra, prior of the monks in Alexandria, heard a voice saying, "Go and console Abba Peter the confessor, who is being persecuted." Phetra said, "Who will lead me to his place?" He was told, "Proceed and do not worry." When he passed through the gate of the city, a pillar of light guided him to the place where the saint was staying. He knocked at the door, and Peter was frightened. Phetra said, "Father Peter don't be afraid, I am Phetra the poor." Both were glad to see each other and Peter kept Phetra with him. He baptized the son of the owner of the house. Phetra noticed the grace of the priesthood descending on father Peter. He trembled and exclaimed, "My lord, my lord." He was hardly able to touch him during the ceremony of baptism.

Story 48. Father Phetra related that once he had seen monks carrying a huge cross on their shoulders from both ends and walking in opposite directions. Some walked to the right and the others to the left. Both groups were reviling each other. This was an indication of the schism that took place in the church. Meanwhile, father Lucius of the cells said by the spirit, "A time will come when the two groups will offer a testimony to Christ and receive communion together for the sake of orthodoxy."

Story 49. The blessed Orbecia saw in a vision as if she was going to the Church of the Resurrection to worship. As she bent to climb the steps, she saw a woman dressed in purple and light shining out of her. She fell down from fear. The woman was the Mother of God. She raised her up and said, "Don't be frightened, O mother." Then, the Mother of God looked through the window and said to Orbecia, "How is the condition of the mountain?" Orbecia said, "It is filled with broken wood." The Mother of God said, "The church of God will keep to the end like the broken wood of this mountain."

Story 50. Zeno, abbot of a monastery, predicted that Leontius of Ascalon will be ordained a bishop but will not die a bishop. Then, Leontius became a bishop of Ascalon. He had strong relations with Nestorius and sent him greetings in his place of exile. He was the one who instigated Juvenal to sign the blasphemy of the Council of Chalcedon. Upon his return, the people of Ascalon counseled each other either to kill him or to stone him (to death). When Leontius learned of this, he journeyed to Cyprus and died there an object of wrath. His partisans decided to carry his body to Ascalon. They placed it in a ship in which

there was another body of a mariner from Ascalon, who had died in the capital, and was accompanied by his relatives. A storm raged at sea. The crew decided to throw some of the belonging and the body of the mariner into the sea and keep the body of Leontius. Upon arriving at Ascalon, they opened the coffin, and found the body of the mariner with a pot over his head. Ashamed of what they saw, the partisans of Leontius tried to bury the mariner as a bishop, but their action was betrayed during the funeral.

Story 51. Three years before the council (of Chalcedon) assembled, a father in Jerusalem said at the seventh hour, "I saw three suns: one in the east, one in the west and the third in the midst of heaven. I wonder which one of them was the most powerful and splendid. Only God knows."

Story 52. We say to those who claim that all creation is in communion with the church except for us as a schismatic minority, "Do you know how many fathers came out of Egypt and how many miracles they saw? Only two of them remained staunch in the faith. The rest transgressed and perished in the wilderness." Moses said, "Do not follow a crowd in doing evil."¹⁰⁵⁶ In Persia, the captive Jews worshipped the idol but only three did not commit infidelity. The rest of them however, worshipped the golden calf. You should draw an analogy between this multitude and the multitude of the impious Council of Chalcedon. How truly to this applies the words of the Prophet Jeremiah who said, "Many shepherds will ruin my vineyard and trample down my field; they have turned my pleasant field into a desolate wasteland."¹⁰⁵⁷ One who fulfills the will God is better than thousands.

Story 53. After Juvenal returned from the council, the monks decided to censure him. Abba Peter wanted to join them. Our Savior appeared to him saying, "I have been wronged and my faith is trampled down while you made no move." The monks were also accompanied by Theodosius who was still a monk and later was ordained a (bishop). The monks reproached Juvenal immensely. Those in his company urged a man named Juvenal Diocorian to arrest Theodosius for stirring up trouble. Abba Peter knew him since he was in the monastery. He became excited, wrapped his neck with his sash and said to him as if he was predicting, "Either you are a mediator on behalf of the faith or you had better keep silent. Have you not done this and that during this night? I am here the least of the saints. Do you want me to ask fire to fall down from heaven to destroy you and those in your company?" Theodosius said, "Forgive me my lord. I did not know that your holiness was here." Therefore, Abba Peter left Theodosius alone.

Story 54. Theodosius was very eloquent. He suspected the doctrine of Two Natures. He asked God to direct him to the right doctrine. The evangelist John appeared to him in a vision saying, "He is the Lord of glory who was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen and looked at and have touched with our hands—he is the Word of life."¹⁰⁵⁸ After this, Theodosius began to criticize those who held Two Natures.

Story 55. If Chalcedonians ask why we consider them transgressors, our response is this: "The teaching of the Apostle says, 'If I rebuild what I have destroyed, I prove that I am a lawbreaker.'¹⁰⁵⁹ You have rejected Nestorius at Ephesus, the man who proclaimed Two Natures, and condemned those who hold this doctrine. Thus, you were perpetrators at Chalcedon for destroying what had been built anew. You have accepted Theodoret and Ibas who had been condemned for their blasphemy. You have deposed Juvenal at Second Ephesus, chaired by Dioscorus, and then restored him at Chalcedon. You are also guilty of violating the decision of First Ephesus that determined that no other definition of the faith, except that of Nicaea, should be formulated. Indeed, Nicaea resolved that anyone who dared introduce another formula of faith should be deprived of the dignity of the episcopate. However, you have violated Nicaea and instituted another definition of faith at Chalcedon. Therefore, it is imperative that we condemn you. The Apostle Paul said, 'But even if we or an angel from heaven should preach a gospel other than the one we preached to you, let him be condemned! As we have already said, so now I say again: If anybody is

¹⁰⁵⁶ Exodus 23:2.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Jeremiah 12:10.

¹⁰⁵⁸ 1 John:1.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Galatians 2:18.

preaching to you a gospel other than what you accepted, let him be eternally condemned!"¹⁰⁶⁰ And since you have violated the decision of Nicaea, and especially that of Ephesus, you have become subject to the condemnation of the Apostle."

Story 56. A pious man saw in a vision a convention of bishops and the Apostle Paul standing in their midst. The Apostle said, "Here are my counsels, here are my covenants and instructions." After delivering to them a lesson, he said, "Wash from this jug." When they washed, leprosy appeared on their faces. He rejoined, "See, none of you is wholesome."

Story 57. A pious, orthodox layman called Marcian rebuked the bishop of Pamphylia when he heard him raving in his sermon. Marcian was arrested by the prefect. He was tormented until it was believed that he had died. A day later, however, he regained consciousness with full health. He said to the believers, after he was scourged three times by an ox whip, that a person clothed in white appeared on his right and he did not feel pain. A man with incurable leprosy was present there. When he was rubbed with the blood, which flowed from Marcian, he was healed.

Story 58. While the council was in session, the blessed Timothy of Alexandria told Abba John who was sent to him as an exile, "I saw in a vision that a council had met at Alexandria. As I drew near to receive the communion, I saw that the bread was black and the wine was vinegar." This is an indication of the negligence that will take place in the church.

Story 59. When the monk Anastasius of Edessa studied under Abba Peter, he condemned the council. When he decided to take communion, he saw in a dream that he was being baptized anew. He was wearing a white garment and walking in a procession preceded by candles. He became doubtful because he was already baptized. However, he heard the old man who directed him to Abba Peter saying, "Have no doubt. This is not a second baptism. For all those who revert to orthodoxy deserve such glory and light."

Story 60. The presbyter Thamasium said, "We decided to leave before the arrival of the heretical bishop of Rinocorora. A man who had a child not yet baptized, insisted that we baptize him before the arrival of the heretical bishop. While baptized, the child exclaimed "Catch this dove before it gets away." Evidently, the Spirit appeared to him in the form of a dove signifying that God's grace had abandoned their churches after the heretics took control of them.

Story 61. Abba Peter related about a clerical friend who apostatized in the time of Proterius and to whom he was attached. He said that he met him in a narrow street but shunned him. The cleric, however, approached him and greeted him. Abba Peter returned his greetings unwillingly. At night he saw the spacious plain radiant with light in which the saints congregated and the Lord was in their midst. Abba Peter says that he rushed to worship the Lord but he turned away his face from me angrily. Immediately, I knew that the reason was my shunning of the apostate cleric. I said, "Have mercy on me Lord. I did not behave that way by my own will." Abba Peter went on to say, "He (the Lord) almost accepted the intercession of saints on my behalf and was merciful to me."

Story 62. A group of orthodox went to see a stylite monk in Beirut. The monk noticed that they were not taking communion in the church. He asked them angrily, "Where do you then take the communion?" They said, "We carry a communion given us by the fathers and partake in it." The monk said, "How dare you, laymen, receive the communion by your own order?" They replied, "The orthodox fathers allowed us to do so." When they gathered on Sunday to take the communion as usual, one of them, heeding the admonition of the Stylite monks, hesitated to partake in the communion. However, he restrained himself and decided to take the communion. As he received the particle of the consecrated bread, it appeared in his hand glowing but stained with blood.

Story 63. Stephen, archdeacon of Jerusalem, had a sister who spent the whole year in fasting and prayer. She attained so a high degree of perfection that she was worthy to see John the Baptist and St. Stephen in his church. One day, after the council (of Chalcedon) assembled, as she was praying with the apostates in the same church in order not to be deprived of seeing the saint (John), the martyr appeared to

¹⁰⁶⁰ Galatians 1:8-9.

her and said to her, "Go and stay in your cell. Do not be disturbed or think that you are (physically) far away from us. For wherever you are, we will be there too."

Story 64. An orthodox woman from Pamphylia went up to the Church of the Resurrection to pray. It happened that a council had convened at the church. The doors were shut while she was inside. Unable to get out, she hid herself under a church column. When the meeting was over, she returned to her cell. She fell sick and grew close to death. She cried out, "Come and see what charge they attached to me? They say how can we believe you while you are orthodox?" She went on to say, "I remained there until the meeting of the apostates dispersed. I saw the unworthy offer the elements to the worthy."

Story 65. One day, she (perhaps the woman in the former story) saw herself standing before the throne of God for judgment. She heard a voice saying, "The Son of God was born by the Virgin Mary, suffered and died for us." When she confessed these words, she was received and won God's graciousness.

Story 66. In Attalia Pamphylia, there was a superior of a convent of orthodox nuns named Zoe. One time she saw in a vision that she was in Paradise. In its midst stood the wood of the Living Cross. Bees hovered around the tree trying to suck the nectar but were driven away by a deacon clothed in white. When she asked him what was the reason for this, he answered: "These are the ones who embraced the Council of Chalcedon and renounced the creed of faith." Then, Claudianus, bishop of Attalia, approached the nun. She scolded him for signing a document that contradicted the faith. He said, "I signed with my hand but not with my heart and soul." She said to him, "How can the hand move unless it is motivated by the soul? As the sword cannot move on its own, thus the hand cannot move without the soul."

Story 67. During the period when the orthodox faith was retreating, Leontius of Lucia, a superior of the monastery, saw in a vision that the covers of the church altar were ripped off and the holy elements were thrown on the ground. He did not enter the church saying, "They are of the four gods."

Story 68. On the same day when the council ended its acts and declared blasphemy, a pious man saw the church turning into a stable crowded with unclean animals and with an offensive stench.

Story 69. Epictetus, archimandrite of a monastery in Pamphylia, saw Amphilochius, bishop of Side, had sunk in the mud up to the neck. He asked him, "How do you feel in this mud while you were adorned with a life of piety?" Amphilochius said, "Good is from God and evil is from us. I have suffered this because I agreed with the council." It is said that it was he who wrote down the *Tome* of Leo.

Story 70. Agatassia, a pious woman, desired to take communion after the schism (caused by the Council of Chalcedon). She asked for God's guidance. In a dream, she saw two altars: one great but simple, and free from covers on which was officiating one of the council's bishops. The other altar, to the left, was small but gleaming with inlaid gems. The Lord was standing on top of it as an infant offering the communion. He said to her, "Here it is, take it." She consented and did not take the communion from those who held Two Natures.

Story 71. The two brothers Timothy and John were from the Monastery of Abba Romanus of Pelusen. Timothy became very weak and died. The brethren washed him as usual and laid him in a bier to have him buried, but he sprang up alive. Weeping, he told the brethren who surrounded him that he truly died and was taken to the place of judgment. He kept shouting, "The truth, the truth. You witness how cautious I was when I was with you not to induce doubt in any one of you. Although I was a believer, I found no comfort except by protecting the orthodox faith from adulteration; I did not follow the doctrine of Chalcedon."

Story 72. Someone set up a canopy at the gate of a princess's palace in Antioch. He lived in it summer and winter wearing only a tunic. He adhered to silence but continued to pray in tears and lamentation. He did not take silver from anyone save the food of green produce offered to him every evening by a greengrocer in an adjacent shop. He continued to debate with the Nestorians and overwhelmed them. They countered by beating him until they almost killed him. I went to see this pious man. He asked to see Nonus, bishop of Qinnasrin who was also the archimandrite of the Monastery of 'Aqiba. He also had upbraided Martyrius of Antioch. After Peter of Antioch was deposed, Martyrius ordained him out of jealousy and envy. I accompanied Nonus but rushed ahead of him to inform the pious

man about him. When Nonus arrived, I said to the pious man, "This is the man I told you about." He became indignant and said, "All this happened because of him?" He censured Nonus and spat in his face. I said to him, "He is a bishop." Pointing with his finger threateningly, he said, "This wretched man has partaken with those assembled at Chalcedon in the ordination and thus brought disgrace to orthodoxy. He is guilty of saying that Christ is a man clothed in divinity." The pious man went on saying, "The heretics of Antioch are likewise guilty for saying that, 'It is the body of a righteous man.' We say to these men what the apostle already said that, 'Anyone who rejected the Law of Moses died without mercy. How much more severely do you think a man deserves to be punished who has trampled the Son of God underfoot, who has treated as unholy thing the blood of the covenant, and who has insulted the spirit of grace?'"¹⁰⁶¹ Now, if the wrath of God was upon Israel because of one sin, after the multitude of miracles wrought in the days of Moses and Joshua son of Nun, how much more God's wrath will be against the Council of Chalcedon of wicked name in which bishops and nations trampled not only upon one simple commandment, but the whole faith and doctrine? How is it that by their own will they brought upon themselves the wrath of God against the whole earth? Therefore, I repeat what I said earlier that, 'I will not be with you anymore unless you remove the anathema from your midst.'" ¹⁰⁶² This has been revealed by he who is the source of everything. Since then however, the kingdom of the Romans (Byzantines) waned and the barbarians controlled it.

The above stories were collected assiduously by St. John the disciple of the blessed Bishop Peter the Iberian. He recorded them to show that the corruption done by the transgression of the Council of Chalcedon was the work of the devil. *He who reads let him pray for the weak and sinful copyist.*

Extracts from the Ecclesiastical History of Zachariah Rhetor (of Mitylene) On the conflict which took place at Chalcedon

Emperor Marcian delivered a public address in the Church of the Martyr Euphemia in the following terms:

"Since God has chosen us as believers, and accounted us worthy of the kingdom of God amidst all the care of public business, no concern whatever in which we might be involved was allowed to hinder us. However, we made it our choice to honor the true faith of the Christians, and to accustom the minds of men to it, with purity. All novelty of false doctrine and preaching that do not agree with the well-proved doctrine of the Fathers are taken out of our midst. Therefore we summoned this holy Synod that it might cleanse away all darkness, and put away filth of thoughts that so, in pure mind, the doctrine of the faith which is in our Lord Jesus Christ might be established."¹⁰⁶³

When the emperor had finished his public address, the bishops praised him and the Tome of Leo, affirming that it agreed with the faith of the Apostle Peter.¹⁰⁶⁴

Now, that the council reached such a result, it sent Dioscorus to exile in Gangra and appointed in his place his presbyter Pretorius. At first, Pretorius had contented against the Council (of Chalcedon). Afterwards, intending to snatch the See (of Alexandria) for himself, he became like Judas, a betrayer of his master, and like Absalom of his father, he forced the others to agree with himself, but they refused. He sent them into banishment and seized their properties. Thus, the chief priests, the presbyters and the monks, nay the whole church were split into two factions. When the orthodox perceived that the faith had been polluted and Dioscorus was unjustly deposed, they met and proclaimed Dioscorus and wrote his name in the Book of Life. Pretorius became very indignant. He offered gifts to the Romans and armed them against the people and had many from both sides killed. In addition, many died at the Altar and at the Baptistry.¹⁰⁶⁵

¹⁰⁶¹ Hebrews 10:28.

¹⁰⁶² Cf. Joshua 7:12.

¹⁰⁶³ *The Syrian Chronicle Known as that of Zachariah of Mitylene*, translated by F. J. Hamilton and E.W. Brooks (London: Methuen, 1899), 47 hereafter *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*.

¹⁰⁶⁴ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, *Ibid.* 47.

¹⁰⁶⁵ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, *Ibid.* 48.

The Council of Chalcedon was convened to corrupt and confound the whole world. It destroyed the peace that prevailed for seventy years in the time of the Emperors Theodosius, Arcadius and Theodosius II. Marcian transgressed the canons since his early days when he married the nun Pulcheria, who was living in a state of virginity, I think, for fifty years. By convoking the corrupt council, he stirred up persecution against the Christians and thousands died without baptism because of the schism.

When Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem, was summoned to Chalcedon, he called his clergy the monks and the people to gather together. He exposed the false doctrine of the *Tome* of Leo and anathematized it. He also anathematized everyone who held the doctrine of Two Natures. He charged them all, that if they should pervert the belief of One Nature, they should hold communion with him no more.¹⁰⁶⁶

At the beginning when Juvenal attended Chalcedon, he was on the side of Dioscorus struggling for the faith, but the royal pressure came to bear upon the bishops. The emperor also used flattery and compliments, waited personally upon the bishops at the banquet and showed great condescension as the interest of the kingdom required. Furthermore, he promised to grant three provinces of Palestine to the honor of the See of Jerusalem. For all these reasons, the eyes of Juvenal's mind were darkened and he deserted Dioscorus and went over to the opposite side.

Upon their return to Palestine, the monk Theodosius and his companions told about the betrayal of the faith. When Juvenal returned, they met him and reminded him of what he said and exposed his lies. They ordained Theodosius as their bishop and placed him forcefully on the throne. Theodosius ordained a number of bishops and other clergy for Palestine.

Juvenal proceeded to persecute (the Orthodox) supported by the Romans (Byzantines) until he reached Jerusalem. He sat on the throne having violated his oath and covenant. One of the prudent and zealous monks named Solomon was stirred up in the spirit. He filled a bag with dust and ashes and placed it under his armpit. He feigned he wanted to receive Juvenal's blessing. When he drew near to Juvenal, he emptied the bag on Juvenal's head saying, "Shame upon you liar and persecutor!" Then, when the Roman guard were about to strike him, Juvenal would not allow it. He was not enraged, but was rather moved to penitence by this, and shook the dust from his head. He ordered that money for his expenses should be given to him, and that he should leave the country. The monk, however, refused the money but left the country.¹⁰⁶⁷

Theodosius, bishop of Jerusalem, went about confirming and encouraging the believers. Marcian heard of him and ordered Juvenal, Count Dorotheus and the guard to arrest him and the bishops in his company, and send them into exile with the exception of Peter, bishop of Iberia, who was left free by order of the queen.

Peter was a king's son who had been given as hostage to Theodosius, and was beloved by him and by his wife Eudocia on account of his excellent demeanor. He was placed in charge of the royal horses. However, he and his father John by baptism, decided to devote themselves to Christ's service. God wrought signs of wonder by their means in Constantinople. They fled from thence to Palestine in order to be hidden. Although they desired to be hidden there, yet they became immensely celebrated.

As troubles were rocking the church, the people of Mayuma-Gaza went out, seized Peter, and brought him to Jerusalem to Theodosius asking him to be their bishop. Peter, however, refused ordination. He was so agitated that he even called himself a heretic. When Theodosius heard this he was surprised and said to Peter, "My cause and yours are before the Judgment Seat of Christ." Fearful, the Pious Peter said, "A heretic indeed I am not, but a sinner." Theodosius then made him a bishop for Gaza. When the report of this reached Marcian and Pulcheria, they ordered that he should not be persecuted. Thus, Peter enjoyed safety by order of the queen at a time when persecution extended to everyone. Then, he saw the Lord in a vision saying to him indignantly, "What's the matter with you, Peter? I am being expelled by my believing

¹⁰⁶⁶ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 49.

¹⁰⁶⁷ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 55.

servants, and you are remaining quiet and at rest?" Then Peter repented and obeyed, and left Gaza and joined those who were expelled and departed with them.¹⁰⁶⁸

Juvenal, by means of the armed force of the Romans, persecuted the believers. He ordered the Romans and the Samaritans to kill anyone who did not accept the council (of Chalcedon). A certain blind Samaritan deceived his own guide by saying, "Since my eyes cannot see the blood of the slaughter of these Christians so that I may delight myself in it, bring me near and I shall feel it." When the guide brought him near and caused him to feel it, he dipped his hand in the blood. He prostrated himself upon the ground and wept with prayer and supplication, that he might share in their martyrdom. Then he smeared his eyes and they were opened. He and a great multitude were baptized.

When Theodosius was sought by the emperor through the entire province, he assumed the garb of a Roman, having on his head hair and a helmet. He went about confirming and encouraging the believers. When he came near the environs of Sidon, he was seized by one of his friends. The Nestorians went up to the emperor asking him to send men to guard him. They imprisoned him in a small house belonging to the monks in which there was quicklime. They disputed with him constantly but failed to win him to agree to their will. He said to them, "Even though I am imprisoned and thereby prevented from going about in the different places according to my former custom, yet as long as the breath is in my nostrils, the word of God shall not be imprisoned in me." The Eutychian party also imagined that he would agree with them. However, he showed them that they were in agreement with Manes and Marcion. Because they laid on him one affliction after another, his soul remained steadfast in the good fight.

While there, Peter came upon some writings of John the Rhetorician from Alexandria that were full of false doctrine. He exposed the man and anathematized him. Having finished his course, contended in the fight and kept the faith, he left an example of courage to the believers, and died in prison.¹⁰⁶⁹ He was like the confessor Dioscorus who also died in prison.

The people of Alexandria were immensely grieved upon hearing the report of Dioscorus' death. However, they continued to remember his name although they could not appoint an immediate shepherd for fear of (Emperor) Marcian. When Marcian heard that they were intending to appoint a bishop, he sent John, the chief of the Silentiaries, with a letter from himself exhorting the Alexandrians to be united with Pretorius. When he came, saw their piety, and received from them a petition expressing their faith and how much they suffered at the hands of Pretorius, he returned to the emperor and told him about these matters. The emperor, perceiving the things that were written about Pretorius in the petition, blamed him for his pride and craftiness.¹⁰⁷⁰ However, the Egyptians made the pious Timothy their chief priest, who showed that he was truly what a priest should be. For the gold and the silver that were given to the Romans in the days of Pretorius, he expended upon the poor. When the partisans of Pretorius saw Timothy's virtues, they petitioned him to accept them into his communion. They also promised that they would go to Rome to Leo, and admonish him to remove the novelties that he had written in his Tome. They knew that he was chauvinistic and wealthy, but Eustathius, bishop of Beirut, interceded with Timothy on their behalf to be accepted. However, the jealousy and hatred of the citizens against these persons were great because of the various sufferings that they had endured (under Pretorius). Therefore, they would not consent to their reception.¹⁰⁷¹

The acts of the Council of Chalcedon created scandals and disputations everywhere. As it is written, the Christians became a subject of derision and mockery of their neighbors.¹⁰⁷² The Jews too derided Christianity. They wrote a poster and hanged it on the marketplace written on it, "Merciful Emperor Marcian! All these years it was alleged that the fathers of the Hebrew nation crucified a God and not a man.

¹⁰⁶⁸ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 52 and 54.

¹⁰⁶⁹ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 55-56.

¹⁰⁷⁰ I have added this passage from p. 59 of the English translation of the original Syriac, which illustrates the attitude of Marcian more fully.

¹⁰⁷¹ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 67.

¹⁰⁷² Cf. Psalm 44:14-15.

But since the Council of Chalcedon affirmed that they have crucified a man and not God, we ask that you remove from us this charge and restore to us our synagogues.”

A solitary ascetic wrote to Marcian, “The world had perished and the devils are dancing in the church for you have installed an Antichrist in our city. No one prays anymore for your kingdom because the people do not congregate in the churches. Moreover, many have slept before receiving the sacrament of baptism in the name of our Lord to whom we pray to prolong your life. Abolish the acts of the Council of Chalcedon and publish the ordinances which are in conformity with the ideas of our fathers.”

When Theodoret (Bishop of Cyrus) passed by Simon the Stylite, he attempted to draw him to those who hold Two Natures. For this reason, it was rumored among the adherent of Chalcedon that Simon had accepted their ideas. However, Simon did not yield to them. This is manifest from the letter he addressed to Emperor Leo¹⁰⁷³ in which was mentioned that, “Having received your letters, I expected that some amendment and revision be done to the Acts of the anathematized Council of Chalcedon, which acted falsely against the word of truth. Thus, the serenity of the church of God was disturbed by the falsehood of the condemned heretics. Moreover, when the appointed time arrived and nothing of my expectations was accomplished, my old age became much more filled with sorrows. However, I have hope in He who said, ‘And afterwards, I will pour out my Spirit on all people old and young. And no one shall ever say to his companion come let us know the Lord.’¹⁰⁷⁴ I am still adhering to this hope like a ship’s anchor and will preserve it to the end, and no one in the world can keep me from it. I entreat your majesty to preserve the immaculate faith of the saint of Nicaea, which they delivered to God’s holy Church without adulteration or change.”

Another extract from the writings of John Philoponus showing clearly the unfortunate iniquitous blasphemy which took place at the Council of Chalcedon, and which was rejected by the pious Fathers who preserved the orthodox faith without revision or change¹⁰⁷⁵

Since among all the creatures on earth, man is the only one that God gifted with speech, and showed that speech is something noble by calling himself the Word, it is appropriate that we men, seek always proper and decent terms, whether great or small, as wisely expressed by someone who said, “I had as a rule never to allow myself to lie or conceal the truth.” That is what I also want to do now. May God help me! When the truth is corrupted, God is offended at the same time. Let us then say with caution, and prove with brevity using appropriate terminology, to make known what is invisible by what is visible.

The reason that invites discussion is the refutation, in abbreviated form, of the things in which it is suitable to fathom the truth. It is the function of the spoken word to reveal what is not obvious with what is obvious.

Leo wrote in his *Tome* ideas similar to those of Nestorius. He said, “Both the lowliness of man and the loftiness of the Godhead meet together. For just as “God” is not changed by the compassion (exhibited), so “Man” is not consumed by the dignity (bestowed). Thus, I say both meet together.”¹⁰⁷⁶ Clearly, the one is God, the Son and the Word of the Father and the other is the man from Mary. This is established

¹⁰⁷³ The Great who was emperor from, 457 to 474.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Cf. Joel 2:28.

¹⁰⁷⁵ John Philoponus is a sixth-century Christian Greek philosopher and grammarian. He taught that the divine essence is three folds and for this, he was condemned by an Egyptian council of bishops. Of his writings is the *Book of the Eternality of the World*, which is lost to us.

¹⁰⁷⁶ See the translation of the *Tome* of Leo by William Bright in *The Christology of the Christian Fathers*, Vol. III, ed. Edward Rochie Hardy (Philadelphia: the Westminster Press, 1954): 364-365; *The Tome of Pope Leo the Great*, translated by E. H. Blakeney, (London: Society of the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 1923), 29-31, and Richard Price and Michael Gaddis, *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*: Volume 2 (Liverpool University Press, 2007): 19. Price and Gaddis say that “the lowliness of man and the greatness of the Godhead are both with each other.” They do qualify the passage “with each other” in footnote 48 on the same page 19 saying that ‘with each other’ is a felicitous rendering of the Latin *in invicem sunt*, which could equally mean, less fortunately, that the two natures act alternately.’ Be that as it may, Leo, whether deliberately or inadvertently, has in fact, separated the two natures of Christ from each other, same as Nestorius did. See also Price and Gaddis, 2: 25, footnote 79.

BOOK EIGHT

with respect to our Lord Jesus. The mere unity of the Two Natures does not diminish the distinction of the *qnume* (essences, persons, or hypostasis).¹⁰⁷⁷

The expression means that one form exists with the other. To say that a thing is unique and exists with itself is absolutely incomprehensible. No one would say that the soul and the body are one with the other. Perhaps, one would say that the soul is in the body, but not the body is in the soul. Therefore, if God and man are in the Lord Christ, how are they with each other? As for instance, Peter and John can be one with the other, when one considers them in a certain affinity or participation where Peter is with John and John is with Peter. Therefore, Christ is not in one but in two hypostases: God and man. Indeed, those who agree with Paul of Samosata and Theodore (of Mopsuestia), say that the term "Christ" is significant of both hypostases. Leo, being Nestorian, wrote things that were in agreement with them. However, the opinions of Theodore may be moderated in some parts by the opinions of Leo.

In his Third Treatise against Apollinaris, Theodore says the following, "He was in him, not only when he ascended to heaven, but when he also rose from the dead. For God has raised him up by his own pledge; and not only when he resurrected but also when he was crucified and baptized. He only accomplished the evangelical dispensation after baptism."

Leo says, "Since the lowliness of man and the loftiness of the Godhead are united, God does not undergo change through compassion, and so the man is not consumed by the greatness of divine dignity." How, then, was that humble man the object of God's mercy? However, if Leo had thought that the Lord Christ was one *qnumo* (hypostasis), that is the Incarnated God, he would not have divided him into two: God and man, "who are one with the other." Leo says, "The one, God, has the compassion and the other, man, receives this compassion. One who is not transformed when he does mercy and that humble man is not consumed by the greatness of the divine dignity which is extended to him." He goes on to say that, "For each form performs what is proper to it in communion with the other; the Word performing what belongs to the Word, and the flesh (body) performing what belongs to the body. The one of these shines out in miracles; the other succumbs to injuries (outrages)."¹⁰⁷⁸ Leo has again established two forms of God and man. As was said previously, he attributed to them a dual operation, but, in reality, he separates them when he spoke of "each of them," and the communion "of the one with the other." Consequently, he has to divide at the same time matters where their communion is found: the opprobrious acts and the wonders, and distinguish what is fitting to each of them. Since the Word does the things agreeable to God to make him shine in miracles, and man, the things that can cause him to fall under outrage, what is, then, the communion of these two forms? Is it not obvious that God makes the lowly acts of man his because of that intended union (of the two natures) up to, or according to the circumstances, as those who are accustomed to say, and appropriately recall this maxim. If the one, who despises the followers of Christ, despises Christ himself, does not he also despise man who is united with God? For he (Christ) said, "He who receives you receives me and he who receives me receives the one who sent me."¹⁰⁷⁹ Moreover, this man because of that communion with God the Word must consider as his own the glory resulting from the miracles. All the other things concerning this man must be understood in the same way. Indeed, this is in agreement with what is said that he participates in the divine dignity with God the Word. Any participation involves two persons or hypostases; a non-subsisting person does not exist. No one will absolutely argue to the contrary.

The partisans of Nestorius say that the terms "Christ," "Son," "Lord," are common names indicative of two natures. However, they say that "God", "Word" and "man" indicate one person because

¹⁰⁷⁷ It is of utmost importance to remember that catholic doctrine teaches that there are two natures in Christ, divine and human, substantially merged (hypostatically) in the single person of the Verb. The "monophysites" admit no differentiation between the concepts of nature, hypostasis or person and they conclude that, if there is one person, there is necessarily only one nature. They blame the Roman Catholics of teaching the same thing as the Nestorians, by declaring two natures. The Nestorians deny the hypostatic union of the natures and say that the natures constitute one single person solely due to their moral union depending upon residence, or up to will and affection, or according to the power and process. See J. B. Chabot, *Chronique De Michel Le Syrien*, 2: 94, footnote 5.

¹⁰⁷⁸ See William Bright, 365; Blakeney, 29-31; and Price and Gaddis, 2:19.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Matthew 10:49.

of their participation with each other, in as much as those who share in civil matters form mutually a single person that is, an affinity. Consequently, Leo by saying these things of our Lord Christ means by this appellation God the Word and the man born of Mary. For, he establishes that Christ is one person only in respect to the name because of the participation in operation, glory and shame. In fact, if Leo had not intended to mean this, but naturally the hypostatic union of the two: the divine and the human, he would have not divided Christ into two persons: God and man, in saying that God and man have a single person. However, he would have said that unique composite Christ has a single person or hypostasis. The following quotation shows quite clearly Leo's thought. In fact, having said that God and man have a single person, he immediately retracts because he is afraid that someone will think that the single person has been mentioned in the sense of a single hypostasis. This, moreover, is not possible since he says "of God and man."

Section Two

It is futile to discuss the number of bishops who assembled at Chalcedon whether they were 630, which number was augmented later. Most likely, they were about one hundred in the First Session, but not all of them attended the entire session. In fact, the number of bishops compared to their names was practically less than three hundred. Among them, were presbyters representing their bishops while some bishops represented other bishops and were authorized to speak in their names? The number of the bishops who assembled did not exceed 300. This is evident from the available sources. A member who had signed affirmed to me as related to him by those who have signed, that this was the number of the signatories.¹⁰⁸⁰ Should one object that, after the deposition of Dioscorus, when the council discussed the case of the Egyptian bishops, Lucentius, representative of Leo, said, "How is it not possible for six hundred bishops to issue a condemnation of ten men?"¹⁰⁸¹ Let us first listen to Cecropius, bishop of Sebastopolis (of First Armenia) who said about these ten (Egyptian) bishops that, "The ecumenical council is greater than the Egyptian diocese, and more worthy of respect. It is not right that ten heretics should be heard and one thousand and two hundred bishops be ignored."¹⁰⁸² So, this one (Cecropius) doubled the number of bishops mentioned by the other (Lucentius).¹⁰⁸³ If the subject is not highly exaggerated, one of them is a liar and contradicts the other. Relying on the documents of the council we can say, "If we review the signatories of the entire second session of the council, we will not find a number more than the one we have already mentioned. Whatever is said about this figure or that is exaggerated. In fact, it was even said that the bishops numbered ten thousands, although this does not convince anyone." However, despite all objections, we may say, "One of them (Lucentius and Cecropius) must be a liar."

Section Three

Several councils, not only orthodox but also Arian, convened at different times, but in none of them was it reported that commissioners and magistrates made decisions. When it was necessary for Constantine to convoke the Council of Nicaea, he sat with the assembled bishops. He first arrived at his royal hall, but when the bishop entered in, he followed them as they had taken their seats. He stood in the middle overwhelmed by joy. A small chair was placed for him. He did not sit at the head of the meeting until he was asked by the bishops. He did this in order to avoid issuing any decision concerning the actions of the council like a judge. Emperor Theodosius II did the same when he convoked the Second Council of Ephesus. He delegated Candidianus to the council to insure the safe order of the assembly of bishops. He addressed a letter to them saying, among other things, "We have instructed Candidianus the most illustrious

¹⁰⁸⁰ Price and Gaddis list the names of 343 bishops who assembled in the First Session. See Price and Gaddis, 1, 122-128.

¹⁰⁸¹ According to the translation of Price and Gaddis, 2: 152, Lucentius said, "If (the Egyptian bishops) are in error, let them learn from your magnificence that ten men cannot prejudice a council of six hundred bishops."

¹⁰⁸² It should be noticed that Michael Rabo has reversed the role of Lucentius and Cecropius by making Lucentius speak before Cecropius while the reverse is more correct. See Price and Gaddis, 2, 151-152.

¹⁰⁸³ Apparently, Michael Rabo has misunderstood the figure of one thousand and two hundred bishops to mean those who assembled at Chalcedon. Most likely, the figure indicates the total number of bishops in the Roman Empire. See Price and Gaddis, 151, footnote 39.

BOOK EIGHT

*comes sacrorum domesticorum*¹⁰⁸⁴ to attend the holy council and without restraint participate with the bishops in implementing their decisions concerning the doctrines; for it is unlawful according to the canons for someone who is not a bishop to participate in the discussion of ecclesiastical issues, etc.” Theodosius also wrote about similar matters, and no one who was not a bishop dare partake in the discussion of ecclesiastical issues. This, in fact, was the case of all the preceding councils.

As to (Emperor) Marcian, he acted to the contrary. Fearing that the bishops, whose majority welcomed orthodox dogmas, might overcome those who espoused the ideas of Nestorius, he shoved them aside. He set up above them officials and magistrates, some of whom harbored heathen, Manichean and other heretical ideas. Most of them were friends of Nestorius like Sporacius, the deputy of Theodoret, who published most of his writings. Such men, Marcian set up as judges in the council, which was an improper thing to do. In addition, he decided the deposition of Dioscorus that had already been determined by Leo before the convocation of the council (of Chalcedon). Moreover, he restored the bishops of Nestorian inclination, and who were deposed by the Second Council of Ephesus. Likewise, he restored them to the office of the priesthood by Leo’s decision before the council assembled. Worse still, he personally restored those who had been deposed by the Second Council of Ephesus for their Nestorian inclination without a resolution of an ecumenical council. Finally, he issued a new and general ordinance without scrutiny or deliberation.

The relocation of the council from Nicaea to Chalcedon was inevitably by the suggestion of its prefect and by divine inspiration. This was to prevent the council from meeting in the same place (Nicaea) where the 318 pious bishops had assembled and consequently, both councils would share the same name. All of this happened in order that Leo (bishop of Rome) would be the leader. As a result, controversies took place in the churches over the ranks of churches. We learned that many bishops were expelled from their sees and banished for rejecting heretical ideas. They were replaced by others by order of the emperor and they are still living, but these wounds were to offer them leisure. For it is not permissible that someone should be deprived of the things he has and replaced by someone else. Indeed, in time of recreation all men recede into error and thus everyone lose dignity. However, justice should take its course concerning those who have struggled in the cause of the faith.

Those (bishops), the robbers of homes, who were deposed by the Second Council of Ephesus, were confirmed in their sees by Leo. For example, many charges were brought against Hiba (Ibas), and Irenaeus, who had Nestorian tendencies, was married twice. So were Sophronius of Tella and Theodoret of Cyrus who wrote to John of Antioch vilifying St. Cyril, of blessed memory, after his death. He said, “As of late this wicked man died but the righteous depart this life before their time. Truthfully, the life of the wicked is long. I believe that when the Lord of all takes unto him the righteous before their time, he does this in order to save them from the tribulations and agonies of this life and transport them to the place of good reward prepared for the fighters in the field of piety, and to where there is no old age, suffering or toil. As to evil doers and those inclined to do evil, he allows them to indulge in this life either to be satiated by the venom of evil and learn how to practice piety, or to be subjected to the judgment of reason in this life too, where they will be tormented for their life which is full of severe storms and difficult to handle troubles. Concerning that villain (St. Cyril), the shepherd of souls (Christ) did not permit him to enjoy what we erroneously consider pleasant things. However, when he saw that the wickedness of this man increased day after day, and that he was corrupting the body of the church, he eradicated the malady and removed the disgrace from the children of Israel. I am happy for those who are still here. I believe that the release of this man has apparently disturbed those who have already departed. We fear that they might immediately send him back to us because of his proximity to them, or he might flee from those who have led him as does the tyrant-hunter Lucian. Therefore, your holiness (John of Antioch) should not slacken regarding this matter, but order the bearers of his bier to place a big and heavy stone on the grave. This will prevent him from coming back to stir up anew adverse ideas, present to those beneath novel ideas and present himself as

¹⁰⁸⁴ See *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et Amplissima*, 6, ed. Giovanni D. Mansi 17 Vols. (Florence and Venice, 1759-1798), 119.

eloquent day and night. We are not apprehensive that he might create a division among these, lead them astray from piety and ascribe death to the undying divine nature. This proposition makes a fool of all other propositions not only for those who walk in the path of God, but of Nimrud, Pharaoh and Sennacherib also. If someone else argues with God, then my prattle is useless if that coward does not keep silent in spite of himself. His soul will depart and he will return to dust. On that day, his thoughts will perish. This situation calls for more silence. His tongue shall be tied up when things have been revealed, his mind reproached and he will be obliged to keep silent and bow down to the ground. Therefore, I feel pity for the condition of that wretch and wet my face with tears. The glad tiding of his end does not make my joy pure but marred with some sorrow. However, I feel glad and happy when I see those on our side have been relieved from this disease. I grieve immensely when I think or contemplate this matter. A man like this cannot work or calm down evil, but die while pursuing greater and more obscene things. He (St. Cyril) longed, as it was reported, to disturb the peaceful state of the capital and fight against doctrines that have the form of piety. With his belief, he had even brought charges against your holiness. God saw this and gave him no chance, but silenced his mouth and returned him to the dust from which he had been taken. We are worthy, by your prayer, to have mercy which exceeds the unlimited kindness of God. We entreat your holiness to drive away from us psychological worry and disturbing news that disrupt our ranks and symbolize common chastisements. Some say that your piety came to the army barracks against your will. Until now, I was considering these rumors as false. Concerning the rest of the issues, which are discussed by many, I have given them serious thought. Here I am seeking the truth from your lordship. Either deride these rumors or accept the truth as it is.¹⁰⁸⁵

Section Four

Domnus was also among them.¹⁰⁸⁶ Paschasinus, representative of Leo said, "We have instructions from Archbishop Leo declaring that Dioscorus should not take a seat at the assembly but should be expelled."¹⁰⁸⁷ I wonder what canon has given the bishop of Rome all this authority, and what ecclesiastical legislation has empowered him to act how he willed and issue resolutions without a just council. This is truly unfair. For a man to act on whatever he wishes without the consent of anyone is only done by tyrants. If they (the bishops of Rome) were given the apostolic authority of Peter and the keys of heaven were handed to them as they claim, let them consider the other cities that take pride in the Apostles. I should overlook our city (Antioch), which administers the See of Jerusalem. I should also mention the city of Ephesus, which was administered by the Apostle John, and Constantinople, to which was transferred the capital of the empire. The bishop of Rome, who was overcome by willfulness, thought of changing the faith of the people for the sake of an apostolic see, but which one of the followers of Christ wants to imitate him? Therefore, the bishops of Great Antioch do not consent to what has been previously said. First, because Peter, whom the Romans consider the greatest, tended its (Antioch) flock before he did other cities. Second, it was in Antioch that the noble name of Christians was first established.¹⁰⁸⁸ I wonder why the bishop of Jerusalem should not be the greatest.

The authority of that (bishop of Rome) derived from the authority of the empire. The precedence of the see (of Rome) was based on custom because Rome was a grand and important city in the empire. For this reason, the bishop of Rome usurped entire power while knowing that no ecclesiastical canon or royal ordinance had conferred upon him such power. It was nothing but Roman arrogance. The same took place in our days and at the Council of Constantinople concerning the deliberations of the Three Chapters. The assembled bishops anathematized Theodore, Theodoret and the letter of Ibas to Mari. Vigilius of Rome,

¹⁰⁸⁵ See *Patrologia Graeca*, LXXXIII, 1489, Mansi, 11: 295, and J. B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 2 (Paris, 1901), rpt. Bruxelles, 1963), 100-101.

¹⁰⁸⁶ This is in reference to the bishops who were deposed by the Second Council of Ephesus.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Price and Gaddis, 1, 129, Mansi, 6:581 and V. C. Samuel, *The Council of Chalcedon Re-Examined* (Madras: India, 1977), 45, footnote 8.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Acts 11:26.

who had been at Constantinople for a long time, was invited to the council but did not attend, while his predecessor bishops of Rome did not attend other council because of remote distance. However, Vigilius was in the city. Therefore, his decline to attend was because of sheer pride detested by God. He did not even have shame to heed the Lord who humbled himself on our behalf and taught us saying, "Learn from me, for I am gentle and humble in heart."¹⁰⁸⁹ Nevertheless, the Lord did not make him (Vigilius) worthy to sit with the bishops, although he was nearby in the capital. Vigilius spontaneously confirmed the bishops' condemnation of the Three Chapters. Still, however, the bishop of Rome had no authority to convoke a council, for this was the mandatory prerogative of the emperors. Thus, the Second Council of Ephesus, chaired by Dioscorus, was convoked by the order of Emperor Theodosius II.

Lucentius, representative of Leo, said, "He (Dioscorus) should render an account of his judgment. Although he did not possess the role of a judge, he usurped it. He presumed to hold a council without the permission of the apostolic see, which has never been allowed and has never been done."¹⁰⁹⁰ Like Paschasius, Lucentius is asserting here the universal supremacy of the Rome over the entire Christian Church. This is not only untenable but also historically groundless. Indeed, the point the representatives of Leo wanted to make is that Dioscorus held the Second Council of Ephesus without the approval of the bishop of Rome, a claim not supported by church canons or imperial decrees. I wonder who gave Leo alone the authority to settle church problems. It is known that Rome was not represented by a bishop at the council of 150 bishops (the Council of Constantinople). Thus, the bishops assembled at Constantinople repulsed the arrogance of Damasus, (bishop of Rome) and those in his company. Indeed, Damasus and his bishops declared, and rightfully so, that the Church of Antioch was apostolic before their own church, and that the church of Jerusalem was the mother of all churches. It was called so in honor of James its first bishop and for the sacraments practiced in it. Even the judges who were appointed to depose Dioscorus did not agree about his deposition with the exception of 200 hundred of them including bishops, presbyters and many deacons.

Extracts From the Creed of Chalcedon

(According to the Council of Chalcedon) "Those who discuss the question of confusion and mixture, and hold that the divinity and the humanity (of Christ) are One Nature, do so without contemplation. They ascribe passion to the divine nature of the Son." In fact, your hypocrisy led you to such confusion. No one of those who investigated Christ has ever said that his divinity and humanity are one nature. However, they said, "One united nature of the Word God," or "One nature of Christ who is a composite of two natures," and that "Christ is one compound nature and one *hypostasis*."¹⁰⁹¹ Christ is one essence in each one of his natures and not anything else. It is evident from what you have just said that you hold one nature and one hypostasis for both the divine and the human natures. Consequently, and of necessity, this hypostasis is either simple or composite. If it is simple, it means that you say "One simple nature of the divine and the human natures." However, if you ascribe mixture, confusion and passion to the Word, the hypostasis in this case is simple. For it is about our Lord Jesus that he suffered by the body. If, then, the one hypostasis of Christ is compound, it is of necessity that it should also be so concerning the nature because nature itself belongs to the hypostasis. Nevertheless, if they maintain that he (Christ) is neither simple nor composite, he is, then, not one. If, after what has been said, he is one, he must be either simple or composite. Here the outcome should be as Theodoret, who claimed to know the Scriptures, attributed the term hypostasis to those that are multiple in numbers. So also does the apostle by attributing the term hypostasis to different matters, natures and persons, especially in relation to Christ. You, too, cover up the blasphemy of Nestorius by the pretext of the synonymity of expressions. You cunningly manipulate the letters of Cyril in order to conceal the blasphemy contained in the Tome of Leo, which we reject and run from. However, you attempt to make it in conformity with the profession of the great Peter. You also

¹⁰⁸⁹ Matthew 11:28.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Price and Gaddis, 1:19.

¹⁰⁹¹ Hypostasis, Syriac *qnumo*.

say that the general Resurrection is meant for the punishment of those who abuse the faith. I wonder whom you mean except those who attribute passion to the divinity of the Word. Likewise, Nestorius and the rest of the bishops fault Cyril because he did not submit to the pressure of dividing Christ into two natures. If this is so, then it is imperative that the divine nature of the Word, the Son, is exactly the same as the nature of the Father, and that he who has a human nature is son of Mary by nature, by the grace of God the Father and his equality of power with God, the Word.

We say to those who divide Christ into two, that they have already done so. They divided him into two and call the one the Son of Man, and the other God. Thus, they divide him into two and consider the Lord Christ to be two. But since the Scripture points to one Son, we find them avoid the term “two” while at the same time take into consideration the duality of the Son in relations to actions without which there is no nature. Probably, there is something specific beside something universal. Still, each of them has its own private constitution.

When some of them (Chalcedonians) try to establish the subject of two natures, they usually say that Christ has two natures: the divine simple nature and the human nature. The expression of “nature” applies to the universal alone. The particular is called “compact” that is indivisible. This one is called *qnumo* (hypostasis), and not nature, which is sheer ignorance and insanity, for the universal nature, is distinguished from the particular nature. For example, the utmost whiteness of the snow is found in comparison to the particular whiteness. The perfect man is compared with any other man whether Peter or Paul. If there is no nature peculiar to these men, no universal thing exists for it ties together all natures be they the nature of a man or an ox. However, man’s nature is more excellent than any other natures. Each one of the oxen has a nature and is described within the frame of this nature. Peter is a rational-dying animal. One part of him is compact and not subject to division. With the exception of the universal thing such as one sun and one moon, there is no, in fact, universal sun or universal moon. Even Adam who is one before the woman was made, was a man who had a human nature. This nature was inherent in him. He was, in fact, a rational-dying animal. The universal nature is like the nature of man, a horse or the nature of white or of weakness and does not exist in the individuality of man, horse, whiteness and feebleness. Composition does not happen to the universals but to the particulars. If, then, two natures are united in the Lord Jesus, they are undoubtedly particular and not universal. For the composition of what is universal is not possible because there is no particular characteristic to it. If this case is so, it is imperative that there should be here one nature composite of two united natures. Thus, if the union is not more than a mere expression existing by itself and does not apply to anything else, then Jesus Christ is one. From here, this cause is known.

Section Five

Those who hold the idea of two natures of the Lord Christ after the union, consider the hypostatic union as relative. If there are still two natures after the union, as they claim, the two natures should exist firm in their duality without addition or diminution. Even in this case, the union, according to them, is only by name and is not in actuality because the two natures did not meet in one. Consequently, there is no truth as some of them said, based on what they relate, that they have produced the theory of Two Natures of Christ saying that, “He (Christ) is also known as one in two natures.” They confessed that one is the outcome of the union of two. They said that, “The particular characteristic of each of them frees itself from the two natures and proceeds toward the one person and the one *qnumo* (hypostasis) at the same time.” Likewise, the partisans of Nestorius hold the belief of one person for the divinity and humanity of Christ. Theodore says that, “This does not indicate the duality of natures but the oneness of the person.” If the unity of person does not emanate from what is unessential, then, the unessential nature exists only by the word limited by thought. Thus, it is necessary that each of the two natures exist with a special hypostasis that their union is a mere appellation and that the one person for both of them denotes relationship or connection with one another and not to anything else. They also said that the one hypostasis is for one individual whether Paul or Peter. If they intended this hypostasis to be simple, then it is either pure God or pure man, but Christ is not only God, neither is he a mere man. If he (Christ) is simultaneously a composite

of divinity and humanity, he will undoubtedly be the hypostasis of the compound nature. In fact, the whole hypostasis is the very essence of the thing. Therefore, Christ is a compound One Nature after the union. If these are two natures after the union, how could there be one person (hypostasis) for both of them? Not unless one adopts the idea of Nestorius who considered the relationship of the two are one and co-partners in power. They (Chalcedonians) made of him (Christ) one person and considered him as one hypostasis equal to the person in power.

Section Six

Extract from the third letter. On the Chalcedonians who use “one *qnumo* (hypostasis) instead of “one person” which indicates different hypostases.

This letter was written by John of Eges, an enthusiastic partisan of Nestorius, in refutation of the Chalcedonians. He considers their definition of “two natures and one person” in Christ is wrong. He said that they claim that for this reason they avoid the duality of the hypostases in order not to be compelled to say “two persons and two Sons.” Especially, they say that such analysis is dangerous and could lead to perversion. They go on to say, “If we maintain that the two *qnume* (hypostases) are one, we will end believing in the duality of the Son. And if we proclaimed two (sons), these two constitute a dual number in relation to the Sons.”

John goes on saying that in defending their idea, Theodore (of Mopsuestia) said, “The Chalcedonians agreed on using the term *qnumo* “hypostasis” instead of “person” because the meaning of the two terms is very similar. Sometimes, the term hypostasis is applied to many things that are not subject to division but are grouped together. He produces many testimonies from Deuteronomy 1:12 which says, “But how can I bear your problems and your burdens and your disputes all by myself,” and Job 22:19 which says, “The righteous see their ruin and rejoice; the innocent mock him saying ‘Surely our foes are destroyed and fire devours their wealth,’” and the letter of St. Paul of 2 Corinthians 9:4 who says, “We—not to say anything about you—would be ashamed of having been so confident.” It is appropriate to mention here what has been said by Jonathan (son of King Saul) about the hypostasis of the Philistines regarding their “number and congregation.”

Those who hold two natures of Christ after the union are well known. They proclaim one hypostasis and one hypostasis according to the previous definition. Regarding the composition (of the natures), they say it is compact and not subject to division. Theodore is one of them and those who agree with his idea secretly. He was involved in many issues and exposed their intentions. If we say the union is real, then their idea actually means that the union of these two natures is same as the union of the soul to the body. Therefore, they do not eschew saying, “A composite nature of Christ,” but say that he has one hypostasis. They have missed that the connotation of this expression is applied to many indivisible matters mentioned in the Scriptures. It indicates a group of people. Now, if this is its connotation as church Fathers saw appropriate, then, their belief in Christ should be that he has one nature and one hypostasis. This is because they admit one *qnumo* (hypostasis) of Christ. They are in fact ready to admit one nature. If, however, two natures do exist, then, it is imperative to maintain two hypostases. However, if the term “nature” does not apply to it completely, or if the whole issue is what Theodore said that, “It indicates many things not divisible,” how is it that the presence of two hypostases in Christ is not obvious as the Chalcedonians, who hold two natures like Nestorius, confess?

Section Seven

They (Chalcedonians) say that, by necessity, the *qnumo* (hypostasis) is not subject to division. In addition, the nature should consist of its hypostasis and nothing else, for the hypostasis denotes the essence. If the hypostasis does not indicate the multiplicity of things which are indivisible, but only one thing not subject to division, then, undoubtedly, nature points to what is inherent in the hypostasis. Furthermore, if the hypostasis of Christ is one, his nature should also be one. However, if there are two natures in him, it is inevitable that his two hypostases should be one also. It is like the finite man born of a woman and short of

life but he is one. This is why we say that the finite that vanishes is one and not two. The same thing is the case of the sword and the sheath, the palm and the hand and everything dual. If they (Chalcedonians) confess one hypostasis of Christ, they should imperatively confess his one nature. If they, however, say that the hypostasis has another connotation, it is also imperative that his nature has a different connotation. What is the connotation of the hypostasis other than the essence whether it is the hypostasis of God, of man or of any other thing having its own essence? For it is not possible for anything not to have a nature. In fact, the hypostasis is the very nature of the thing that is not subject to division whether it is from boundless genus or categories. It only exists exclusively in the mind. Examples are the things in which everyone shares, but the prophet gathers them in only one thought. It is impossible for the essence to have one hypostasis and two distinct natures without a union.

Section Eight: Concerning that it is not possible for the composite to free itself of simple things from which it is composed

When natures are put together, they form one composite nature. If they (the Chalcedonians) prefer that the hypostasis should not denote the essence alone, but call nature something else, they should say about the nature what I have just said. I wonder what is this composite thing? And how can it not be later a compound nature of two united natures while it is one *qnumo* (hypostasis)? For it is impossible for a nature to be what it is without the composition of many natures. Otherwise, the outcome will be something else other than nature. The thing that is constituted of several components cannot be without the kind of genus from which it was composed but belongs to another genus. For example, if essences are put together, the outcome is a compound essence and not a quantity or quality. When the four elements of fire, water, air and earth are assembled, they form a compound element with independent life in itself. The stone or other objects of composite things cannot be changed into something that has no body when they are assembled together. Similarly, the attributes that are not corporeal, cannot be composed into some form. For example, a certain body combines both whiteness and blackness. However, the color is the only composite thing whether it is purple or any other color, and what is said about it should also be said about what is bitter, sweet, salty or other. The outcome of the mixture of these ingredients is a composite object.

When six and four are added together, the outcome is ten. When three mathematical components are put together, they form a mathematical triad having the attribute of multiplicity and not nature. Similarly, when groups of words are put together, they form one composite language made of letters and syllables. From these are formed expressions and from the expressions discourses. What we are saying here is that the composite is like the ingredients from which it is composed. It is similar to their form and genus. However, the thing composed from several simple ingredients can, by necessity, be something else and those simple ingredients are inferior concerning their genus. If what is intended to be assembled together is an essence, a quality, quantity, or anything else, its composition will not be accomplished. Same as it is said that the discourse is not mere expressions, and these are not mere syllables and the syllables are not expressions, but from all of them could be formed a language. All of them, be they simple or compound, are expressions and together with the numbers and simple matters, form a composite body. Moreover, when the properties are mixed together, they form (a property) ...lacuna... In this sense, the simples are not of a consequence.

When the soul and the body unite, they form a living body. The primary matter is incorporeal, but the substance of three-dimensional matter is found (or existed) first. We have shown clearly somewhere else the quality and form of the compound of the three-dimensional matter. Therefore, we say that fire is a specific body, that (three-dimensional matter) emanates from what is existent, and this one (fire) emanates from it. This, out of necessity, applies to the Lord Christ. If the two natures have been united to become him, it is immensely important that he should be what they have formed, that is one composite nature and nothing else. Otherwise, there will be no composition at all. In addition, they would have no capability to form a nature and from both emanates one indivisible person who is the Lord Christ. Alternatively, if they are united in one, this one cannot be other than one compound nature such as that formed by the unity of the body with the soul. He (Christ) is one living nature.

Those who dismiss the existence of the compound nature of Christ, and the union of his two natures, do injustice to the fact that Christ is simultaneously God and man. How could he be God and man, when God stands alone with his own hypostasis, and the other, man, stands alone with his own hypostasis and nothing connects them except comradeship?

When the Nestorians say ...lacuna... they disregard the hypostatic union of the two natures (of Christ). Not only they are satisfied by saying two natures, the divine and the human, but also admit two *qnume* (hypostases) successively. They only confess the union of power and properties. Thus to them, after this relative and voluntary union, the outcome is two natures and two *qnume* (hypostases) in which Christ is known. However, how can they claim such a thing, and in what form? It is sheer falsehood that we have refuted in the second discourse addressed to them. We have proved that the claim that, "two natures of the Lord Christ, or that he is of two natures after the union," is the opinion of Theodore (of Mopsuestia) and Nestorius and their partisans. It was adopted by the Council of Chalcedon. It has been explicit to us many times that the nature of the one born, whether of Peter or Paul, and which is called *qnumo* (hypostasis), does not change. This is why the Peripatetics (Aristotelians) called it "the primary indivisible essence." The learned men of the church called it "nature or *qnumo* as Paul of Samosata himself applies it to his essence. Paul of Samosata was condemned for claiming "two *qnume* of Christ." This is exactly what happened with the followers of Nestorius (Chalcedonians) who adopted the same belief without a need to say "two natures of the Lord after the union." They further proclaim two *qnume* (hypostases). Paul of Samosata also said this and was condemned because of it.

We have clearly explained this in our refutation of Nestorius, especially in the second discourse. Those who wish may read it. We only produced some extracts from the writings of the heretics. We said in the second discourse that the Lord Christ is known in two natures. However, the heretics emphasize their claim of two natures after the union. They produce some expressions like "one Christ," and "one Son," but these expressions do not adequately prove orthodoxy. In fact, they call the relation and the union of the unity of God and man with Mary "one Christ," "one Son," and "one Lord."

The Fifth Council which convened in Constantinople deleted the expression of "two." It stated that, "He who says that the worship of Christ is for two, or says that there are two kinds of worship: one is peculiar to God and the other peculiar to man, etc." It follows that if we say that the Lord Christ is worshipped in two natures, then it is imperative that there should be two kinds of adoration: one peculiar to God and the other to man. This is what the article of condemnation indicates. Consequently, those who proclaim that Christ is of two natures do in fact worship each one of them separately, and so, become subject of the aforementioned condemnation. They also deserve such reproach as partners of those who succumbed to the pressure of condemnation in order not to fall off their sees.

Chapter Ten is not mentioned in the Syriac text

Chapter Eleven: On that, it should not be said one nature for both the divinity and the humanity. On the other hand, that the compound Christ is one nature and one *qnumo* (hypostasis). For each one of them preserved its own entity without the one being absorbed by the other.

We do not say "one nature and one *qnumo* (hypostasis) for the divine and the human." We say that the composite Christ is one nature and one composite *qnumo* (hypostasis). For the composite ...lacuna... that is ...lacuna... we confess and worship one *qnumo* and it alone we worship without the one is loftier than the other or the one is absorbed by the other ...lacuna... We say that it has become consummate for both of them. We have rejected such ideas many times. Moreover, we consider as ridiculous the ideas of those who think that the union of the two natures might have been reversed or that it was subject to assimilation. Such a thing does not even happen to other compound matters. However, it could happen in relation to the mixture of contrary characteristics, as we explained in the definitions, for they conflict with each other. They might also corrupt each other. As to what is related to man and what is related to Christ, the opposite is the outcome, that what is lower becomes higher and the body becomes grander than the soul, and the human

substance in Christ become higher than the divine. From this, it is understood that we do not say "one nature" because of the loftiness of the body or its mixture of the humanity of Christ with his divinity. However, we believe that the Word of God has become incarnated, the union of his divine and human natures has been accomplished, and the outcome of this union, whatever its form may be, must be one. This is the stark reality and nothing else. Both the holy Athanasius and Cyril said, "The nature of the incarnate Word of God is one." This is the same in relation to the nature and the *qnumo* (hypostasis) of man, for man is a composite of soul and body, and neither of these is transformed into the other by the act of composition. This is exactly what happened to the divinity and humanity of Christ.

Chapters Twelve through Twenty-Three are not defined

Section Fifteen

A study of the letter of the Easterners in which they tried to show that Christ has two (distinct) natures. However, this idea has been refuted and faded a time ago and has no more trace.¹⁰⁹²

It is said that St. Cyril accepted the letter of the Easterners for the veracity of its contents, which are based on the Gospels and the Acts concerning the Lord. It is obvious that theologians understand these matters as generally pointing to one person whom the Easterners divide (into two) as they divide his natures. They attribute to the Godhead the things which belong to it, and to his humanity the lowly things or injuries. They further claim that Cyril eschewed saying "two natures" while the Council of Chalcedon affirmed it. We should now analyze this matter to prove that its connotation is different from that of the Council of Chalcedon.

The Easterners' understanding of this matter is tripartite. The passages that are mentioned in the Scriptures, especially the Gospels, indicate the divinity of the Lord. They are, "In the beginning was the Word,"¹⁰⁹³ "I and the Father are one,"¹⁰⁹⁴ "Anyone who has seen me has seen the Father,"¹⁰⁹⁵ and other verses. Some of these verses concern his humanity such as, "The Word became flesh and made his dwelling among us. We have seen his glory the glory of One and Only who came from the Father,"¹⁰⁹⁶ "God appeared in the flesh,"¹⁰⁹⁷ and "Who (Christ) being in very nature (or form) God, did not consider equality with God something to be grasped, but made himself nothing taking the very nature of a servant"¹⁰⁹⁸ and many others said about the incarnated God.

The letter of the Easterners concerning Christ contains divisive expressions. I believe, however, by distinguishing these expressions, the Holy Spirit meant general things. However, Christ is one, a compound of two natures: the divinity and the humanity. He expresses this in special words peculiar to the natures that have been compounded. These composite natures retained their properties without being absorbed by one another. Indeed, each of us can observe a tripartite division and difference in each of them. We also know the characteristics of the body such as it is short, black, of crooked nose or that it belongs to such and such race. Sometimes we are known by psychological matters such as using the terms "rational," "sagacious," "pure," or "of sound thinking," etc. Other times we combine between these characteristics saying, "Man is a rational animal," or "he is chaste." etc. these definitions are of the composite animal. This what the Eastern

¹⁰⁹² The Easterners here mean the Antiochenes, whose Christology was developed by Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 428) and popularized by Nestorius (d. 428) and Theodoret of Cyrus (d. 466). The gist of their Christology is that although Christ was the Incarnated Word, his two natures remain distinct from one another after their union. This gives the impression that Christ is two and not one despite that his two natures were conjoined. This is what Leo, bishop of Rome meant in his Tome when he attributed the divine actions of Christ to his divinity and his human actions to his humanity as if he was two and not one. His idea was adopted and endorsed by the Council of Chalcedon.

¹⁰⁹³ John 1:1.

¹⁰⁹⁴ John 10:30.

¹⁰⁹⁵ John 14:9.

¹⁰⁹⁶ John 1:14.

¹⁰⁹⁷ 1 Timothy 3:16.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Philippians 2:6-7.

theologians applied to the Lord Christ. Christ is not known in two natures or he is of two natures (as they maintain). This is not an indication of the union but a separation of the two natures. Indeed, it is contrary to the union and the composition of one nature from two.

The letter of the Easterners points to one (person). It highlights the characteristics of the nature of each one of the two (natures) which have become united. Whatever the case may be, Cyril criticized this expression saying, "Those who contemplated the expression that is the word, said that they did this in order to protect the entire body of the church from being disrupted or torn apart. This is why they emphasized the expression that is the mere language." Cyril treated this matter saying, "The union (of the two natures of Christ) was accomplished by an ineffable and incomprehensible manner." The Easterners accepted this reasoning of Cyril, though they reneged on it at Chalcedon. Furthermore, the letter of the Second Council (of Ephesus) does not contain that the only Son of God suffered in his divine nature (because he was God), but in his human nature. Hence they say "natures" (in the plural) in order to avoid considering nature as a frightening apparition and not the name of "natures" (in the plural). Nevertheless, it is actually a kind of combination (of the two natures) to those who think soundly saying, "When we contemplate the origin of the composition (of the two natures) we proclaim that their union was accomplished and that the compound Christ is from two natures. There are then two natures: the divine and the human."

Saint Gregory (of Nazianzus) says, "The union of the Savior was done by two different things: by Christ who is consubstantial with the Father in the Godhead and consubstantial with us in the body." In this sense, according to Christians, "essence" and "nature" have the same meaning. No one of them, if taken by its true connotation, is inappropriate in relation to the dispensation of Lord Christ. However, to say that he is "two natures" or that "he is of two natures after their union with one *qnumo* (hypostasis), is loathsome to everyone. For each of the two natures is simple and compound, same as each of the essences is one and each of the compounds is also one, like we say gold, silver, copper or glass. On the other hand, in respect to animated things we say bones, flesh, veins and soul. From these essences animal is compounded from all these elements. The same is applicable to the form whether it is of a man, ox, figs or olives. Based on what has been previously said, he (Gregory) did not discuss the natures of Christ as he who was divine and he who was human. What he said was that, "The only begotten Son did not suffer by his peculiar nature," he added, "but on the basis of being God and not on the basis of being Christ and not even a nature. For being God, he is by nature Christ and each nature complements the compound nature of Christ. It is not one in itself but Christ is a compound of both of them, but not each of them is on the same level. It is improbable that the natures of Christ are the same thing. In fact, nature is one for the components of both the simple and the compound. For example, if someone says that am suffering from my leg or hand, my body is sick, or I am disturbed, the compound nature of man is not this or that thing of all these components, it is a part of the things that constitute them. The same applies respecting our Lord Jesus. Someone may say that he is not subject to suffering in the divinity but in the humanity, or he might say that he did not suffer with respect to his divinity but only to his humanity. However, he does not specify which one of Christ's natures formed itself by itself, but indicate these two components from which they were formed. It is impossible for the nature of man to exist without a body, for what we call man is man because of the soul, and man in himself is merely a simple body and nothing of these components. He is the outcome of the unity of the body and the soul. The same case is Christ. His divinity is not separate from his humanity nor his humanity is separate from his divinity. But Christ's nature is a compound of both of them. Therefore, he who says that Christ suffered in the human nature, or that he remained in nature not susceptible to suffering, does not admit that Christ is two natures but that he suffered in this part (the humanity) only and therefore he did not suffer. This reasoning does not indicate that Christ has two natures, a matter Cyril refused to admit a thousand times."

Section Seventeen

Concerning the testimony of Ambrose (of Milan) who said, "One of two natures" is not same as saying "Christ is of two natures." They (Chalcedonians) try in vain to claim that they are in agreement with what St. Ambrose said as mentioned in his second discourse to Gratian. Ambrose said, " the distinction

between the divinity and humanity of Christ should be preserved because the only Son of God speaks through each of them, for each of them exists in him. So when (as one person) he speaks, he does not always speak in the same manner. Although the speaker is one, he doesn't not always speak in one form. Now you see in him the glory of God and also you see in him the passions of man. He speaks divine things as God, because he is the Word, and human things as man because he spoke in this nature.¹⁰⁹⁹ This is why they (Chalcedonians) say that the only Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, speaks through each one of his natures. They think that what they say is in conformity with the saying that "Christ is known in two natures." But, this is not clear from the text. For in another book, the phrase "of two natures" which is mentioned in the masculine, is connected with what follows where Ambrose says, "although the speaker is one, he does not always speak in one form (nature)." Here what was said before should be understood that, "the only Son of God speaks in two forms." However, to them (Chalcedonians) the phrase "in two natures" should be in the feminine and understood as follows, "for the only Son of God speaks in two forms," that is, in the humanity and in the divinity whose distinction should be preserved. Ambrose said, "Let the distinction between the two natures, the humanity and the divinity, be preserved." But the (Chalcedonians) think that the Son of God that is the Word of God, is simple and not compound. On the other hand, they understand that he is the Son of God in his essence, and thus speaks by his divine nature and by his human nature. In this case we should divided him into two. Nevertheless, no one would say that the soul speaks by itself as if it is something else. Now, if Christ who is a compound of the divine and the human is the Son of God, then he is the one who is God and man together. He speaks by his entire humanity and likewise by his entire divinity. To express this as a duality is abominable. And when Christ spoke human things as a man by his human nature alone, and divine things as God by his divine nature alone, then this duality of the natures is more abominable than the first, especially if he speaks what concerns man in the divine nature. If this is so, then what is the difference between divine things and human things? However, Father (Ambrose) does not allow us to be enticed by an idea strange from what he thinks. In fact, he explained what he said adding, "because the two natures exist in him, and not that he is in each of them ", as the Chalcedonians allege. " For what they say makes him two Christs: one of divine nature and the other of human nature with the result that each one of them becomes a Christ. About this one (Christ), he (Ambrose) says that he was a partaker of the two natures because he is God and man together. For the compound reflects the elements from which it is compounded, whether they are mixed together in the same manner as man is a composite of body and soul, or for example, fire contains heat, dryness and lightness, and earth contains dryness, humidity and heaviness. If these elements are mixed, they are still elements, for example, hot and cold, dryness and moisture, and similarly in artificial objects. Similarly, a linen-wool garment is made of two elements- linen and wool. The same applies to an edifice made of stones, bricks and wood, or to oenamel, a drink made from wine and honey. Thus, Christ speaks through his two natures as one, and not as a third one. Christ is the one who speaks and he does this through both natures, for each one is what it is. Both of them are one Christ, God and man together. Therefore, there is no other. For by both of them Christ spoke, at one time as a God and at another time as a man. In fact, from no chapter of Ambrose were they (Chalcedonians) able to establish their abominable propositions.

In order to prove that there are two natures in Christ, the Chalcedonians produce the testimony of Julius, bishop of Rome in the discourse titled, "On the Glorious Union, in Christ, of the Flesh and the Divinity." But the Chalcedonians inserted both of the texts of Ambrose and Julius together in the memorandum submitted to Marcian. Julius said in the above mentioned discourse, "Whatever we say in this context should be applied to the humanity and the divinity (of Christ). He, who cannot comprehend the difference between the two or their properties, falls into a contradiction in respect to their properties and the preservation of their union. He would neither declare the natures as false nor overlook their union. The Chalcedonians maintain two natures of Christ after the union. But Julius says that we do not hold as false the two natures because this is what God the Father intends. Nor do we hold as false the one nature of

¹⁰⁹⁹ This is the only passage of Ambrose part of Michael Rabo derived from *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 92.

Christ because the properties of each of them are known, and from both of them are generated that one (Christ). Neither do we overlook their union. Christ is composite and not simple; he is one by the union of the two natures. Those who read this discourse actually accepted what was written. Thus, Julius wrote that one must confess that in him the created is unified with the uncreated, and the uncreated is associated with the created. One single nature results from two parts, and by a particular operation, the Word completes the whole--everything with divine perfection. This takes place for man in general, who is composed from two incomplete parts that are composed from one nature and designated by a single name. Some of those who defend this Council (of Chalcedon) could not, in facing these explicit matters, defend their claims. Therefore, they resorted to false reasoning and say that these ideas are those of Apollinaris and not of Julius. In fact, they had not even one testimony to prove their claim, and all the books on earth confute them and bring up the name of Julius whom I discussed earlier. Those in Chalcedon brought up the name of Julius as a testimony of the apostles' teachings presented in the memorandum to Marcian. Here, too, we find their falsehood. Even when Apollinaris said that Christ the Word of God had taken a body (was incarnated) but without a rational soul, he actually confessed the union (of his humanity with his divinity.) In fact, in this discourse Julius spoke about the body of the Lord while mentioning the multiplicity of natures. The partisans of Chalcedon took what he said to mean that he maintained two natures. The truth is what we just said, that Julius did not contradict himself. In fact, he said Christ in his essence is both one and two natures. It is necessary to understand that he says two natures from whose union resulted one unique Christ. He says that in this union is known the reason for each one of the natures to unite with the other, and he does not deny the (two) natures which have been united because he recognizes their properties. He also recognizes that if they are united, their union cannot be destroyed. In fact, he confesses that the nature that resulted from the union of the two natures is one.¹¹⁰⁰

In the Exposition of Cyril (of Alexandria), the partisans of Chalcedon presented a portion of his letter to Succensus as being in conformity with the ideas of Julius. They thought that concerning the Incarnation the two natures came into union with no comingling or commixture, for the body is still a body and not a divinity, even if it has become the body of God. So also is the Word, which is God and not a body, although he took for himself a body by his dispensation. The partisans of Chalcedon put the belief in the duality of the natures together with what Gregory had said and concluded that there are two natures of God and man because they are body and soul. They even dispensed with the expression of two natures as if it were meaningless. Cyril, however, said in the chapter concerning the two natures that they were united together not because of them was Christ but because Christ has become one because of their union. Julius also maintained the same meaning as Cyril. The proposition that the two natures came into union to make one Christ is different from that of those who say that the nature of Christ is one. This is not what the Council of Chalcedon holds, namely, that there is unity in the two natures, but what Cyril says and reiterates is that Christ is one in the unity of his natures. It has then become obvious from all this that there are not two separate natures in Christ. Indeed, no priestly teacher, except Nestorius, ever said that Christ is of two natures after the union. The majority of the fathers held the mysterious unity of the natures that is the *qnumo* of Christ. For this reason, the Chalcedonians consider the expression of nature that is *qnumo* and essence as one *qnumo* (hypostasis). Nevertheless, if one says that Christ is of two natures, he should also say that he is of two *qnume* (persons). This is understood from what Cyril said about the form of the natures, that is the *qnume*. In fact, he said this in most of his teachings. In his letter addressed to the bishops, Athanasius said, "Let not the appellation *qnumo* trouble you for it is an expression of *ousia* (essence) and *qnumo* (hypostasis). Therefore, he who says essence is, in fact, saying *qnumo*. In one instance, St. Cyril said that the union with the *qnumo* is no other thing than a union of the hypostatic natures. In another instance, he said that the natural union is none other than a union of the hypostases (*qnume*). With respect to Christ, the words nature and *qnumo* have the same value.

The Council of Constantinople rejected Theodoret, Hiba (Ibas) and Theodore of Mopsuestia.

¹¹⁰⁰ For a full understanding of the confession of Julius, bishop of Rome, on the One Nature of Christ, the reader is referred to *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 86-87 and 90-92.

Section Eleven

We briefly present some chapters, arguments and anathema instituted by the Council of Constantinople.

He who says that God the Word made miracles and another one is Christ who suffered; he who says that God the Word was with Christ who was born of a woman; or says that he was in that woman (Mary) superimposed with another; or says that the Lord Christ is not one, that is, the Word of God who was incarnated and became man; and that our Lord is not the one who committed miracles and himself suffered voluntarily by the body, such a man is an anathema.

Leo (bishop of Rome) says, "Whenever the lowliness of man and the greatness of God meet, they are the same. As "God" is not changed by the compassion (exhibited), so Man" is not consumed by the dignity (bestowed)." ¹¹⁰¹ Concerning the Word, he says that each of (the divine and the human) does the acts that belong to it, in communion with the other. The Word performs what belongs to the Word, and the flesh (body) performs what belongs to it. The one of these shines out in miracles; the other succumbs to injuries." ¹¹⁰² Now, if Eutyches accepts the faith of the Christians, he should contemplate which nature of Christ was nailed to the wood of the cross, and when the side of the one hanged on the cross was pierced with the soldier's lance, from which nature flowed blood and water?

Section Fourteen

Who would ever say that the union of the Word of God was done by grace, authority, equal honor, higher esteem, affinity, power and good acceptance, meaning that God the Word was pleased with man because of his goodness as iterated by the insane Theodore (of Mopsuestia)? Theodore says that the Nestorians call God the Word Son and Christ. They also separate from him the "Man" and call him Christ and Son. Actually, they proclaim two persons. However, with respect to the name, honor, authority and adoration, they say, "He is one person, one Son, and one Christ." However, they do not admit the union of the Word of God with the flesh which is endowed with a rational soul as the result of the compound (of the two natures), that is (Christ) is one *qnumo* (hypostasis) as the pious Fathers have taught. Accordingly, our Lord Jesus Christ, one person of the Trinity, is of compound *qnumo* (hypostasis). Anyone does not teach this is an anathema in the eye of the Fourth (Council).

It is a matter of wonder to know what (Leo) meant by the two forms impacting each other in their participation with other forms. In fact, this is nothing but the union of the impact of both forms, and that the humanity (of Christ) does not fade away in the face of the greatness and power of the divine. It means nothing except that man acquired the power of God.

Leo also says, "Though there is one *qnumo* (hypostasis) in the Lord Christ, the Man and God, the outcome of the coming together of these forms is someone else in both cases: one shines out in miracles, the other succumbs to injuries." Here Leo has in fact, united the two hypostases of Christ in one. The Nestorians, however, admit only the affinity between the two hypostases. However, nowhere in the acts of the Council of Chalcedon, has one found a reference to the compound or hypostatic union (of the two natures).

From Chapter Five

Which one of us understands that the *qnumo* (hypostasis) of our Lord Jesus Christ is accomplished by the combination of several hypostases? If he does, he would venture into inserting two *qnume* (hypostases, persons) in the mystery that is peculiar to Christ. He would also say concerning one of the persons from whom Christ is formed that he has the power, dignity and adoration as the insane Theodore

¹¹⁰¹ See the translation of the Tome of Leo by William Bright in *The Christology of the Christian Fathers*, Vol. III, ed. Edward Rochie Hardy (Philadelphia: the Westminster Press, 1954): 364-365, and Richard Price and Michael Gaddis, *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*: Volume 2 (Liverpool University Press, 2007): 19.

¹¹⁰² William Bright, *Ibid.* and Price and Gaddis, *Ibid.*

BOOK EIGHT

and Nestorius wrote when they lost their senses and thus corrupted the Council of Chalcedon, which was inclined to their teaching concerning the one person. However, he would not profess that the Word of God was hypostatically united with the body. However, he admits one hypostasis that is one person, same as the Council of Chalcedon maintained one person for our Lord Jesus Christ. Such teaching deserved to be anathematized, for no person was added to the Holy Trinity because of the incarnation of one of its persons: God the Word.

Based on the minutes of the Fifth Council (553), Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus (393-457), is related to have said about the person of Christ that, "The Council of Chalcedon understood the multiplicity of the person of Christ relying on John of Eges who said, "I have previously explained that both persons of God and Man are the one Lord and person." Based on the Tome of Leo, Theodoret maintains that, "I have presently showed that there is one person to the God and Man in their affinity of participation and power." Theodoret was accepted by the Council of Chalcedon as orthodox. Members of the council accepted him in order not to be associated with those who came under the anathema.

From Chapter Seven

He who says "two natures" does not confess the unity of the divinity and the humanity of our Lord Jesus Christ. He is actually distinguishing the natures. We however, maintain the ineffable unity of the natures without being annihilated, and without the Word, becoming transformed into the nature of the body, or the body transformed into the nature of the Word. Each of them retains its characteristics in the hypostatic union of the Word. However, because of the division (of the natures of Christ) such phrase of this kind is attributed implicitly to Christ, indicating the multiplicity of the natures of our one Lord Jesus Christ, the God-Word incarnated. Not only he does not admit, theoretically, the difference of these natures from those of which it was compounded, without one of them is considered greater than the other because of their union, but he also finds himself using the multiplicity of natures as if they are distinct and compound in a special manner. He who holds this idea is anathema.

Paragraph Seven

The saying that Christ is perfect in his divinity and perfect in his humanity does not mean that he is two natures. We have already proved this in our criticism of the definition of the faith. We did this not only theoretically but also from the acts resulting from the union (of the two natures). They (Nestorians) say that Christ is two or in two. However, nowhere did they produce the phrase of "hypostatic union." In addition, they do not accept the expression "from" (two natures), but "in two natures." Thus, they removed the expression "from."

From Chapter Nine

He who says that Christ is adored in two natures is actually distinguishing two adorations: one for God the Word, the other for Man. In other words, that Christ is worshipped based on the loftiness of the body or on the mixture of the divinity with the humanity by considering the one, which has been united miraculously as one nature, that is, one essence. However, he does not worship the incarnated God the Word, including the body, in the form that has been accepted by the church from the beginning. Such a person is anathema.

Paragraph Nine

This anathema is attached to those who accepted the definition of faith that was condemned by the Council of Chalcedon. We have explained it in our criticism of the definition of faith.

Section Twelve

Who would defend Theodore, bishop of Mopsuestia, who said that, "God the Word is one thing and Christ is another, considering that Christ was a subject to the lusts of the body and the soul but then

avoided evil slowly.” He goes on to say that, “When he rose above the authority of slaves and his demeanor became free from defects, he was baptized as a simple man in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. He acquired the grace of the Holy Spirit by means of baptism and thus attained adoption. He is worshipped only in the person of God the Word similar to the royal manner. After the resurrection however, he became absolutely subject to no corruption or sin.”

Theodore further said, “The union of God the Word with Christ has been accomplished in similar manner to what Christ said about man and woman that, ‘And the two will become one flesh.’”¹¹⁰³ He (Theodore) even audaciously ventured to utter other blasphemies. He said that, “Christ did not give the Holy Spirit to the disciples when he breathed into them after the resurrection saying, ‘Receive the Holy Spirit,’”¹¹⁰⁴ but he breathed into them only outwardly. He even denied the words of the Apostle Thomas, “My Lord and my God,”¹¹⁰⁵ which is a profession of the divinity of Christ when Thomas touched the Lord’s hands and side. He considers them a mere expression of Thomas’s surprise of Christ’s resurrection and his glorification of God who raised him from the dead. Worse still, in his commentaries Theodore likens Christ to Plato, Manes, Epicure and Marcion. He says, “Christ is likewise a teacher to which the Christians have been attributed.”

Who then will defend these impious or defiled writings fraught with the previously mentioned blasphemies, and similar ones that he addresses to the great God and to the Savior Jesus Christ? Those who do not condemn his impure writings, or accept him, defend him or claim that they are orthodox should be condemned. Also, those who wrote about him, or harbored his own ideas, and remain defiled with this iniquity, should be anathematized.

From Paragraph Twelve

Those at Chalcedon, who resisted the condemnation of Nestorius, failed. They also failed hindering the church of Christ to prevent Theodore, bishop of Mopsuestia, from entering the council. Instead of him, they accepted the letter of Ibas to Mari, which describes him as a malphono (teacher par excellence) of the church. However, when those (bishops) in Constantinople learned of Theodore’s blasphemies, they condemned him justly. It is known that they also condemned everyone who previously accepted him or his writings.

Section Thirteen

Those who defend the impious writings of Theodore (bishop of Mopsuestia) against the orthodox faith and the First Council of Ephesus chaired by St. Cyril of Alexandria, or against his Twelve Anathemas, or defend what has been written about the impious Theodore and Nestorius, or who harbored the ideas of Theodore and Nestorius after being condemned, is in fact, accusing the learned men of the church of hypocrisy. Indeed, these churchmen have professed the union of God the Word with the body. Consequently, who does not condemn the above teachings and those who adopted such ideas or entertained them? By the same token, he who accepts their writings against the orthodox faith or against St. Cyril and his Twelve Anathemas, is condemned

Those who defended Theodore at the Council of Chalcedon, or condemn what has been included in the previous chapter, or who pressured Theodoret to condemn them together with the teachings of Nestorius, should prove that Theodore was not always against orthodoxy. They should also prove that their writings are orthodox lest they also fall under the weight of condemnation.

Section Fourteen

Who would defend the letter, reportedly addressed by Ibas to Mari, which contained blasphemies? It states that, “Upon his incarnation, God the Word was born of the holy Mary a simple man.” It calls Mary

¹¹⁰³ Matthew 19:5.

¹¹⁰⁴ John 20:22.

¹¹⁰⁵ John 20:28.

“temple” with the intention that God the Word is one person and the Man is another one. It rejects St. Cyril who proclaimed the true Christian faith. It considers him a heretic like Apollinaris who was hypocritical in what he had written. It censures the First Council of Ephesus for condemning Nestorius and describes Cyril’s Twelve Anathemas as hypocritical and against the orthodox faith. Therefore, he who defends this hypocritical letter and does not condemn those who defend the blasphemies it contains, and what they have written and are still writing, and audaciously ascribing it to the holy Fathers or to the holy Council of Chalcedon, and insist on their position to the end, should be condemned.

Paragraph Fourteen

How is it not reprehensible that they did not condemn the letter of Ibas, the writings of Theodore and their Fathers claiming that they were of orthodox faith? These fathers have continued with their hypocrisy even in the aftermath of the Council of Chalcedon. Indeed, they accepted them despite the fact that they did not repent or reject their erstwhile ideas. We have explained this matter from the beginning and wrote down a conclusion in agreement with the objectives. We left the readers to choose what is more accurate in order not to have any reason that might hinder them from making a decision.¹¹⁰⁶

We have gathered these materials from the letters of the grammarian, John Philoponus of Alexandria, and set them in order. *I beseech every discerning brother who is cognizant of good things to pray for me by the love of the crucified Jesus upon reading what we have recorded.*

Chapter Twenty-Four: Concerning the events which took place in the final days of Marcian’s life

In the sixth year of Marcian, which is the year 769 of the Greeks/A.D. 458, the Roman Valentinian was killed and the Roman Empire was split. In addition, the church was divided and local shepherds were set up everywhere because of the schism created by the Council of Chalcedon concerning the faith. Furthermore, schism took place in the kingdom as a result of divine wrath. The cause of the schism of the Roman Empire was the hypocrite Marcian. According to the law of the empire, when the emperor in Rome passes away, the emperor in Constantinople chooses his successor and establishes him in his position. In the case of the death of the emperor in Constantinople, the emperor in Rome chooses and sets up whom he desires. However, when Marcian came to power without the approval of Rome as we have already said, Pulcheria (sister of Emperor Theodosius II) who was stained with adultery was chosen by the emperor in Rome. Thus, because of him (Marcian) the empire was split, as did the faith. Since Marcian’s time until this day, the Roman emperors in the West never heeded the endorsement of the emperors in Constantinople. Consequently, their names were not recorded at that time in Rome because historians did not pay attention to them but were only concerned with the names of the emperors in Constantinople. These were called the Roman Emperors.

In this time, the Persian King Yazdagird died and was succeeded by his son Firuz (Piruz). Firuz stirred up persecution against the Christians in his country. War ensued between the Romans and the Persians and the Persians were defeated. The Romans took seven thousand captives in the Arzen region.

After reigning for six years and seven months, Marcian died followed by the curses of good and holy men. He had twisted the faith delivered by the holy apostles and introduced a despicable heresy. *Here ends this narrative about the accursed and impious Emperor Marcian.*

The church was split and the ranks of the faithful rented apart when the Council of Chalcedon disavowed the true faith. Consequently, the zealous eschewed partaking with the heretical bishops wherever they were found. Instead, they ordained orthodox bishops as we had explained. They ordained Theodosius

¹¹⁰⁶ For a thorough analysis of the above doctrinal ideas and specifically those affirmed by the Council of Chalcedon, see R. V. Sellers, *The Council of Chalcedon* (London: S.P. C.K., 1961). Sellers posits his study on the ideas of the two Christological Schools of Antioch and Alexandria. He sees no heretics in all this controversy between the two schools except Nestorius and Eutyches. His idea that in his *Tome*, Leo of Rome tried to keep a balance between the divine and the human natures of Christ is untenable.

instead of Juvenal in Jerusalem with the laying on of hands of a number of orthodox bishops. In Alexandria, they ordained St. Timothy instead of Proterius. They did the same everywhere even in the ordinary sees.

The bishops, who deviated from the true path and became subservient to earthly kings, never thought that their hope of eternal life had failed. They recanted the true faith and became persecutors motivated by greed for a transient honor, which became the cause of the perdition of their souls. They administered the congregation of Christ, which he bought by his precious blood, with a royal rod, violent sword, ferocity and illegal manner, even by the shedding of blood. Wherever the message of Christ spread, persecution, pillaging, banishment, and other evils increased and surpassed the persecution perpetrated by the pagans in the past against the Christians. Those who stood firm and did not deny the faith, suffered the endurance of these adversities. The Chalcedonian bishops went too far in their insanity to pursue Saint Barsoum, chief of the ascetics. They said to each other, "Whether we like it or not, we have deviated from the faith. If we say we have lied, Marcian will surely kill us. Therefore, something should be done to assassinate him (Barsoum)." They addressed hypocritical letters to Marcian full of charges against the blessed Barsoum. They described his wonder works as deceptive. They accused him of collecting money and instigating the people against the emperor. When Marcian heard these accusations, he became angry and ordered the soldiers to kill the blessed Barsoum and his companions in his monastery. Hearing of the emperor's order, Barsoum became joyful. He said, "I have hope in the cross which I worship that Marcian will never be able to deter me or see my face, and neither shall I see his ugly face. I am confident that my death will pass to Marcian." This was exactly accomplished, for evil is destined to take place as written in Scriptures, "The righteous are taken away to be spared from evil."¹¹⁰⁷ As the pious emperor Theodosius II died during the circumstances of troubles, thus the blessed old man Barsoum went to his Lord. When, in February of that year Marcian heard of the death of the victorious (Barsoum), he refrained from sending troops to his monastery.

During the harvest season of that year, Marcian, urged by the instigation of recanting bishops, proceeded to persecute the disciples of the blessed Barsoum. When the news became known, the blessed (disciples) prayed at the grave of the saint. They heard John the Baptist saying in the temple, "Marcian has died having been opposed by a Christian emperor." A few days later the news of Marcian's death arrived. He was overtaken by (divine) wrath because of the curse inflicted on him by the blessed (Barsoum). Eternal torments are awaiting him.

In the time of Marcian, a severe earthquake took place, which shook up the whole world. Tripoli of Phoenicia was totally destroyed

Remark on the Nestorians who began to spread out in the region of Babylon at this time.

After Nestorius was condemned and driven out of the church of God, some of his partisans fled to Persia. One of them, the notorious Barsoum, known as the Persian, was made a bishop of Nisibin in Mesopotamia. Barsoum was invited as usual to attend the Second Council of Ephesus. Babai, catholicos of Seleucia-Ctesiphon was also invited. However, when he was not allowed to attend the council, he addressed letters of approval to St. Dioscorus and to the council indicating that the reason he could not attend was because of the pressure of the iniquitous Persian kingdom. He sent the letters with monks bound for Ephesus. When the monks reached Nisibin, they apprized the impious Barsoum of the purpose of their delegation to Ephesus. Barsoum, with satanic stratagem, tricked them and took the letters from them, pretending that he would deliver them through some merchants. He also had the monks return to the catholicos. What he did is, he took the letters to the king of Persia, informed him of their contents and slandered the catholicos. In his fury, the king had the catholicos killed. He made Barsoum head of all the Christians in his kingdom. Barsoum deceived the king saying that, "The reason the Romans killed Nestorius is because he assisted the Persian kingdom. If his teachings spread into Persia, the entire Western countries will definitely be a subject to the Persian kingdom." Thus, he succeeded in obtaining Persian troops who

¹¹⁰⁷ Isaiah 57:1.

BOOK EIGHT

accompanied him. He forced many people to embrace the teaching of Nestorius. By the sword of the Persians, he had a great number of bishops, presbyters, monks and laymen slaughtered who refused to succumb to him. The number of those slaughtered was 7800 souls. Those who succumbed to him from fear were called Nestorians.

Barsoum (bishop of Nisibin) added more iniquity to his (Nestorian) belief by enacting and popularizing mundane, reprehensible and loathsome canons. They were refuted by Philoxenus (of Mabug) at the council convoked by Patriarch Peter the Fuller. Dionysius of Tell Mahre recorded in details these events in his history. We will mention them, God willing, in this book in their proper place. Now, we shall only mention them in brief in order to show the beginning of the schism that took place in the time of Marcian who has rent asunder the faith.

In this period, Pretorius more than anyone else, who was made a bishop of Alexandria by the heretics, sank into wickedness. He judged, by the power of the Roman troops, everyone who did not profess the impious creed of Chalcedon. Consequently, he had a great number of people, mostly priests, monks and bishops, slaughtered. One day while he urged the Roman soldiers to kill Christians, a soldier was courageous to invite him to see those killed. While Pretorius was watching through the window the piles of dead bodies without expressing an emotion of mercy, that soldier struck him down by his sword. Soldiers came and dragged his body into the ditch. The people took it and burned it by fire. The Chalcedonians set up Salophaciolus in his place who did not act the same as Pretorius.¹¹⁰⁸

Marcian banished the Orthodox St. Timothy, bishop of Alexandria, to Gangra. He was illustrious and famous for his orthodoxy and excellent conduct.

Here ends Book Eight covering the cycle of 62 years of three emperors up to the year 5965. (455 A.D.) He who reads this, please pray for me.

¹¹⁰⁸ See *The Syriac Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 78.

BOOK NINE

RELYING ON GOD WHO IS PRAISED BY THE NINE HOSTS OF ANGELS, I PROCEED TO WRITE BOOK NINE BEGINNING WITH THE YEAR 770 OF THE COMPUTATION, WHICH IS THE YEAR 5965 FROM ADAM AND THE YEAR 455 OF OUR LORD.

Chapter One: Commencement of the reign of Emperor Leo

In the year 770 of the Greeks, Leo reigned over the Romans. He was of Thracian origin.¹¹⁰⁹ He was commander of the army. When Marcian died without issue, Leo was chosen by the counselors.¹¹¹⁰

In this same year, Firuz, son of Yazdagird, ruled the Persians. He fought against the Romans and persecuted the Christians in his own land.

Leo gave his daughter Ariadne to Zeno to wife, granted him extensive authority in the state and made him a commander of the entire East. He also appointed Basiliscus a governor (Master of Soldiers) of Thrace. Majorian became a Caesar of Rome but shortly afterwards was killed by Ricimer; Anthemius and Olybrius were proclaimed Caesars. The city of Callinicus was built by order of Leo and for this reason it was called Leontopolis.

When the emperor sent a decree to drive Timothy out of Alexandria, the people revolted and expressed their readiness for the worst expectations in order not to lose their chief priest. The holy Timothy agreed with the strategus Stykas to hide in the baptistery in the great church, first, for safety, and second, not to be the cause of a massacre. Saint Timothy hid himself in the baptismal font. However, the partisans of Pretorius did not honor the man's dignity, his virtues or the place of his asylum. When the case became known, thousands of men fell dead. After lengthy deliberation, the saint left with Roman soldiers for Palestine via the Phoenician Sea while the Romans were killing the Alexandrians without mercy. From his place of banishment, Saint Timothy wrote against the teachings of the heretics.

Saint Timothy remained in exile during the entire reign of Leo the Great. He vehemently protested against the Council of Chalcedon and the *Tome* of Leo. This greatly angered the Nestorians, especially when he addressed letters and testimonies of the Fathers to many quarters, enticing many who deserted Gennadius, bishop of Constantinople, and joining Acacius, Master of Orphans, to the knowledge of the truth. It is said that Thomas, who joined the composer Timocletus and challenged the Nestorians, set many hymns to music, which the people chanted when they flocked to the hall (Orphan Hospital). Because of this, their number increased.¹¹¹¹

Emperor Leo ordered that Mary should be proclaimed the Mother of God and her name inserted in the Diptychs (Book of Life). He did this against Martyrius of Antioch, known for his Nestorian tendencies. It was because of Martyrius that the pious Gregory of Nyssa, known as the Eloquent, was invited to refute the ideas of Nestorius.

At this time, Gennadius passed away and Acacius succeeded him. Some monks went up to see the emperor who promised to abolish the *Tome* and the Council (of Chalcedon) and all the additions it made. However, Timothy, when he was in exile, wrote not only against Nestorians but also against the Eutychians. This is manifest from his letters to Alexandria and Palestine, against those who hold the opinions of Eutyches, and do not confess Christ to be of the same nature with us in the flesh as well as of the same nature with the Father in the Godhead.¹¹¹²

Isaiah, bishop of Hermopolis, and the presbyter Theophilus were Eutychians. They were sojourning in the royal city with the desire of making money. They circulated a report that Saint Timothy was of their same doctrine. This caused Timothy to write a letter with his own signature against Nestorius and Eutyches.

¹¹⁰⁹ He belonged to the tribes of the Bessi in Thrace.

¹¹¹⁰ Leo was chosen an emperor by Alan Aspar, Master of Soldiers, because he was his subordinate. See Michael Grant, *The Roman Emperors* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1985), 312.

¹¹¹¹ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 80-81.

¹¹¹² *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 96-100.

When the bearers of the letter became known, they were treated by these men with contempt and were exposed to danger because the partisans of Isaiah said that they were “deceivers.” Timothy sent another letter respecting them replete with quotations from the Fathers.¹¹¹³

The letter of Timothy

Our Lord and God, Jesus Christ, in order that he might redeem us and set us free from the dominion of Satan, and make us worthy for the blessings of the kingdom of heaven, set up for us, through the holy fathers, the law of those things that are pleasing to him. He gave commandment that no man, thinking to honor, should insult the Merciful One but that he should receive the dispensation for our redemption. He said, “Turn not aside to the right hand or to the left, but walk in the way of the kingdom.”¹¹¹⁴ Again he said, “Do not be over righteous, neither be over wise lest you fall into error. Do not fall deeply into error, nor be stubborn, lest you die before your time”;¹¹¹⁵ which means, be on guard lest the evil one should infuse into you anything contrary to my commandments, and set a stumbling block for you on the way to the kingdom along which you are walking and destroy you. For he said, “In the way wherein I walked they laid snare for me.”¹¹¹⁶ Take heed, therefore, to yourself and do not turn aside nor depart from the way of the kingdom. For this is the desire of the evil one. If you fulfill his desire, you will encounter great evil and fall into danger.

Consider, for instance a man seeking to enter a city surrounded by water. If he attempts to pass through on foot, he will sink and drown in its depths. If, on the other hand, he is afraid to pass over, he cannot enter the city at all. However, if there is a convenient ford, and he tries to cross over by it, then he can enter the city. In like manner, also we are anxious to enter heavenly Jerusalem. If we do not follow the law of God, which we have learned from the holy Fathers, then we cannot indeed stand upon the firm rock of Peter, that is the true faith, “For you shall indeed be called Kepho (Cephas, Peter), and on this rock I will build my church, and the gates of Sheol (Hell, Hades) shall not overcome it.”¹¹¹⁷ Let no man be so led astray by the evil one as to imagine that he can subvert the true faith. If he is contending, it is against his own soul that he contends, but nothing can overcome the faith. This is the meaning of the expression, “The gates of Sheol shall not overcome it.” Therefore, if any man stands not upon the truth of the faith, but is righteous overmuch, when he thinks to confer honor, he rather offers insult. Nevertheless, if he accepts the law of the Lord, which has been laid down for us by the saints, he survives visions of death and the verge of Sheol. For we have learned that apart from the standard of the faith, we cannot please God.

These things I have written because I have heard that some persons are contentious, and are not obedient to the Law of the Lord that has been laid down for us by the saints. They declare that our Lord, by his incarnation, was of the same nature with us in the flesh, which he took from us, which doctrine they have even rejected if they are not of this mind. I anathematize them.

Accordingly, let no one, thinking to honor God, insult his mercy by refusing to obey the doctrine of the holy fathers, who have declared that our Lord Jesus Christ is of the same nature with us in the flesh, and is one with his flesh. For I have also heard the holy apostle teaching and saying, “For as much the children were partakers of the flesh and the blood, he also partook of the same in like manner, that by means of death he might destroy the power of death, who is Satan, and deliver those who were held in the fear of death, and were subject to bondage, that so they many live forever. For he did not take (the nature) from angels, but he took it from the seed of Abraham. It was fitting that he should be made in all points like unto his brethren, that he should be a merciful priest, and faithful with God, and that he should make atonement for the sins of the people. Because he himself suffered when he was tempted, he is able to help those who

¹¹¹³*The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 81 and 96-97.

¹¹¹⁴Numbers 20:17; Proverbs 4:27.

¹¹¹⁵A free quotation from Ecclesiastes 7:16-18.

¹¹¹⁶Psalms 142:3.

¹¹¹⁷Matthew 16:18.

being tempted.”¹¹¹⁸ For this expression, “He was made like us in all points,” teaches all who desire to be worthy of the blessings of heaven and to be redeemed, that they must confess the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ as being from Mary the holy Virgin and Theotokos (Mother of God). Christ, who was of the same nature with her and with us in the flesh, is of the same nature with the Father in his Godhead.

The Fathers anathematized, and we in agreement with them anathematize in like manner anyone who does not hold their doctrine. But, we have, moreover, in our previous letter added some quotations from them, attesting the truth of this doctrine by Athanasius.

This is a well-known matter. The apostle writes expressly, “For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ. But let every man take heed how he builds.”¹¹¹⁹ Now it is necessary that a foundation such as this should be in conformity and likeness with those who are built upon it. God the Word, because he is the Word and the only begotten one, has no peers who could be the sons of the Godhead in the same manner as he. However, in as much as he became man, of our nature, and clothed himself with our body, we are of the same nature with him. Accordingly, in the matter of our humanity, he is the foundation so that we may be precious stones and be built upon him, and be the temple for the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. For in like manner, as he is the foundation and we are the stones built upon him, so also he is the vine and we are the branches, hanging from him and in him, not indeed, in the nature of the Godhead, for that would not be possible, but in the manhood. Now it is fitting that the branches should be like the vine, because we also are like him in the body that he took from us.¹¹²⁰

We confess that he is the Son of God, and God in the Spirit, and man in the flesh. Moreover, there are not two natures in the one son, one to be worshipped and the other unworthy of worship. There is One Nature of God the Word, and who, along with the flesh in which he is clothed, is to be worshipped with one worship.¹¹²¹

The letter of Athanasius to Epictetus

There are many hesitating and blushing, who imagine that if we affirm the body of our Lord to be from Mary, we introduce a fourth person in the Trinity. However, if we affirm the body to be of the same Nature with the Word, the Trinity thereby remains a Trinity regardless of the addition of a foreign element. While if we maintain with respect to his body that it is human, then since the body is foreign to the Nature of God, when the Word is in it, there must be of necessity a Quaternity instead of a Trinity, because of the addition of the body.

When they talk in this way, they do not consider how their argument breaks down and fails. If they say that the body of the Lord is not from Mary, but it is of the same Nature of the Word and that it is distinct, they seem also to hold a Quaternity. We say that the Son is of the same Nature with the Father but he is not the Father. He is the Son in relation to the *qnomo* (Person), and is of the same Nature with the Father. Likewise, if the body (of the Lord) is of the same Nature with the Word, still it is not the Word. And if it is another thing, as they claim, then the Trinity becomes a Quaternity.

However, the true indivisible and perfect Trinity can never receive any addition. What then must be the mind of those persons, and how can they be Christians who hold that there is another besides him who is God?

The body of our Redeemer, derived from Mary, was in reality and truth human in nature because it was like our body, since Mary is our sister and we are all descended from our father Abraham.¹¹²²

¹¹¹⁸ Hebrews 2:14-18.

¹¹¹⁹ A loose quotation from 1 Corinthians 3:11-12.

¹¹²⁰ Cf. John 15:1-6. This entire passage is in *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 81-84.

¹¹²¹ This passage is in *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 84-85. It is taken from the Second Oration of St. Athanasius against the Arians.

¹¹²² *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 85-86.

From the letter of Julius, bishop of Rome

There is no change whatsoever in the Divine Nature, for it is not subject to diminution or increase. When he says, "Glorify me," that is the voice of the body, and is spoken concerning the body. Glory was affirmed with respect to his whole being, for he is all alone. And by this "glory which I had with you before the world was,"¹¹²³ he testified concerning his Godhead that it is always glorified, for such glory properly belongs to it, even though this affirmation was aimed equally concerning his whole being. Therefore, in the Spirit he is of the same Nature with the Father invisibly. Since the body also was united to him in his Nature, it is equally included under the name. Again, his Godhead is comprehended under the name because it is united to our nature, and the nature of the body is not converted into the nature God by the union and conjunction of the human body, and by the appellation of a body of our nature.¹¹²⁴

Of the same Julius, from his letter to Dionysius

They, indeed, who confess that the God of heaven became incarnate from the Virgin, and that he being joined to his flesh was one, give themselves needless trouble in contending with the maintainers of the opposite view, who affirm (as I have heard) that they are two natures. Since John proved our Lord to be one by saying, "The Word became flesh,"¹¹²⁵ and Paul by saying, "There is one Lord Jesus Christ, through whom are all things."¹¹²⁶ Now, if he who was born from the Virgin was named Jesus, and it is he through whom all things were created, he is One Nature because he is One Person, not divided into two. For the nature of the body is not separate, nor the Nature of the Godhead remain distinct at the Incarnation. But just as man, composed of body and soul, is one nature, so also he, who is in the likeness of men, is one, Jesus Christ.¹¹²⁷

From the letter of Gregory the Miracle-Worker (Thaumaturgus)

Whosoever says that Christ appeared in the world in phantasy, and does not confess him to have come in the body, as it is written, let him be accursed.

Whosoever says concerning the body of Christ that it was without soul and without mind, and does not confess his humanity to be perfect, he being the same, according as it is written, let him be accursed.

Whosoever says that Christ took a part of man only, and does not confess him to have been in all points like as we are, yet without sin, let him be condemned.

Whosoever says that Christ was liable to change and variation, and does not confess him to be unchanged in Spirit, and uncorrupt in the flesh, as it is written, let him be accursed.

Whosoever says that Christ was a perfect man separately and does not confess him to be one Lord Jesus Christ, let him be accursed.

Whosoever says that there was one who suffered and another one who did not suffer, and does not confess God the Word, himself impassible, to have suffered in his flesh, as it is written, let him be accursed.

Whosoever says that there was one who existed before the worlds, the Son of God, and another, who at length came into being, and does not confess him to be the same, who was before the worlds and at length came into being, according as it is written, "Christ yesterday and today,"¹¹²⁸ let him be accursed.

Whosoever says that Christ was of the seed of a man in like manner as the rest of mankind, and does not confess him to have been incarnate, and to have become man of the Holy Spirit and also of the Virgin Mary, of the seed of the house David, as it is written, let him be accursed.

Whosoever says that the body of Christ was of the same nature of his Godhead, and does not confess him to be God before all the worlds, who "emptied himself and took upon him the form of a servant,"¹¹²⁹ let him be accursed.

¹¹²³ John 17:5.

¹¹²⁴ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 86.

¹¹²⁵ John 1:14.

¹¹²⁶ 1 Corinthians 6:8.

¹¹²⁷ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 86.

¹¹²⁸ Hebrews 13:8.

Whosoever says that the body of Christ was not a human body, and does not confess the uncreated God the Word to have received incarnation and manhood from created man, as it is written, let him be accursed.

For how can one affirm that the body of Christ is uncreated, while the uncreated is not susceptible to suffering, wounds, or (bodily) contact? Nevertheless, Christ himself, after his resurrection from the dead, showed his disciples the prints of the nails and the wound of the spear, and afforded them bodily contact with himself. Although the doors were shut, he entered, that he might display the power of his Godhead and the reality of his body.¹¹³⁰ For the flesh that comes into being after lapse of time, cannot be said to be of the same nature with the eternal Godhead. For whatsoever in nature and property is incapable of change is of the same nature.

He is the true incorporeal God, who appeared in the flesh, a perfect being. He is neither two persons nor two natures. For we do not worship Four, God, and the Son of God, and a man, and the Holy Spirit, but on the contrary, we anathematize those who act so wickedly, and who place man in the glory of God. We hold that God the Word became man for the sake of our redemption and that he took our likeness in his true Nature, the Son of God, but in the flesh, a man, our Lord Jesus Christ.¹¹³¹

Of Basil of Caesarea

That which is made is not of the same nature as its maker, but that which is begotten is of the same nature as its begetter. Accordingly, that which is created and that which born are not one and the same. Again, the children have the same nature as the parents, even though he that was born as the result of copulation was in no respect different from Adam who was not born, but was formed. Again, if they who are different in the manner of their creation are different also in their essential being, then men must be unlike one another in nature. For there is one creation of Adam, who was formed out of the earth, another creation of Eve, who was made from a rib, another of Abel who was born of copulation and another of him who was from Mary, who was from a virgin alone. Indeed, the same might be said with respect to birds and beasts.¹¹³²

Of Gregory of Nazianzus

Now these are generally accepted doctrines, that he who was exalted far above us, for our sake took our qualities upon him and became man, not that through the body he should henceforth be limited to the body, for he is not so limited, since his nature is infinite. But that he might sanctify man by his body, he became as leaven to the whole lump, and drew it to himself. He who was guilty he released from his guilt. He was, for our sake, in all points like as we are, sin only excepted, in body, soul and mind of which the ordinary mortal man is composed. He who manifested himself was God in respect to his spiritual being, but human in respect to Adam and the Virgin from whom he was derived: from the former as his ancestor, but from the latter who was his mother according to the natural law, and who gave him birth in a manner superior to nature, and not after the natural law.¹¹³³

Of Gregory, the Brother of Basil of Caesarea

The nature, indeed, of those who are begotten must of necessity be like their begetters.¹¹³⁴

¹¹²⁹ Philippians 2:7.

¹¹³⁰ Luke 24:36-43 and John 20:19-27.

¹¹³¹ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 86-88.

¹¹³² *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 89.

¹¹³³ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 89-90.

¹¹³⁴ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 89.

Again of Julius of Rome

Again, with respect to the dispensation of our Redeemer in the flesh, we believe that God the Word remaining unchanged became flesh, with the object of renewing mankind. He, being the true Son of God by the eternal generation, became man by the birth from the Virgin. In addition, he, who is perfect God in his Godhead of the same Nature with the Father, and perfect man of the same bodily nature with mankind by birth from the Virgin, is one and the same. However, whosoever says that Christ had a body from heaven, or that his body was of his nature, let him be accursed.

Whosoever denies that the flesh of our Lord is from the Virgin, of the same nature as ours, let him be accursed.

Whosoever holds concerning our Lord and Savior who was from the Holy Spirit and from Mary the Virgin in the flesh that he was incomposite and without consciousness, and without reason, and without mind, let him be accursed.

Whosoever shall dare to say with respect to Christ that he suffered in his Godhead, and not in the flesh, as it is written, let him be accursed.

Whosoever would separate and divide our Lord and Savior, and say that God the Word is one Son and the man whom he took another, and does not confess him to be one and the same, let him be accursed.¹¹³⁵

Of John Chrysostom

He who transcends all our conceptions and surpasses all our thoughts, and is exalted above angels and above all intelligent powers, was content to become man. He took flesh, which was formed from the earth and the clay. This he did by entering the Virgin's womb, where he was carried for the period of nine months. After his birth, he suckled milk and indeed, he suffered all things pertaining to the human lot. Why was he called a Table? Because when I eat the mystery that is upon him, I am refreshed. Why was he called a House? Because I dwell in him. Why was he called an Indweller? Because I am his temple. Why was he called a Head? Because I am his member. When he set his love upon a harlot, what did he do? He did not call her up for he would not bring a harlot up to heaven, but he came down. As she was not able to ascend to him, he descended to her. Moreover, coming to her hovel, he himself was not ashamed, and he found her drunk. And how did he come? Not openly in his own Nature, but he became like the harlot himself in nature though not in will lest when she saw him, she might be confounded through terror and flee. He came to her having become man. And how did he become man? He was conceived in the womb and he grew gradually.¹¹³⁶

Of the same Chrysostom

This is the day on which the Eternal One was born and became man, a thing that never took place before, though he did not change from being God. It was not by a change of the Godhead that he became man. Neither from a human original by growth did he become God. The impassible Word suffered no change in his Nature by becoming flesh. He that is seated upon the throne high and lifted up was laid in the manger. He that is simple and without body and cannot be touched, was embraced by human hands. He, who severs the chains of sin, was wrapped in swathing bands.¹¹³⁷

¹¹³⁵ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 90.

¹¹³⁶ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 90-91.

¹¹³⁷ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 91-92.

Of Athanasius

If any man teaches doctrine contrary to the Holy Scriptures, and says that the Son of God is one, and he who is man from Mary is another, who became a Son by grace as we, so that there should be Two Sons: one is God and of the same nature with God, and the other is man who became a (Son) by grace from Mary, let him be accursed.

Whosoever further says that the body of our Lord was from above, not from the Virgin Mary, or that the Godhead was converted into flesh, or that it was confounded and changed, or that the Godhead of our Lord suffered, or that the body of Christ, in as much as it is from men, should not be worshipped, and not that the body is to be worshipped because it is that of our Lord and God: the man who asserts these things, we anathematize. For we obey the apostle when he says, "Whosoever preaches to you a gospel different from that which we have preached to you, let him be accursed."¹¹³⁸

Of Bishop Ambrosius (Ambrose, bishop of Milan)

He is the same person who speaks, though not always in the same manner. At one time is manifested in him the glory of God, and at another time is manifested the passion of men. As God, he teaches divine things, because he is the Word. As man, he teaches human things, because he speaks in our nature.¹¹³⁹

The letter of St. Timothy of Alexandria

St. Timothy, bishop of Alexandria, addressed a letter from his place of exile to Emperor Leo containing reproachment recorded below.

O kind and indulgent king! Since among wise men there is nothing more honorable than the soul, and also we have learned to despise the things of the flesh, and not to lose the soul. Therefore, so are as in me lies and with all my might, I am careful to keep my soul, lest before the time of judgment I may be condemned as a lover of the flesh, and prepare for myself the fire of hell. This I think, that all who are wise concerning that which is good, desire that nothing hateful to their brethren should even occur. Accordingly, in writing this petition, I assure your serenity that from my youth I have learned the Holy Scriptures, and I have studied the divine mysteries contained in them. Until now, I have ever been careful to hold the true faith as it was delivered to us by the apostles, and by my Fathers the doctors. Being united to them by the grace of God our Savior, I have reached my present age. I confess the one faith that our Redeemer and Creator Jesus Christ delivered when he became incarnate and sent out the blessed apostles saying, "Go teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit."¹¹⁴⁰ For the Trinity is perfect, equal of Nature, in glory and blessedness, and there is not in it anything less or more. For thus also the three hundred and eighteen fathers (the Council of Nicaea) taught concerning the true Incarnation of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, that he became man, according to his dispensation, which he himself knows. With them, I agree and believe, as do all others who prosper in the true faith. For in it there is nothing difficult, neither does the definition of the faith that the fathers proclaimed require addition. Moreover, all, whoever they be, holding other opinions and corrupted by heresy, are rejected by me. I, myself, also flee from them. For this is a disease which destroys the soul, namely, the doctrine of Apollinaris, and the blasphemies of Nestorius, both who hold erroneous views about the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, who became flesh from us. They introduced into him the cleavage in two, and divided asunder even the dispensation of the only begotten Son of God, including, those, on the other hand, who say with respect to his body that it was taken from heaven, or that God the Word was changed, or that he suffered in his own Nature, and who do not confess to a human body what pertains to the soul derived from us was united.

¹¹³⁸ Galatians 1:8-9. See *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 92.

¹¹³⁹ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 92.

¹¹⁴⁰ Matthew 28:19.

I say to any who have fallen into one or other of the heresies, 'You are in grievous error, and you know not the Scriptures.'¹¹⁴¹ With such I do not hold communion, nor do I love them as believers. However, I am joined, united, and truly agreeing with the faith defined at Nicaea. It is my care to live in accordance with it.

When Diomedes, the distinguished Silentiary,¹¹⁴² came to me and gave me the letter of the bishop of Rome, and I studied it, I was not pleased with its contents. I preferred not to read it or censure it in public lest the peace of the Church be disturbed.

However, I believe that God has put it into the mind of your Serenity to set right the statements in this letter, which are a cause of stumbling to the believers. For these statements are in accord and in agreement with the doctrine of Nestorius, who was condemned for cleaving asunder and dividing the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, in respect of natures, persons, properties, names and operations. He also interpreted the words of Scripture to mean two natures, which are not contained in the confession of faith by the three hundred and eighteen (the Council of Nicaea). For they declared that the only begotten Son of God, who is of the same nature with the Father, came down, and became incarnate, and was made man. He suffered, rose again, ascended into heaven, and shall come to judge the quick and the dead. Natures, persons and properties were not mentioned by them, nor did they divide them. Nevertheless, they confessed the divine and the human properties to be of one by the dispensation.

Accordingly, I do not agree with the transactions of Chalcedon, because I find in them division and cleavage of the dispensation.

And now, O victorious king, receive me, for I am speaking this confidently on behalf of the truth that your highness may prosper as on earth, so in heaven. Accept this, my petition with goodwill, for in this letter from the West there runs confusion likely to cause stumbling for it cleaves asunder the dispensation. And I pray that this letter may be annulled, so that God Christ may be purely professed by all tongues that he truly suffered in the flesh while he remained without suffering in his Godhead which he has with the Father and the Spirit.

I entreat and beseech your honored majesty, that orders be sent to all men to hold the confession of Faith, as defined by our three hundred and eighteen fathers, which in a few words declares the truth to all the churches, to put an end to every heresy and all false doctrine, and which in itself stands in no need of correction.¹¹⁴³

Testimonies of the fathers contained in the letter of St. Theophilus of Alexandria

The Word, the living God, the Lord of all, and Creator of the world, did not clothe himself in a heavenly body as in some costly substance and come to us, but he displayed in clay the greatness of the skill of his art. For when he would restore and renew man who was formed from the clay, he was born as man from the Virgin, corresponding to us in all points, in sin only excepted, and coming into being by a miracle, shone upon us and blessed our human nature.

Now, it was not difficult for God the Word to prepare for himself a temple from the Virgin's body for the purpose of our redemption. For consider, indeed, that God also was never polluted by natural copulation when he created man. How much more then, by his mercy, he became incarnate from the blood of the Virgin for the purpose of our redemption.¹¹⁴⁴

When the saint (Timothy) was on his way to exile, the inhabitants of the cities of Palestine and the seacoast came to him to be sanctified, and the sick among them gained healing from their diseases through the grace of God, which was attached to his person. They snatched torn pieces from his garments, that they

¹¹⁴¹ Matthew 22:29.

¹¹⁴² Silentiary is an imperial usher, who kept guard at the doors during important state meetings, but could also be entrusted with various special missions. See *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, translated by Richard Price and Michael Gaddis, p. 211 of the Glossary, and Evagrius, *History of the Church* (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1845), 311, footnote 1.

¹¹⁴³ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 70-73.

¹¹⁴⁴ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 92-94.

might have them as charms to protect them from evil. When he arrived at Berytus (Beirut), Eustathius, the bishop, urged the citizens there to receive him with public honor. He begged Timothy upon his entry into the city, to pray for it. Timothy stood in the midst of the city and made supplications and prayers to God for it, and blessed it.

However, Auxonius, the brother of Eustathius, who was at that time an interpreter of the law, acting upon the advice of his brother, spent the whole night with Timothy, speaking earnestly about the faith and against Nestorius. During the whole of his long discourse, Timothy was a silent listener. At length, Auxonius, after many words, ceased speaking. Timothy said to him, "Who could persuade me that these three fingers should write upon the paper of Chalcedon?" Upon hearing this, Auxonius was very sad, and began to weep. Then Timothy encouraged both him and his brother Eustathius, who afterward joined them, and said, "Attach yourself to me, and let us contend together for the faith, and let us prevail, so that either we shall recover our bishoprics, or else we shall be driven into banishment by our enemies, and live a sincere life with God." Eustathius alleged as an excuse the dedication of the church, a great temple that he built and named "Anastasia." Timothy said, "Shall we wait for the dedication of an earthly temple? But if you obey me, then we shall hold our festival in the heavenly Jerusalem."

Timothy received the same kind of honor along the way, until he reached Gangra.

However, Gennadius, bishop of Constantinople, and his adherents did not desist from their persecution of Timothy, even when he was in banishment. They persuaded the emperor to remove him from Gangra to Cherson, a region inhabited by barbarous and uncivilized men.

However, the bishop of Gangra heartily consented to this because of the envy, which he felt towards the believing, virtuous, and miracle-working Timothy, the friend of the poor. Timothy was also envied because he received gifts from the believers of Alexandria and Egypt and distributed them for the relief of the needy.

Having embarked on board ship and launched upon the sea, he reached Cherson without danger, though he was tossed in the midst of the winter. When the inhabitants of the country learned the reason, they were filled with admiration for him, became followers of his faith, and submitted to his authority.¹¹⁴⁵

Besides this letter, we have subjoined another explaining the right method of reception in the case of those who repent and turn from heresy.

Timothy, to the God-loving bishops, presbyters, deacons, archimandrites, sisters, and faithful people in the Lord--Greetings.

Inasmuch as Isaiah and Theophilus have been for a long time heretics in secret, who I admonished by letter, urging them to agree to the doctrine, they have not been obedient to the letter which I wrote to them to Constantinople, containing proofs from Scripture and the doctors of the church, that our Lord Jesus Christ was of the same nature with us in the body. Furthermore, they have shown no respect for my sufferings in being banished from place to place, but have behaved treacherously toward the bearers of my letter, and also informed the prefects against them, stirring up others saying, "It is a forgery," even though they knew my signature was on the letter. I waited a considerable time for them though I knew their disposition, and they made no reply either by word of mouth or in writing. Upon reflection, I thought it right to send them another letter. Therefore, I wrote urging them to come and confess the true faith. In my admonition, I reminded them that God does not condemn those who repent. I cited the examples of holy men who sinned and denied the Lord, but who afterwards repented. Moreover, God accepted their repentance, and accounted them worthy of their former dignity. Such was the case of David, Peter and Paul.

I wrote to them that, in like manner, if they would repent and confess the body of Christ to be of the same nature as ours, I would continue to entertain my old esteem and love for them and would maintain them in the honor of their rank. However, they showed no affection for me and treated me with contempt.

¹¹⁴⁵ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 76-77 and 79-80.

After this, I waited four years more for them without exposing them by name. They persevered in their disobedience, showing no sign of repentance; neither did they receive the doctrine of the holy fathers nor me. They have associated with some heretics who openly deny that our Lord took a human body, and that he became perfect man from us. They creep into houses, are greedy for gain and for the belly, which they hold as their god while they are sojourning in the royal city (Constantinople). I wrote to them that they should depart from it, but they would not. They continued to lead simple folk astray, to circulate other rumors respecting me, with the object of doing me great harm. Being distressed and saddened by them, I was compelled to excommunicate them by their names lest they should cause others to stumble and err.

I now give sentence upon Isaiah and Theophilus, who say that the body of the Lord is of his own nature, and not of ours, and who deny his true humanity, thereby cutting themselves from the fellowship of the holy fathers and mine. Henceforth, no man should hold communion with them. For John the Evangelist commands us saying, "Dear brethren, do not believe every spirit, but test the spirits to see whether they are from God, because many false prophets have gone out into the world. This is how you can recognize the spirit of God: Every spirit that acknowledges that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh is from God, but every spirit that does not acknowledge Jesus is not from God. This is the spirit of the antichrist, which you have heard is coming and even now is already in the world."¹¹⁴⁶

Again, "If anyone comes to you and does not bring this teaching, do not take him into your house or welcome him. Anyone who welcomes him shares in his wicked work."¹¹⁴⁷ Because of the apostle who says, "As we have already said, so now I say again: If anybody is preaching to you a gospel other than what you accepted, let him be eternally condemned!"¹¹⁴⁸

I am clear from their blood and from that of their associates. For I have not ceased to show them, according to the will of God, what is for their good. For Paul further exhorts us, saying, "Warn a divisive person once, and then warn him a second time. After that, have nothing to do with him. You may be sure that such a man is warped and sinful; he is self-condemned."¹¹⁴⁹ But the blessed Dioscorus, the Confessor, wrote sentiments agreeable to these of the holy fathers, and after the same manner in his letter to Secundinus saying, "Now I beseech you, brethren, by the Lord Jesus Christ, and by the love of the Spirit, concerning those who repent and turn from the heresy of the Diphysites,¹¹⁵⁰ as I wrote in a letter a year ago, that you, the bishops and clergy, and other believers, all who are subject to you, help them, and extend the hand to them in the Lord."

This same order and regulation Cyril and Dioscorus observed of one year's repentance for bishops, presbyters and deacons after which they should be established in their former rank. I have written such letters advising them how they should receive converts from Pretorius' party.

Timothy became so celebrated, even with the people of India that when their bishop died they, being of the same faith with him, sent a request to him that he would appoint a bishop for them. Indeed, the Alexandrians never ceased sending petitions and supplications to the emperor on his behalf.¹¹⁵¹

Of Cyril

So truly, the *Theotokos* (Mother of God) still remained a virgin after giving birth to Christ by a miracle. He was partaker, in like manner as we, of flesh and blood, not of his own nature as the heretics say, but of our nature according to the saying, "He took the seed of Abraham."¹¹⁵² We assert that the body of the Word was his own, and not that of some other man separately and distinctly who is held to be different from Christ the Son. Although he took the body from our race and nature because he was born of the

¹¹⁴⁶ 1 John 4:1-3; 2 John 7.

¹¹⁴⁷ 2 John 10-11.

¹¹⁴⁸ Galatians 1:8.

¹¹⁴⁹ Titus 1:10-11.

¹¹⁵⁰ Meaning, the Chalcedonians who held two natures of Christ distinct and separate from each other after the Incarnation.

¹¹⁵¹ The above passages are in *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 96-99.

¹¹⁵² Hebrews 2:16.

Virgin, yet it must be held and declared to be his own body. Since God the Word is the Life in his own nature, he declared his body to be a life-giving one. If it is not so, how then is he like us, while yet remaining as he was before, God the Word? However, grant to him that in the unity of the Person his body is not separated, and do not denude him of his flesh. Thus, I rightly worship one Son, who is of the same nature with the Father in the Godhead, but of the same nature with us in the manhood. As for those who delight to believe this truth, Christ will enlighten their knowledge also of himself by his mysteries.

Therefore, these fathers and holy men like them have with one consent anathematized every man who is not obedient to their doctrine.

I have written to Alexandria, to the clergy, to the monks, to the sisters the virgins in Christ, and to the believing people. I have sent the letter to you, my dear friends that you may know what I have written, I Timothy, have marked the salutation with my own handwriting.

Whosoever does not believe in the doctrine of the holy fathers in accordance with the tradition of our Lord Jesus Christ: let him be accursed. For it is right for each one of us either to stand fast in the faith and to live in it, or else to die on behalf of it, and to live for evermore.¹¹⁵³

End of the testimonies of the holy fathers and the Orthodox malphone (doctors) respecting the true faith. He who reads this let him pray for the wretched and sinful scribe.

Chapters Two and Three are not mentioned in the Syriac text

Chapter (Four): Concerning the affairs of the church and the kingdom in the time of Leo

In the reign of Leo, an unprecedented fire broke out in Constantinople and raged from sea to sea. The emperor fled to the passage of Marmara and lived there for six months. He built the great harbor of Neon Ambolon (The New Gate). He also made a law that no man should work on Sunday, and that no man should play any instrument of music whether a flute or guitar.¹¹⁵⁴

In the year fifteen of Leo, the patrician Aspar and his four sons were killed. Anthimus was killed by Ricimer (Master of Soldiers), and Ricimer killed the Emperor Olybrius.¹¹⁵⁵ Leo proclaimed his grandson, the son of his daughter and son of Zeno, Caesar when he was still six years old child. This is why he was called Leo the Young (Leontinus). He reigned one year during the emperor's reign. Then Emperor Leo fell ill through a disease of the bowels and died at seventy-three years of age. He spent eighteen years minus thirty days in governing. The church was in constant turmoil during his lifetime because of the schism created by the Council of Chalcedon. *End of this narrative.*

Alexander, bishop of Mabug, and the bishop of Samosata the heretic and partisans of John of Antioch and Theodore, addressed a letter to them against St. Simeon, the Stylite, and Jacob, bishop of Kafra, the teacher of Simon as follows, "To our fathers the bishops. We have greatly rejoiced by receiving your letters and came to know about your health. However, we have been displeased with what Simeon and Jacob had written because they have actually written against the truth. Do not believe them even though the dead come back to life. But you should count them as heretics."

Such and other matters were written by those hypocrites about these two saints: Simeon the Stylite and Jacob of Kafra, because they did not consent to the false teaching of the Council convened at Chalcedon.

In this period, Emperor Leo stirred up severe persecution against what was left of the Arians. He seized their churches and forbade them from assembling.

¹¹⁵³ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 94-96. Cf. Cyril's, treatises against the Apollinarians, Nestorians and the Synodists in *Library of the Holy Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church Anterior to the Division of the East and West*, translated by E.B. Pusey (Oxford: James Parker and Co., 1881), 363-377.

¹¹⁵⁴ He commanded that instead the people should occupy themselves in their churches. See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, translated by E. A. Wallace Budge (Oxford University Press, 1932), 69.

¹¹⁵⁵ Emperor Olybrius died from dropsy. See Michael Grant, *The Roman Emperors*, 323.

In Leo's period, ashes like rain fell down from heaven and covered about one span of the ground and the bricks. Gripped by fear, the people rushed to the churches, monasteries, temples and other holy place, praying day and night. They thought the event was an act of wrath against the earth, though God extinguished it as an act of mercy for the people.

In the same period, Cyzicus was completely destroyed by an earthquake and a great majority of its people perished. In addition, several cities and villages collapsed but were not demolished like Cyzicus.

The chief priests who came after the Council of Chalcedon in the time of King (Emperor) Leo

In Constantinople, Anatolius, who was the fourteenth, succeeded the heretic Gennadius.

In Rome, Hilary succeeded Bishop Leo, who was the forty-fourth bishop.

In Alexandria, after the murder of Pretorius, the Orthodox appointed the holy Timothy known as Salophaciolus.

In Antioch, Maximus succeeded Domnus, who was succeeded by Martyrius, who was driven out, as the fortieth bishop. After him was Julian as the forty-first bishop, who was succeeded by Stephen as the forty-second bishop, and another Stephen as the forty-third bishop, who was driven out, and then Peter, the forty-fourth bishop, who returned from banishment three times.

In Ephesus, John the heretic took the place of the believing Bassian. He was succeeded by Paul who was banished and then returned from banishment by an Encyclical. He was banished the second time for rejecting the Council of Chalcedon.

In Constantinople, Acacius was the fifteenth bishop.

In Rome, Simplicius was the forty-fifth bishop for fifteen years.

In Edessa, Nonus returned after the death of Ibas and Qura, the thirty-second bishop.

In the year 703 of the Greeks, which is the third year of Leo, Saint Simeon the Stylite died. His remains were transferred to Antioch by the troops. The Antiochenes built a Martyrium and deposited in it the body of Simeon in a coffin. They repaired to his holy body to protect their city, which had been destroyed by an earthquake. Simeon died three years before the death of St. Barsoum. May their memory be a blessing.

The crowning, that is the death of our lord St. Barsoum, chief of the ascetics, distinguished among the perfect, occurred in the year 700 of the Greeks, the year in which Marcian passed away. St. Simeon's death occurred in the third year of Leo, which is the year 703 of the Greeks. These two blessed men and St. Jacob, bishop of Kafra, had anathematized the Council of Chalcedon.

Chapter Five: Concerning the reign of Leo the Young, his father Zeno, and Basiliscus who craftily seized the kingdom and was driven away and died.

Leo the Young (Leontinus) reigned at the age of six by order of Leo the Great in the year 780 of the Greeks (474 A.D.). During the one year he reigned, his father Zeno paid homage to him, but his mother treated him as a child. She tricked him saying, "When your father bows down before you, take the crown from your head and place it on his head." Having done this, Zeno, who was from Isauria, seized the kingdom. After few days, the boy died and many suspected that his father and his mother had put him to death.

Verina, wife of Leo the Great, asked Zeno concerning a certain matter, and he refused her quest. She cast him aside and set up her brother Basiliscus as emperor. Basiliscus, who was dwelling in Heraclea, rebelled against Zeno and was proclaimed emperor. He appointed his son Marcus a Caesar. Fearing that Verina might be planning to have him killed, Zeno fled to Isauria on a post-horse. He abandoned the kingdom and returned to his country (Constantinople). He arrived at the strongholds called Salmon and remained there. He was later joined secretly by his wife Ariadne. Basiliscus and his son Marcus reigned two years and acted badly. Basiliscus proved to be stupid and changeable. In his time, Gabala in Syria was destroyed by an earthquake and he sent money for its relief. At the beginning, he was concerned with professing and confirming the Orthodox faith (meaning against the Council of Chalcedon). In order to do

the Alexandrians a great favor, he brought back Saint Timothy from exile and with him the remains of Dioscorus (Coptic Pope of Alexandria); they were received with honor in Alexandria. Basiliscus wrote an Encyclical signed by the bishops, condemning the Council of Chalcedon and the *Tome* of Leo.¹¹⁵⁶ However, Acacius, (Bishop of Constantinople), instigated the bishop of Rome against him. Intimidated, Basiliscus issued a counter Encyclical abolishing his support of the Orthodox faith. He commanded that everyone should accept the Council of Chalcedon. His foolishness was thus exposed and his authority began to crumble.

The instability of Basiliscus' mind encouraged Zeno to consolidate his power. He collected troops who had deserted Basiliscus and went to attack him. Basiliscus sent Armatus to fight him. He promised to make his son a Caesar and he himself a Strategos (captain of his army), but Armatus acted treacherously towards his lord, and joined Zeno. He and Zeno entered Constantinople and were welcomed by the Senate. Basiliscus took his wife and his children and fled to the Great Church. Zeno celebrated the event with horseplay games (the *ludi Romani* or Roman Games) in the circus, which pleased the people. He sent orders and had the purple apparel of royalty stripped from Basiliscus and from his wife and sons, and promised not to kill them. However, he sent them to Limnes in Cappadocia where they were shut up in a cistern. It was closed with them inside and they suffered the worst death.

After assuming the purple, wearing the crown and honoring the Alexandrians, Basiliscus paid no attention to the instigations of the (Chalcedonians). He circulated an Encyclical to all quarters anathematizing the creed of Chalcedon and the *Tome* of Leo. He established the law that wherever people found copies of the new doctrine of Chalcedon or the *Tome*, they should be set to fire.

These encyclicals were drawn up by Paul the monk, who was a rhetorician and a sophist. It was he who, in an argument with Acacius, bishop of Constantinople, was able to show that his opinions, together with those of the heresies of Eutyches and Nestorius, are one and the same. For both tried to show that the human body (of Christ) did not participate in the divine redemption. Nestorius, in effect, held that the body is incapable of the hypostatic union with the Word. Thus, he rejected this union and only confessed a union of affection. For the same reason, Eutyches denied that Christ took a body. He said, "He became incarnate from his own essence, and assumed a heavenly body." Here these two men share the term of "appearance, phantasy" in one way or another. Nestorius maintained that the union (of the Lord's divinity with his humanity) is imaginary and not real. Eutyches held the same opinion with respect to the incarnation of the Word of God. He denied that an animated body with a rational soul was taken by the Lord from our race.¹¹⁵⁷

This Encyclical was subscribed by Basiliscus, Timothy of Alexandria who succeeded Dioscorus, and by Peter of Antioch, both of whom were in exile and were restored to their sees by Basiliscus.

According to Paul, bishop of Ephesus, the bishops of Asia, and Anastasius, bishop of Jerusalem, the number of bishops who subscribed to the Encyclical was about seven hundred. They anathematized the *Tome* of Leo and the Council of Chalcedon. Six hundred of them met in Ephesus and addressed a letter of thanks to Basiliscus. They anathematized the *Tome* and the decrees of Chalcedon. They said, "Anathema is Acacius and his partisans. Nestorius and the defiant Acacius are but one. It is because of Nestorius that Acacius is received (by the Council of Chalcedon). Anathematized are Nestorius and the *Tome* of Leo. The *Tome* of Leo has rent the world asunder. Since then, Rome has been left without an emperor. Let Caiaphas' council be condemned."

When Acacius, of Constantinople, learned about this matter, and saw that Timothy had given the dignity of the patriarchate¹¹⁵⁸ to Paul, bishop of Ephesus, in order to take his (Acacius') place on the throne of Constantinople. He further learned that Timothy, who was then at the capital, did not endorse him (Acacius) unless he subscribed to the emperor's Encyclical. Furthermore, Acacius learned that (Timothy)

¹¹⁵⁶ See *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 105-107, and Evagrius, *History of the Church*, bound together with Theodoret, *History of the Church*, translator anonymous (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1854), 346-347).

¹¹⁵⁷ Eutyches asserted that the flesh of Christ was not real or consubstantial with that of us, but only imaginary.

¹¹⁵⁸ Authority of his see.

might be preparing to hold a council against him in Jerusalem to condemn him. Therefore, he instigated the monks of the imperial city (against Basiliscus), seized the churches and brought down Daniel the Stylite from his pillar, and declared that Basiliscus was a heretic. Whereupon Basiliscus, who had received the report that Zeno was returning with a great army to evict him, was compelled to make a contra-Encyclical by which he cancelled his former Encyclical.¹¹⁵⁹ God, however, took the kingdom from Basiliscus who was described by the followers of Theodore as “the noble” and the “author.”

Then, upon his return and ejecting Basiliscus, Zeno passed a law canceling all the proceedings of Basiliscus. He also deposed Peter of Antioch and Paul of Ephesus. Consequently, the bishops of Asia endorsed the transactions of the Council of Chalcedon with the exception of Timothy of Alexandria, Anastasius of Jerusalem and Epiphanius of Magdolum (Magdala) of Pamphylia.¹¹⁶⁰

At this time, an earthquake took place in Thrace and destroyed several districts. Fear gripped those who witnessed such calamity and came to believe that the end of the world was at hand. *Here ends this narrative.*

The Encyclical of Leo the Great

When Leo saw that evil had intensified in the churches because of the Council (of Chalcedon), he circulated an Encyclical to all the bishops saying, “Why do you see in Timothy and the council--nothing but fear, favoritism and hatred? You should set the fear of God before your eyes. For such behavior, you will answer before the Holy Godhead. So work for the fear of God which is in me.”

Upon writing to the bishops, Anatolius of Constantinople,¹¹⁶¹ fearing that the Episcopate granted him by the Council (of Chalcedon) might be taken from him, took this opportunity and craftily addressed a letter to the bishops before they received the Encyclical, in which he said that, “The emperor is intending to put you to the test in order to know if you are opposed (to the Council of Chalcedon).” The wretched bishops (influenced by the instigation of Anatolius) wrote to Leo complaining against the ordination of Timothy, and of what had been done to them at Chalcedon against the faith. In particular, they complained about dividing the natures (of Christ) into two after their union which is ineffable and indivisible.¹¹⁶²

Extract from the letter of Amphilochius of Sidon to Emperor Leo

“According to the command of your Christ-loving kingdom, we promptly met in Sidon, the metropolitan city, and we took from your order the occasion to direct to God the praises and especially the prayers. We have learned that they (the bishops) were enflamed with anger, like the fire burning in a forest, because the expression of the Synod (Council) of Chalcedon is not suitable to the Incarnation of the Christ. This (expression) on the subject of which, even before Alexandria, those (bishops) from Constantinople and from the orthodox churches, were troubled and are still ardently divided. In effect, it was necessary to use this expression from the God-fearing John the Evangelist, ‘The Word of God became flesh.’¹¹⁶³ This is said in order to demonstrate that God the Word, which was at the beginning, has been united to an animated (living) human body from a reasonable and intelligent soul. However, John made no mention of natures. How would someone compose a truthful, godly expression, free from falsehood, while marking the heresies of the duality that the Apostle smothered all at once: not only those which already existed, but also those that he saw in advance by the prophetic spirit, which appeared in the Church. Although he (John) had

¹¹⁵⁹ The whole episode is in *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 112-113. The author’s paraphrasing of the same is confusing.

¹¹⁶⁰ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 113.

¹¹⁶¹ Anatolius was the one who instigated the emperor to make the former statements in his encyclical.

¹¹⁶² This means that they had endorsed the transactions of Chalcedon and now, being instigated by Anatolius, they reconfirmed their agreement with Chalcedon. But Amphilochius, bishop of Sidon, and the bishops of the province who agreed with him, displayed no fear. They addressed a letter to the emperor censuring the transactions of the Council, especially the innovation it added to the faith that the two natures (of Christ) were still separate and distinct after their ineffable union in the Incarnation. Nevertheless, Amphilochius criticized the consecration of Timothy saying that it had been done in an uncanonical manner. *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 74.

¹¹⁶³ John 1:14.

gagged their impudent mouths, he did not think that there was the least necessity to make mention of 'two' (natures). Perhaps, the editor/writer of the Synod (Council of Chalcedon), fearing that the belief in one nature might lead the people to believe that these natures are mixed, comingled and confused in the Incarnation (of Christ), put down 'two natures?' By doing this, he contrived a new law for the church. It is actually sufficient to remember the words of John regarding the divine things cited above, as we have said before, that 'the Word became flesh.' What he (the editor or writer) had written in the resolutions of the Council (of Chalcedon), of 'the two natures,' was, in fact, of his own will. Unlike Moses, who brought the two tablets down from the mountain, he himself acted as if he has come down from heaven. As to the immeasurable blasphemy of Nestorius confessing two natures, it destroys the union (of the two natures). Now, if the two natures are united with each other, where is the union? 'Two' requires division and annuls union. 'One nature' actually removes the duality of the natures; it is a divine and ineffable union."

"I wished to have learned from them (the Chalcedonians) which one of these expressions, one nature or two natures, complies with faith. The two cannot come together. In effect, the confession of the 'two' destroys the union; likewise, the union makes the 'two' disappear. At last, it seems that 'Our Lord Jesus Christ must be recognized in two natures.' Striving to prove this, the Diphysites, (the Chalcedonians) along with the fables of these 'idolizers,' is incompatible with the revelation of Christ."

"Therefore, confessing one *qnomo* (hypostasis) in the *Henoticon* of Chalcedon, one must correctly say that there is 'one substance,' that is 'one nature' of God the Word, who bought back human nature, and not 'two natures.' Because this opinion is like that of Nestorius who maintained that there are two Sons. In what sense can the one who says 'two natures' say 'one person?' One cannot understand it. Each nature, in effect, always corresponds to the person, or one or two or three; this is as from the adorable essence by which the blessed Trinity manifests itself. We pray that the will of God aides Your Power, so that the faith of the Apostles, which reached to the end of 400 years since the appearance of Our Lord until this heretic expression of Chalcedon, lives pure and unalterable."

This man (Amphilochius) wrote of such things to the emperor. However, wanting to rectify the things that had been maliciously established under the reign of Marcian, he was not permitted to do so by those who had condemned Saint Timothy. End of the narrative.¹¹⁶⁴

Chapter Six: On the events which took place during the reign of King (Emperor) Zeno

When Zeno settled in his position as emperor, he made Basiliscus, son of Armatius, a Caesar and granted him high military rank after Basiliscus pledged allegiance to him. Zeno ordered the horseplay in the circus and Basiliscus sat next to him to watch the spectacle, but Zeno remembered how Armatius betrayed Basiliscus despite the fact that he swore to him by God, by baptism and by the holy mysteries. He suspected that Armatius might betray him too if he gained enough power, although he (Zeno) did not renege on his pledge to Basiliscus or his son. Zeno, however, had Armatius killed as if he had betrayed his oath. He had already given orders that Armatius should be ordained a reader and then a metropolitan of Hellepont and Cyzicus in consideration that he was worthy of wearing the imperial purple.¹¹⁶⁵

In Zeno's time, the Samaritans rebelled and set up for themselves a king called Justus and killed a great number of Christians. Justus entered Caesarea like a king and attended the horseplay spectacle. He perpetrated heinous crimes and set on fire the church of Procopius. The Romans who were living in Palestine fought them and defeated them. They seized the Samaritans and sent the head of their king to Zeno. Zeno ordered their synagogue converted to a great church in the name of St. Mary.

An earthquake took place in the capital (Constantinople) and extended to Taurus. Nicomedia was ruined for the sixth time.

At the same time, the Persians in Antioch rebelled and burned down the synagogue and many Jews, even the bones of their dead.

¹¹⁶⁴ See *Zachariah of Mitylene*, 74.

¹¹⁶⁵ See Evagrius, Book Three, Chapter, 24, p. 363 of the English translation.

After these events, Zeno died from dysentery¹¹⁶⁶ at the age of sixty. He reigned for sixteen years.

These events are taken from the book of John of Antioch, who mentioned that the period from Adam to Zeno's death was 6458 years.

Upon his return to power for the second time and seeing that the churches were in turmoil, Zeno published the *Henoticon* (Instrument of Union) and sent it to Alexandria. He banished Peter (Fuller) of Antioch for he was in agreement with Basiliscus and set up Stephen in his place. Later, Stephen was shown to be of Nestorian tendencies. While he was on the way to attend the celebration of the festival of the Forty Martyrs outside the city, a group of clergymen attacked him, pierced him with sharp reeds and cast his body into the Orontes River. Zeno took revenge on them and set up Calandion, who also appeared to be a Nestorian, and had him banished. The people of Antioch requested the restoration of Peter Fuller to their city. Zeno ordered Peter's return from banishment and he sat on throne (of Antioch) until his death. In fact, Zeno agreed to have Peter return from exile for the following reason: It happened that in Antioch, the military generals Leontius, Illus and Euprepus rebelled against Zeno, being encouraged by Calandion who was appointed a bishop of Antioch. After three years of rebellion, they surrendered and were slain. Calandion was banished. For this reason, the entire congregation of Antioch requested the emperor to restore Peter to their city, and he did.

In this period Theodric, son of Trajanus, also rebelled against Zeno. He marched against Thrace but did not harm anyone. He was killed when he reached Illyria. Afterward, Theodric, a tyrant known as Eulaclos, invaded the regions of Illyria and Thessaly and entered the city of Larissa. He reached as far as the region of Melanthias. On his way to Thrace, he ravaged several regions and then returned. Then this tyrant marched against Rome, and Arcadius, the anti-Caesar, fled to Ravenna. Theodric ravaged the entire country of Italy.

Zeno ordered Pelagius and Panormon, bishop of Crete, strangled on the grounds that they were the cause of all these things.

In this period, Theodore was appointed a governor of interior Prasantos.

In this same period, King Firuz of Persia, who stirred up persecution against the Christians, died and was succeeded by his brother Balouis. He ruled 4 years and was the seventeenth king. In his time, the Christians who lived in the country of Persia enjoyed tranquility because he did not persecute them.

In this period spread in Persia the heresy of Kantanites and the immoral Dosetenes.

In Alexandria, after Peter Mongus, who was the twenty-sixth bishop for 16 years, was expelled, Salophaciolus (said to mean *white-capped*) was set up by the bishops in his place. The churches of Alexandria were rent asunder because of the conflict.

In Constantinople, Gennadius was followed by Fravitos, followed by Euphemius as the seventeenth bishop, followed by Flabitos as the eighteenth bishop. He was ejected in the time of Emperor Anastasius.¹¹⁶⁷

Anyone who reads this book let him ask mercy for the wretched and humble writer.

The Henoticon of Zeno

Imperial Caesar, Zeno the Emperor, believing, victorious, triumphant, worshipful, Augustus, to the bishops and the people in Alexandria, Egypt, Libya, and also in Pentapolis.

Since we know that the origin and stability and invincible might of our empire is the only right and true faith, which by Divine inspiration, the three hundred and eighteen holy fathers in the Council at Nicaea declared; and which in like manner the one hundred and fifty holy fathers gathered at Constantinople attested, we, by night and day, employ every means of prayers, diligence and of laws, that thereby the holy catholic and apostolic church in every place, which is the incorruptible and imperishable mother of the scepter of our kingdom, may be increased. That thus, the believing people being kept in godly peace and concord may offer up, in conjunction with the pious and holy bishops, the God-fearing clergy, and the

¹¹⁶⁶ According to Evagrius, Book Three, Chapter 29, p. 366 of the English translation, Zeno died from epilepsy.

¹¹⁶⁷ Evagrius, Book Three, Chapter 23, p. 362-363 of the English translation and Chapter 32, pp. 370-371.

archimandrites and monks, acceptable prayers on behalf of our empire. For if the great God and our Savior Jesus Christ, who became incarnate from Mary the holy Virgin and *Theotokos* (Mother of God), shall approve and readily receive our unanimous praise and service, the race of enemies shall be destroyed and obliterated. And all men shall bow the neck to our sway, which is next to that of God. Then peace and its consequent blessings, genial temperance, abundance of fruits, and all those things that are adapted for man's good, shall be liberally granted. This unblemished faith is the preserver of ourselves and the Roman affairs, with petitions presented to us by God-loving archimandrites and other hermits entreating us that there may be unity to the holy churches, that the limbs may be joined together, which the haters of good have for a long time been striving to separate. They knew that when one makes war with the whole and perfect body of the church, he is defeated.

For it has happened that of the generations without number which time, during these many years of life, has removed, some, deprived of the Laver of Regeneration, have passed away. Others, without participation in the divine Communion, have been carried off by the inevitable journey of mankind. They have been wasted by myriads of murders, and through the profuse blood shedding, not the earth alone, but even the very air itself has been defiled. Who would not pray that this state of things might be exchanged for a good one? For which reason, we desired you to know that we and the holy churches of the orthodox everywhere, and the God-loving priests who rule them, neither hold, nor have held, nor know any man holding, any other symbol, or doctrine, or seal of the faith, or creed, than that which we have mentioned above, the holy symbol of the three hundred and eighteen holy fathers, which was also attested by the one hundred and fifty holy fathers who met in council here. If there be any man holding such, we account him an alien. For, as we have already said, we are confident that this only preserves our kingdom, and also all people who are counted worthy of life-living baptism are baptized upon the simple reception of this creed alone. Moreover, all the holy fathers who met in council at Ephesus, and deposed the wicked Nestorius and all his successors in doctrine, followed the same faith.

This Nestorius, together with Eutyches, inasmuch as they held doctrines contrary to what have been declared, we anathematize. We also receive the Twelve Heads delivered by the ever-memorable, God-loving Cyril, formerly archbishop of the catholic church of Alexandria. But we confess that the only-begotten Son of God, himself God, our Lord Jesus Christ, who truly became man, and who is of the same nature with the Father in the Godhead, is also is of the same nature with us in the manhood. He came down and assumed flesh through the Holy Spirit from Mary the Virgin and *Theotokos* (Mother of God). He is one Son and not two. For we affirm that the miracles which he wrought, and the sufferings which he freely endured in the flesh, belong to one Son of God alone. Moreover, we altogether reject those who either divide or confound, or introduce the *phantasy*. For the true and sinless Incarnation from the Theotokos (Mother of God) did not cause the addition of a Son. Indeed, the Trinity remained even though God the Word, who is one of the Trinity, became incarnate.

Since, then, you know that both the holy Orthodox Churches everywhere and the God-loving priests who rule them, and our Royalty, neither have received nor do receive any other symbol or definition of the faith than the holy doctrine which has been declared above, be united together without doubting. For we have written this, not to make any innovation in the faith, but to assure you.

And here we anathematize all who have held, or hold, now or at any time, whether in Chalcedon or in any other council whatsoever, any different belief, but chiefly those already mentioned, Nestorius and Eutyches and all their followers in the doctrine.

Be joined, then, to your spiritual mother, the church, and delight in her, together with us in divine fellowship, according to that one definition of the faith alone which was framed by the holy fathers as we have declared above. For our all-holy mother, the church, longs for you, that we may embrace you as beloved children. For a considerable time, she has been eager to hear your sweet voice.

Hasten, therefore! For by so doing you will attract to yourselves the goodwill of our God and Savior Christ, and you will also be commended by our Royalty.¹¹⁶⁸

Because the *Henoticon* of the emperor contained all these things that had happened, it was subscribed by the bishops of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria and those attached to them. Consequently, Julian and John, presbyters of Alexandria, and the old deacons Helladius and Seraphion, Theodore, bishop of the Atonenes, John and Andrew the great archimandrites, Paul the sophist and others, dissociated themselves from communion with Peter of Alexandria because the *Henoticon* and the letter of the chief priests attached with it contained no express anathema of the Council of Chalcedon or the *Tome*. The number of those who opposed the *Henoticon* and the monks daily increased. When Acacius, bishop of Constantinople, learned of this affair, he addressed a letter to them to agree with the *Henoticon*. However, Peter kept attacking the Council (of Chalcedon) and complaining about it to the people. When Acacius learned of this too, he wanted to test Peter's freedom and his faith. He discovered that he did not knowingly anathematize the council, and that a great number of those who opposed the council had joined him because he had anathematized the council, but soon dissociated themselves from communion with him. Consequently, he seized the monastery from Bishop Theodore and drove away this miracle-working man who opened the eyes of a blind man by sprinkling them with baptismal water.¹¹⁶⁹

The Bishops in the Time of Zeno

In Rome, after Hilary who was bishop for 6 years, came Simplicius, who was the fifty-fourth bishop for 15 years. To him, Zeno addressed a letter concerning John the liar, who was driven out of Alexandria. Simplicius was succeeded by Felix for 8 years. He lived until the time of Anastasius.

In Alexandria, Timothy the great, who was called back from exile, was received with great pomp. He was brought to church riding a donkey to offer supplications. He was succeeded by Timothy Salophaciolus, who was succeeded by John, who was deposed, and Peter Mongus for 12 years, followed by Bishop Athanasius for 27 years.

In Jerusalem, Anastasius was the fifty-second bishop. He was succeeded by Martyrius as the fifty-third bishop. The fifty-fourth bishop was Sallastius.

In Antioch, Matryrius was set up and deposed. He was followed by Julian, Stephen, by another Stephen, Peter the believing, Calandion who was rejected, Palladius and the forty-ninth bishop, Flavian, who was ejected in the time of the Emperor Anastasius.

Chapter Seven: On the time of Emperor Anastasius who ruled for 27 years

Anastasius, the Silentiary, ruled in the year 805 of the Greeks, which is the year 539 of the Antioch calendar. He destroyed the children who were studying letters because they made fun of him. For this, grief filled the city.¹¹⁷⁰

In this year, an eclipse took place. In addition, locusts in great number attacked but caused no harm.

In the eighth year of Anastasius, this is the eleventh year of Qawad (Qabad) the King of Persia, Zamos, Qawad's brother, rebelled against him for 2 years. Qawad fled, but then returned with an army, fought his brother and defeated him and killed him. He ruled Persia the second time for 3 years.

In this time, an earthquake took place causing destruction. The city of Nicopolis was destroyed and all the inhabitants were buried with the exception of the priests and two of his attendants. A comet appeared for many days; also, locusts came and destroyed everything. There was a great famine in Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia). An immense mass of fire appeared in the northern quarter (of the heavens), and it flamed brilliantly the whole night. After a short time, the Huns waged war against the Persians, overcame

¹¹⁶⁸ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 121-123, and Evagrius, *History of the Church*, Book Three, Chapter 14, pp. 351-353 of the English translation.

¹¹⁶⁹ Cf. *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 48-49.

¹¹⁷⁰ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 70.

them and devastated their country. Later however, the Persians were able to penetrate the Roman regions in Mesopotamia and caused great destruction and ravaged the cities.

In the time of Anastasius, Flabitos Euphemius, patriarch of Constantinople, was ejected for being discovered to be a Nestorian. In his place was set up Macedonius, who later also became a heretic and was banished. Then, Timothy occupied the throne of Constantinople as the twentieth bishop. He was a believing man as his deeds proved, and thus was called "The Honored Man of God."

In the time of this saint, a man called Marinus of Apamea from the province of Antioch became celebrated for his wisdom. He began to publicize the phrase, "You, who was crucified for us," which had been initiated by Eustathius (patriarch of Antioch). Marinus urged the emperor to have the whole church use this phrase. The heretics went to Marinus and told him, "Would you want the people to chant more than the Trisagion which the angels offered to the Trinity chanting, 'Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty. Heaven and earth are full of your glory?'" God, through the emperor spoke saying, "The angels do good by offering thanks to the adored Trinity, but do not say that the Trinity was crucified on their behalf. We, however, do good by adding this phrase to the Trisagion because we confess that he (Christ, the second person of the Trinity), took a body from us and not from angels." Thus, he silenced them and informed the emperor of the whole episode.¹¹⁷¹ Because the emperor was a pious man, he appreciated the addition of the phrase, "You, who was crucified for us" to the Trisagion and ordered it publicized in the capital (Constantinople) as it had been publicized in the region of Antioch. Most of the people, however, rebelled because they were Nestorians. They maintained that the emperor intended to make an addition to the faith. They said that the phrase "You, who was crucified for us" was addressed to Domnus, one of the thieves who was crucified with the Lord. They also spoke more errors like this one. They went around the royal palace shouting, "We want another king for the Romans, we want another king for the Romans!" They rushed to the house of Marinus, the Syrian prefect, to kill him but he fled. They set his house on fire thinking that he was the one who misled the emperor to add this phrase. They cut off his head, and fixing it on a lance, went around shouting, "This is Epibolous that is the one who is against the Trinity." However, the emperor did not retreat from proclaiming the phrase.

When the pious Timothy was about seventy years old, he died on the eleventh day of the Indiction. He was succeeded by John. In the meantime, John was the twenty-eighth bishop in Alexandria for 8 years.

In Rome, Gelasius was the forty-seventh bishop for 10 years.

In this period, the saint Philoxenus of Mabug (d. 523) became well known for his sound teaching, holiness and profound knowledge. He was ordained a bishop by Patriarch Peter, known as the Fuller, for Mabug. He defended orthodoxy with avid strength. He taught and wrote orthodox teachings and exposed the falsity of the deceptive opinions of Nestorius concerning the two natures. In addition, he set up appropriate procedures for monasticism. He composed several discourses on major festivals along with a variety of directions. May his memory be a blessing. Amen.¹¹⁷²

In the time of Anastasius, violent disturbances took place between the Persians and the Romans for the following reason:

In the time of Zeno, the Huns attacked the Persians, but King Firuz assembled an army and counter-attacked them. He learned that they did so because the subsidy given them by the Persian kingdom was insufficient for them and that the Romans were giving them double as much. Therefore, the Persians were to either give them as much as the Romans or they would prepare for war. When Firuz saw that the Huns were ready for war, he lied to them and promised to give them a larger subsidy. For this promise, the Huns withdrew and some of them remained in order to receive the subsidy. Firuz stealthily returned to kill them and then chase after those who had already departed. Then a certain cunning merchant named Eustace from Apamea, who was with the Huns, encouraged them and advised them to offer up incense in the place

¹¹⁷¹ For the controversy over the Trisagion and the addition to it of the phrase, "You who was crucified for us," see Matti Moosa, *The Maronites in History*, (Syracuse University Press, 1986, reprinted Gorgias Press, 2005), 69-71.

¹¹⁷² For the biography of Philoxenus of Mabug see Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, translated by Matti Moosa (Gorgias Press, 2003), 262-270.

wherein the oath had been made, and told them that God would sweep away the Persian who had lied to them. Then the Huns met the Persians in war and slew their King Firuz; they ravaged the Persian regions and returned to their country. Because of this when Qawad reigned, he held enmity against the Romans because he believed that they were the cause of the devastation done by the Huns.

Then, Qawad collected an army and marched against the countries of the Romans, and captured the city of Theodosiopolis in Armenia. He treated its inhabitants with mercy because they did not hold him with contempt. He took their leader Constantine in his company. In October, he reached the city of Amid in Mesopotamia and attacked it fiercely. His men tried to destroy the wall with battering rams and arrows. Then, fighters dressed up in hide came on mules and labored to build a high mound of dirt parallel the wall, but the inhabitants of the city cursed the king (Firuz). He became distressed and ashamed when winter supervened his men, who suffered sorely as their garments were torn up and their bows lost their spring through the moisture of the air. The heads of their battering rams did not breach the wall because those who were inside the city bound chains round the wooden portions of the platform, and so made them to receive the heads of the battering rams. They also lowered planks of wood into the ditch and covered them over with earth during the night bit by bit. When five hundred men with their armaments drew near, they set planks of wood (ladders) against the wall that they might ascend by them. The king was beside the arrow throwers encouraging them. They covered the bridges with hides of oxen, and made a mighty battering ram, and a staging path on which it might be pushed up. Then those who were inside the city poured a filthy liquid that was mixed with resin on the battering rams, and made trenches under the planks that were set against the wall. About the sixth hour, while the people inside the city were trying to fend off the attackers, fire broke out and the planks came tumbling down. The Persians were badly hurt and burned. The king retreated with shame followed by the insults of those citizens who were standing at the wall.¹¹⁷³ This happened because there was only one person who did care for them. It was their bishop Mor Yuhanon (John), of excellent conduct, who had departed (this life) a short time ago. He came from the Monastery of Qartmin (Mor Gabriel Monastery) and changed nothing of his habits of fasting and ascetic living. He always counseled the rich people to sell their wheat lest, by storing it, they would help the enemies as the Scriptures say. This exactly took place.

An angel appeared to this man (John), standing to the side of the altar and told him that the enemies are coming. He asked him to urge the people to repent and be saved from the oncoming wrath, and when the people would not listen wrath came upon them. At the beginning, Qawad was apprehensive, as we have said, and asked the citizens to give him money so he would depart. However, they held him with contempt saying to him, "It is for us to demand from you to give us the price of the vegetables and forage which you have eaten." Qawad became indignant and proceeded to depart. But he persisted, and according to what he said, that Christ appeared to him that night saying, "After three days I will hand over the city to you because its inhabitants have sinned." And this is what actually happened.

Now, in the western part of the city by the Tripogrin (Three Towers) there was a watchtower belonging to the monks of the Monastery of John the Urtoy, whose abbot was Persian. Opposite it was another tower in which camped a *marzuban* (governor) named Qanraq the Lamé, who was planning to occupy the city by a stratagem. There was another person whom the people called the "Snapper," for his expertise in the acts of robbery and looting. He frequently conspired against the Persians and pillaged their possessions. However, Qanraq discovered him as he was entering through an opening in the Three Towers to steal. He did not stop him because he wanted to know how he went in and how he would come out. It happened one dark night that there was a violent rainstorm. A certain man made a dinner banquet for the monks in the Three Towers. He made them drink wine and they fell in a deep sleep and did not rise to keep guard. Qanraq chased the "Snapper" close to the wall while the monks did not say a word. He then knew that they were asleep. Snapper's men set up ladders, scaled the wall, entered through openings into the tower of the monks and slew them. The men in the other tower tried to rescue them but they were

¹¹⁷³ Up to this point, this whole episode is done more consistently and methodologically by Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 70-72.

showered by arrows. When the governor learned what happened, he came with men carrying torches, but the Persians transfixing the bearers of the torches with their arrows and killed many of them, including the governor. In the morning, the king and his troops set up ladders and climbed the wall. Many of them were killed by the archers and those who retreated were killed by the king, but the Persians persisted in fighting ferociously while the inhabitants of the city tried to undermine the foundations of the tower. As they were busy lifting up the planks, the Persians took possession of another tower, and then of another tower, and several others.

A certain man, named Peter, was wearing armor made of iron and fighting alone in one section. He prevented the Persians from entering, however, the Persians occupied five towers in other sections. Peter finally escaped but was not killed. Meanwhile, the Persians seized the wall and slew the guards in two nights and one day. Finally, they opened the gates to their armies who entered in and ravaged the city for three days and nights. Only the church of the Forty Martyrs with people crowded inside was spared. The king kept it unharmed because of the beseechment of the good Armenian Christian Bishop of the city, Malcolm, who saved it.

After the killing stopped, the Persians went to guard the church's treasure in order to seek the king's favor. They counted eight thousand corpses other than those thrown into the ditches. The king entered into the treasury of the church and saw an icon of the Lord bearing the portrait of a man from Galilee. He inquired about the portrait and was told that it is the picture of the God of the Christians. He worshipped him and said, "This is the man who told me in the vision that he will hand over the city (of Theodosiopolis) to me after three days because of the sins of its inhabitants." He took the gold and diamond vessels of the church and the magnificent vestments. He also found good wine dried up with its dregs. Apparently, the people used to dry up wine by placing it in the sun during the summer for seven weeks. When it became like a powder, prominent dignitaries placed it in bags and took it on their journeys. They diluted some of it with water and used it as a refreshing drink. They told those who did not know what it was, that it was cheese. The Persians also gathered gold, silver and copper and loaded them on wooden rafts, which they assembled on the River Tigris lying to the east of the city. They entered the city and slaughtered all the leaders. Of the people who remained, they killed one in every ten, because many of the Persians had been killed. They dressed Leontius and Qura, the judges, in filthy garments, and threw the entrails of pigs round their necks. They mounted them on sows saying, "The governors who have not governed well, and who have permitted the king to be disgraced, thus are they disgraced."

End of this grievous account of the people of Amid because of their sins.

Chapter Eight: On the events which took place afterwards in the time of Anastasius, and the building of Dara in Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia) during this period

When Emperor Anastasius learned of what happened to Amid, he was greatly grieved. He regretted and placed the blame on the generals who fought the Persians without his consent. He then sent five generals against Nisibin but they could not capture it. They asked him to build a city next to the mountain to be a refuge for the army. They proceeded with the building in the very place in which Darius was killed. Therefore, it was called Dara.¹¹⁷⁴ The emperor gave Bishop Tuma (Thomas) the cost of the village which was owned by the church, and which the bishop had bought for Timon. He ordered the bishop to proceed with the building. The building of Dara was completed in three years, which suddenly seemed to be a miracle. It was called Anastasiopolis after the emperor's name.

Emperor Anastasius erected a memorial on top of a pillar, because the memorial, which had been erected by Theodosius, has been destroyed by an earthquake.

In the same period, Neocaesarea was destroyed except the church of Saint Gregory Thaumaturgus (Wonder-worker). Also, (the Colossus) of Rhodes was destroyed by an earthquake. The emperor sent money for the removal of the debris and the burying of corpses

¹¹⁷⁴ *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 42.

In this same period, the tyrant Bitlius (Vitalianus) rebelled against the emperor Anastasius. The emperor sent against him Aupitius (Hypatius) who defeated him, captured him and banished him. The storm, raged by means of this tyrant, calmed down and peace and safety prevailed during the entire reign of Anastasius.

Emperor Anastasius supported the orthodox and hated the Chalcedonians. He convoked a council, (in 508) and by his order, the holy Philoxenus of Mabug proceeded to the capital. He anathematized Leo of Rome and the Council of Chalcedon.

About two hundred monks headed by Severus the Great, (Severus of Antioch, d. 538)¹¹⁷⁵ who was also a monk, came from the East. The emperor honored them greatly. He ordered the coffin of the Martyr Euphemia opened, and taking out the addition to the faith made at Chalcedon, had it burned down. When the emperor discovered that Flavian of Antioch was a heretic, he ejected him and banished him. He set up in his place for the See of Antioch, the Great Severus the philosopher, genius, sage, rhetorician. He was also distinguished in the church (Scriptural) sciences of both the Old and the New Testaments and the teachings of the orthodox doctors. He was the fiftieth of the bishops of Antioch.¹¹⁷⁶

In Rome, Anastasius was the forty-eighth bishop for 9 years. He was followed by Symmachus for 6 years.

In Jerusalem, the fifth bishop was Elias, who was ejected and followed by John.

In Alexandria, after John, Dioscorus the Young, nephew of Timothy Alerius (the Weasel) was set up.

In Edessa, Peter became the thirty-fourth bishops and was followed by Paul.

In this period flourished Simon of Beth Arsham (d. 540), known as the Disputant.¹¹⁷⁷ The celebrated malphono (doctor) Jacob of Sarug, (d. 521) also flourished. He received the degree of pure learning from the Holy Spirit and not by means of human teaching. He was a wanderer. He composed wonderful odes filled with the true knowledge of life. St. Severus of Antioch tested him and admired his knowledge immensely.¹¹⁷⁸

In this period too, flourished Simon the Potter (d. 514) from the village of Kishir in the province of Antioch. He was famous for composing *ma'nithos* (hymns). He likewise, received pure learning directly from God without the means of human learning.¹¹⁷⁹

When summer drew near, Qawad instructed his army general Eglon, three thousand soldiers and two governors, to guard the city of Amid. He marched against Edessa in Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia). When he failed to capture it, he pillaged and burned down the countries of Mesopotamia and then returned to his own country of Persia. Meanwhile, the Romans attacked Amid and set a tight siege against it with the result that a great famine intensified. The Roman army was commanded by a mighty man named Pharzeman who did not let the Persians make a move. However, a man named Gaddana from the village of Akarin, deceived Eglon and four horsemen. He told them, "There are a hundred Romans and five hundred horses near the city which you can capture." Eglon believed him and sent spies to investigate the matter. As he left with his men, he found himself right in the midst of the Roman camp. The Romans captured him, cut off his head and carried it to the city. It was an immense grief for his son and the governors. Since then, the Romans did not allow the inhabitants of the city to attend the celebration, which was conducted near the wall. In addition, about ten thousand troops were captured who delivered wheat and wine. They were thrown into prison and watched by guards. Many of them starved to death for lack of food. Others ate the hide of their horses and their hats and even drank their urine. Consequently, they tried to eat each other. When the

¹¹⁷⁵ For his biography see Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, translated by Matti Moosa (Gorgias Press, 2003), 276-289.

¹¹⁷⁶ See Severus Jacob Tuma, metropolitan of Beirut, (later Patriarch of Antioch), *Tarikh al-Kanisa al-Suryaniyya al-Antakiyya* (History of the Syrian Church of Antioch), II (Beirut, 1957), entire Chapter 9, pp. 287-290.

¹¹⁷⁷ See his biography in Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, 290-291.

¹¹⁷⁸ For the biography of Jacob of Sarug, see Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, 255-262.

¹¹⁷⁹ For the biography of Simon the Potter, see Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, 252-253.

Persians saw them in this condition, they released the rest of them who left the prison looking like dead men coming out of graves. Meanwhile, starved women of the city tricked the men who were released from prison and, getting hold of groups of them, killed them and ate them. The number of men they ate was about five hundred. Shortly afterwards, the Persians weakened, departed the city and returned to their country. Pharzeman, however, tarried behind to take care of what was left of the people. The emperor exempted them from tributes and offered them great subsidies. He sent to them a meek monk who was ordained as their bishop. Upon his counsel, the pious man from the Qatra Monastery came to the city. He was a miracle worker and a solver of problems. He aided the wounded city by power, determination, prayer and excellent administration.

Here ends this account.

Chapter Nine: Concerning Macedonius the heretic and Simon the disputant

Because of the commotion caused by the phrase, "You, who was crucified for us," which was added (to the Trisagion) by order of the Emperor Anastasius, the emperor convened a council which he personally attended, but without wearing the crown. When the bishops noticed his humility and excellent speech, they unanimously agreed to ask him to put on the crown.

A few days later, and for many reasons, the people clamored once more. When the emperor perceived that the people were wont to stir up commotions, he ordered that they should be punished for their former and later evildoing. Thus, tranquility prevailed.

One pious man saw in a vision a great crowd of people crucified and pierced with lances and swords, and women depraved. He was frightened and inquired about their guilt. He heard a voice from heaven saying, "These are the people who ejected my cross from this city. So they are destined for eternal punishment." The pious man recorded this vision and publicized it in the city.

Afterwards, it was intimated to Emperor Anastasius that Macedonius was Nestorian. The emperor asked him to anathematize the Council of Chalcedon, and he did for fear. The emperor accepted him and kissed him. However, despite his condemnation of the council and the oath he gave before the emperor and the counselors, Macedonius was still enticed by Satan. He went to the Monastery of Dalmatius and revealed his hypocrisy. He received communion from his partisans and blasphemed unashamedly. When the emperor heard of this, he became furious, and like an agitated lion, he intended to eliminate those who held the doctrine of two natures. The Nestorians were frightened and fell down under the light of the truth. Then a group of monks went to see the emperor and said to him, "We blame Macedonius for celebrating the memory of Nestorius and suggesting to us to do the same." The emperor became angry and cut off the subsidies that were received by their monasteries. He also cut off the water supplied for their baths and only allowed them drinking water. Some of his counselors (Romanus) told him that Macedonius was conspiring against him, (with the deacon Pacasius) and that he had gathered different blasphemies, put them down in a book gilded with gold and thus deceived many people. The emperor summoned the patricians as well as the senate and informed them of Macedonius' oaths and what he did afterwards. All of them replied that, "Since Macedonius lied against God, he should be rejected and divested of the priesthood."¹¹⁸⁰

The emperor increased the stipends of his army that he gave them every five years after they had sworn an oath not to betray him. He did the same to all the military leaders after learning that Macedonius was conspiring against him through his nephew Bitalios, whom Macedonius called a Manichean and Eutychan.

On Sunday, the emperor convened an unprecedented council. He recited the creed of his faith to those assembled saying, "Don't be scared of me. If you find falseness in my faith, strip me of my royal robe and crown and burn me by fire."

All of them threw themselves on the ground prostrating before him and condemned Macedonius for his hypocrisy. The emperor ordered that no one should receive communion from Macedonius or even

¹¹⁸⁰ See *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 168-177, and Severus Jacob Tuma, *Tarikh al-Kanisa and Suryaniyya al-Antakiyya*, II: 288-289.

visit him. The clergy and the lay people clamored so much against him, that he was sentenced to be banished. In the evening, a magistrate (civil officer charged with the administration of the law) came and took him out. Such was the end of Macedonius.¹¹⁸¹

In this time flourished Simon of Beth Arsham, called the Persian Disputant. He was established in the faith, well versed in sciences and expert in disputation even before he became a bishop. The Manicheans and the Marcionites trembled upon hearing his name. He went around visiting the many people whom he led to the faith. At one time, he baptized thirteen prominent Magi's who were martyred by the king. Nestorians betrayed him to the (Persian) king who stirred up persecution against the believers. The blessed Simon journeyed to the capital and obtained a letter from the Emperor Anastasius to the Persian king who stopped the persecution.¹¹⁸²

Baraman (sic) (who is Babay, and not Baraman, the Nestorian catholicos), provoked a controversy with the believers who summoned Simon unto them. He also accused them of being spies for the Romans. The marzuban (vice-regent) of the Persian king, who was set as arbiter as if inspired by God, told them, "The whole question is our business and not yours. But if you have anything to say, say it." Babay said, "These people worship a man (Christ) who like us was born of a woman. However, because of his righteousness, the word of God descended upon him. It is like a king who finds a son of a pauper in the dunghill and takes him and clothes him with a royal garment and calls him his son. Such is the case of this man (Christ) on whose account there is a conflict between us. God wanted to call his Son by grace and not by his nature. But these people call him Son by nature." The marzuban asked Simon, "And what do you people say?" Simon said, "We appeal to you to question what the catholicos said that 'he (Christ) was a simple man born of a woman like us.' We were born of a woman and from the seed of a man. Ask him whether he, like us, was born of a woman from a man's seed? When he was asked, he did not give an answer. When the marzuban pressed him to answer, he said, 'He was not born from a human seed.' Simon further asked him (Babay) "How then was he conceived? It is written that he was conceived by the Holy Spirit. You have lied saying the he was born like us. We have never heard that a man was born without a human seed." The catholicos (Babay) was ashamed. Simon rejoined, "If the case is what the catholicos has already said before you, that it is like a king who pulls out of the dunghill a poor son, clothes him with a royal garment, and commands that he should be called his son in order that everyone will know him as his son by grace and not by nature; does this son have a natural father?" Otherwise, where did this son come from? Please ask him (the catholicos) to explain to you from whom he (Christ) was born?" When the marzuban addressed this question to the catholicos and his clergy, they became dumbfounded and could not give an answer. Finally, they confessed that he (Christ) was conceived by God without the means of marriage. The marzuban said, "In this case, his father is God, and consequently, the Son is also God. However, if his father is a man and begat him through marriage, he (the Son) is also a man." The believing bishops exclaimed, "May God establish your government." The Nestorians left with disgrace. As a result, the priest Simon was made a bishop.

The Nestorians betrayed the believing bishops to the Persian king. They were imprisoned for seven years until they were about to die. The holy Simon addressed a letter to the king of Abyssinia concerning them, and they were released. The Nestorians returned and this time betrayed them to the Magi priests. However, the Persians, feeling troubled, asked them, "Go to the Christian kings and bring us documents showing which party is of most truthful faith, and we will be the arbiters in this case." The blessed Simon, assuming this burden, went to the capital and God granted him the talent of speaking in tongues. He entered the regions of the people and spoke with them each according to his own tongue. He then thought of a method to keep the documents of the king safe and unstained by dirt because of long travel. He had a

¹¹⁸¹ For the letter which was sent from Constantinople concerning the expulsion of Macedonius from office, see *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 170-177

¹¹⁸² *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 192-203, William Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature*, (London, 1894), 79-81, Anton Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* (Bonn, 1922) 145-146 and Ignatius Jacob III, *al-Shuhada al-Himyarīyyun al-Arab fi al-Watha'iq al-Suryaniyya* (The Himyarite Arab Martyrs in the Syriac Documents), (Damascus, 1966), 23-78.

large linen kerchief made and treated with chemicals in order to render them fit for writing. They are still preserved in Persia. They contain the belief of each people in their own tongue written down by the bishops. Simon stamped these kerchiefs with the lead seals of the kings of these people. Seven years later, he returned, and by that time, the Persian king had passed away. The Persians, however, realized that the teaching of the Nestorians was false. Necessity forced Simon to journey to the capital once more. God willed to have him rested because of his old age, and he died amongst us.

Chapter Ten: On the blessed Philoxenus and Severus

Akhsnoyo (Stranger), bishop of Mabug (d. 523) who is also Philoxenus, sent a statement of faith to Emperor Zeno and received a reply. It was he who exposed Calandion of Antioch and had suspicions that Flavian was a heretic. He asked the emperor to convene a council in Sidon. When Flavian did not attend, the council condemned him. After the council dispersed, Philoxenus, fired with zeal, gathered monks and went to see the Emperor Anastasius. He convinced him that Flavian was a heretic, and the emperor ordered that Flavian be banished. The (bishops) set up in his place Severus the rhetorician from the Monastery of Theodore in Gaza,¹¹⁸³ who was then an apocrisiaire (ex-pleader, advocate, and interpreter) in the capital. Severus wrote treatises filled with living teachings. He wrote a book entitled *Philalethus* (Lover of Truth) in two columns answering the objections of the Diphysites (Chalcedonians).¹¹⁸⁴ Afterwards, together with Philoxenus, Severus convened a council and expounded the *Henoticon* of Zeno, which was against the Council of Chalcedon.¹¹⁸⁵ He also wrote three volumes in refutation of the objections of Yuhanon (John) the Grammarian.

The Petition drawn up by the monks of the East and Cosmas, bishop of Qinnesrin (Chalcis), and presented to the Council which met at Sidon in the time of Flavian in the year 833 (512 A.D.)¹¹⁸⁶

Before all things, we give thanks to Christ, who is God over all. We also thank our merciful Christ-loving king, who has aroused you with zeal and the fear of God, and called this your holy council to one meeting place, in the name of only one Christ the Son of God. That in him you may bring all men together in one faith, which the holy Scriptures have delivered and the holy fathers have ever kept, standing steadfast in one mind, and being united and agreeing together in one good work, teaching all men the divine doctrine through the Holy Spirit, who spoke by them. For our Lord has accounted you to be worthy and chose you at this time for the sake of the unity of his holy churches, not that you should make a new faith for them. Indeed, that written definition, which was made by the three hundred and eighteen holy fathers who assembled at Nicaea, is sufficient for the affirmation of the Holy Scriptures. However, you should build up the faith which has always existed, and which many persons have rashly sought to destroy. They "Did not speak from the mouth of the Lord, as the prophet says, but from their own belly."¹¹⁸⁷ Moreover, by their wicked artifices they have severed from one another those who in the simplicity of their hearts kept the tradition of the holy fathers and were united together in the true faith. For whether he is Christ or a holy man, he is divided by them. Therefore, as long as he is denied, it is not possible for the church ever to come to any agreement. In fact, it is rent asunder by these persons through the invention of different words. For it is written, "No kingdom that is divided against itself shall stand."¹¹⁸⁸ Again, "If you keep on biting and devouring each other, watch out or you will be destroyed by each other."¹¹⁸⁹ For we are all one body in Christ, and we are members of his members, as the divine apostle says.¹¹⁹⁰ We draw near to your Holiness with confidence as to pastors, entreating you to keep the true faith for the whole world, without spot, like

¹¹⁸³ *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 46-47.

¹¹⁸⁴ This book is translated into French by Robert Hespel with the title *Sévère d'Antioche Le Philalèthe* (Louvain, 1952).

¹¹⁸⁵ *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 48.

¹¹⁸⁶ This petition is primarily addressed to Severus, who along with Philoxenus convened a council at Sidon.

¹¹⁸⁷ Jeremiah 23:16.

¹¹⁸⁸ Mark 3:24.

¹¹⁸⁹ Galatians 5:15.

¹¹⁹⁰ Romans 12:5.

the fair dove spoken of in the Song of Songs. You should separate it from all heresies that have the outward appearance of religion, and stand around it like queens and concubines and damsels, and are anxious to associate to be one and the same with it, and through it to be received as true. By doing this, you shall receive a reward and you shall hear the Lord saying, "Whoever acknowledges me before men, I will also acknowledge him before my Father in heaven."¹¹⁹¹ Separate, then, as stewards of the divine words, between the pure and the corrupt, as he says.¹¹⁹² Cast out those who mingled the tares with the pure wheat, and their evil doctrine along with them. For he says, "Put away the evil doer from the congregation, and victory shall go forth with it."¹¹⁹³

Therefore, the petition goes on, and has many quotations from the Fathers in proof of the seventy-seven censures against the Council of Chalcedon. Even though what has been said is manifest and well known, it was necessary to explain it above. The rest that has been written about this council is included in Book Eight.¹¹⁹⁴

Severus, patriarch of Antioch, was a learned man, well versed in the wisdom of the Greek and a well-trained monk. He had read Hirotheus, Dionysius, Titus, and also Timothy, Ignatius, Clement, another Dionysius, and another Clement in addition to biographies, other philosophy and orthodox teachings.

Akhsnoyo (Philoxenus) also, studied the works existing in the Greek language and the teachings contained in books in our (Syriac) language. When he and (Severus) convoked a council and openly anathematized the Council of Chalcedon, they wrote of what they had agreed upon to John of Alexandria and Timothy of Constantinople. All bishops agreed with them except Leo, bishop of Rome. *May God's mercy be upon the wretched writer and the noble reader.*

Chapter Eleven: A brief account of the final period of the life of Emperor Anastasius

In the twenty-second year of Emperor Anastasius, Armenia rebelled against the Romans. The emperor sent an army against it, which devastated it, took captive a great number of its people and placed them under Roman bondage.

In the year 831 of the Greeks/518 A.D., Anastasius fell ill and passed away in peace on July 14, having reigned 27 years, 3 months and 9 days. He built the cities of Dara and Tannurin. In the second year of his reign, or the year fourteen according to another source, the sixth millennium of the creation ended. In the Greek calendar, the sixth millennium ends in the year 814. We believe and confess that the world is transitory, but when? We do not know. Glory to God who alone knows what will happen before it happens. We only look for things to come.

In the time of Anastasius, the Isaurians stirred up sedition. They rebelled and set up the powerful tyrant, Ninigios, a leader and administrator. The emperor sent Hypatius against him. He killed Ninigios and scattered his followers. He put them to the sword and they were willingly subdued.¹¹⁹⁵

In the time of Anastasius, gold was made available to the smiths all over the Roman countries.

On Friday, a sun eclipse took place from the third hour to the ninth hour.

The Greek split with the emperor because of the phrase, "You, who was crucified for us." With great difficulty, however, he was able to reconcile them. Some of them remained firm in the holy faith; others remained doubtful and were separated. Some of them acted in this manner openly while others secretly until the death of the emperor (518 A.D.).

In the time of Anastasius, the leaders of the churches were:

In Rome, after Gelasius was Anastasius who was succeeded by Symmachus for 6 years

¹¹⁹¹ Matthew 10:32.

¹¹⁹² Matthew 3:18.

¹¹⁹³ This is likely a reference to Joshua Chapter 8, rather than an exact quotation.

¹¹⁹⁴ See *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 181-185.

¹¹⁹⁵ It took six years to subjugate the Isaurians. See A.A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, 1 (Madison and Milwaukee, 1964), 109.

In Alexandria, after Peter was Athanasius for 7 years. He was succeeded by Yuhanon (John) for 10 years and 7 months, succeeded by another John for 11 years, who was succeeded by Dioscorus for 1 year, followed by Timothy for 11 years and 6 months.

In Antioch, after Peter the Fuller was Palladius, and then Flavian who was ejected because he was a heretic. Then, Severus the mighty teacher of orthodoxy was set up.

In Constantinople after Acacius was Fravitas, followed by Euphemius who was deposed. He was succeeded by the wicked heretic Macedonius who was also deposed and was succeeded by Timothy.

In Jerusalem, After Anastasius was Martyrius who was succeeded by Sallustianus who seceded and joined Rome. He was succeeded by Elias who was discovered to be a heretic and was expelled by Emperor Anastasius.

This account is ended.

Chapter Twelve: On the beginning of the reign of Justin and the second corruption of the Chalcedonians

In the year 832 of the Greeks/521 A.D., Justin reigned.¹¹⁹⁶ He was from Thrace and from the village of Beldrinus, which he converted into a city and called it after his name. Its water was unpleasant and so strange that if it were poured over fire, it transformed into blood.

Justin was an old man, handsome but simple, and illiterate.¹¹⁹⁷ He had no knowledge of the Christian faith.¹¹⁹⁸ Because the Thracians were Romans and of Italian origin, they accepted the (*Tome*) of Leo and the Council of Chalcedon. Justin believed that the empire would be united if everyone accepted the Council of Chalcedon. Some men deceived him to proclaim the Council of Chalcedon equally with the former three Councils in order that by this proclamation, they might mislead the believers who rejected the Council of Chalcedon and accept it along with the other three councils.¹¹⁹⁹

On April 26 of the year 832 of the Greeks, heavy rain fell in Daysan near Edessa; the River Daysan overflowed and destroyed several regions. The wall of Edessa almost collapsed. Justin sent subsidies to rebuild the wall and other regions. Thus, the city was renamed Justinianopolis.¹²⁰⁰ He also provided subsidies to rebuild Antioch, which had been destroyed by the inundation.

At the beginning of Justin's reign, Bitallius, Paul Nestrius and Celer Illyricus were killed. In addition, at the beginning of Justin's reign, a star was seen in the east like a huge meteor with a frightening head pointing downward. From it shone fear-inspiring rays, which were watched by the people. The Greeks called it a comet. Upon seeing it, all people were frightened. It was seen with clarity wherever it moved. It symbolized the chastisement and the destruction of the church that was to come.¹²⁰¹

Upon the issuance of Justin's order that the Council (of Chalcedon) should be proclaimed, Saint Severus shunned pleasures and vainglory (of the world) with contempt, and moved from Antioch to Alexandria six years after his occupation of the See of Antioch.¹²⁰² After leaving Antioch, fire broke out in the city that consumed most of it. Fire burned all over the city for six months and no one knew the reason for its incineration. People failed to extinguish it because it indicated the destruction, which was to come upon Antioch.

Saint Severus was set up as patriarch in the 21st year of Anastasius, which is the year 825 of the Greeks (512 A.D.). One year after the departure of Saint Severus the Great, the signs of (divine) wrath appeared. Paul, who is called Judah, proclaimed the Council of Chalcedon.¹²⁰³ He gathered the entire

¹¹⁹⁶ Justin reigned from 518 to 527.

¹¹⁹⁷ See *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, Book Eight, Chapter 1, p. 180 of the English translation.

¹¹⁹⁸ *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, translated by Amir Harrak 49.

¹¹⁹⁹ See *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, translated by Amir Harrak, 49; Nicaea, Constantinople and Ephesus.

¹²⁰⁰ See Evagrius, Book Four, Chapter 8, p. 393 of the English translation.

¹²⁰¹ *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, translated by Amir Harrak, 52.

¹²⁰² *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 50, says that Severus left his city (Antioch) and went to Alexandria when he learned about the intense persecution (of the Orthodox-non-Chalcedonians); *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu*, 133.

¹²⁰³ *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu*, 133.

bishops of Syria and forced them to accept the council. Those who acquiesced, he restored them to their sees; those who disobeyed and refused to change the veracity of the faith and accept the error of Chalcedon, were banished. John of Asia (or of Ephesus) mentioned the number of bishops who acquiesced.¹²⁰⁴

Chapter Thirteen: The Account of John of Asia of the bishops who were persecuted in this period¹²⁰⁵

We are incapable of writing about them (bishops) in detail because they were from different cities distant from each other, and that their majority was banished to different countries. Therefore, we will mention those to whom we conversed in Alexandria and Constantinople.

After Saint Severus departed Antioch, the following bishops were expelled:

From Second Cilicia

1. Anterichius of Anazarba
2. Julian, bishop of Hegion
3. John, bishop of Mopsuestia
4. Paul, bishop of Epiphania
5. John, bishop of Irenopolis
6. Paul, bishop of Lesser Alexandria

From Cappadocia

7. Proclus, bishop of Colonia
8. Masonius, bishop of Therme in Seleucia
9. Nicephorus, bishop of Sebastea in Armenia

From Laodicea in Syria

10. Constantine who was worthy to have his name mentioned on the altar of the entire congregations of the believers due to his many excellences. He passed away in the capital.
11. Antoninus, bishop of Aleppo who likewise died at the capital
12. Philoxenus of Mabug who was banished to Gangra, and imprisoned above the kitchen of the hospital where he suffocated by smoke
13. Peter, bishop of Apamea who was attached to Patriarch Theodosius until the year 856 and Anthimus who died in Constantinople
14. Nunus, bishop of Seleucea
15. Isodore, bishop of Qinnestrin
16. Mara, bishop of Amid
17. Tuma (Thomas), bishop of Damascus. He was an ascetic who did not eat bread or drink wine for twenty-eight years. He died in Constantinople.
18. Alexander, bishop of Abila in the province of Damascus
19. Tuma (Thomas), bishop of Yabrud
20. John, bishop of Palmyra (Tadmur)
21. John, bishop of the Arab monks (of Hawran)
22. Sergius, bishop of Cyrus (Qurush)
23. Tuma (Thomas), bishop of Germanicia (Mar'ash)

¹²⁰⁴ For the departure of St. Severus from Antioch, and his arrival in Alexandria, see Ignatius Yaqub III, *Nafḥ al-Abir aw Sirat al-Patriarch Severus al-Kabir* (Biography of the Great Patriarch Severus), (Damascus, 1970), 108-116, based on a twelfth-century vellum manuscript written in the Istrangelo script and deposited at the Syrian Patriarchal Library. It is titled, "The letter addressed by the holy Severus, patriarch of Antioch, to a believing notable of Antioch." According to John, Bishop of Nikiu, Severus' letter was addressed to the Patrician, God-loving Caesarea. See *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu*, 134.

¹²⁰⁵ This Chapter is not numbered in the Syriac text.

24. Paul, bishop of Edessa who acquiesced (proclaimed the Council of Chalcedon) and then rejected it and died on the same day.
25. John, bishop of Harran
26. John, bishop of Amrin
27. Eustathius, bishop of Perrhin
28. Peter, bishop of Rish 'Ayna
29. Nonus, bishop of Cercesium
30. Paul, bishop of Callinicus
31. Marion, bishop of Soura of the Romans
32. John, bishop of Tella
33. Tuma, bishop of Dara
34. Aaron, bishop Arsamosata a town of the QurTayoye

From the regions of Asia and Caria and Aphrodisia

35. The chief priest Euphemius

From Antioch on the River Meander (Orontes)

36. Methonius (Menophanos)
37. Zeuxis, from the city of Alabanda
38. Peter, from the city of Alinda
39. Julian of Halicarnasus, who later followed the Fantasiasts
40. Theosebius, bishop of Ephesus. He was asked to journey to the capital to proclaim the Council (of Chalcedon). He requested three days respite. He entered the church and threw himself down before the altar and prayed. Three days later, he died.
41. Valerianus, bishop of Neocaesarea
42. Elpidius, bishop of Castranaya
43. Theodore, bishop of Olbia
44. Luke, bishop of the city of Imoria
45. Eusicuna (Eusebius) of Hadrianas
46. Peter of Melota
47. Victor, bishop of Philadephia
48. Peter, bishop of Manadoye
49. Agathodorus of Aison
50. Pelegias, bishop of the Qelederaye
51. Photinus, bishop of Arsenoye
52. Alexander, bishop of Kankar

Many other bishops were persecuted because they followed the same path of the blessed Severus, and did not accept the Council (of Chalcedon). Some of them left by their own will and thus ended their lives; others are still living.¹²⁰⁶

Also, on the time of the persecution

The See of Alexandria stood firm during the reign of Justin. Timothy became patriarch after Dioscorus. He welcomed the fugitive bishops with charity and gave them encouragement. Nonus, bishop of Seleucia, retired to his city, Amid, and lived in his house. He was wealthy and a leader in the time of John, bishop of Amid, who came from the Monastery of Qartmin (Mor Gabriel). He is the one who built the bridge over the Tigris River below the city of Amid. One day he blessed him saying, "My hope in God is

¹²⁰⁶ Cf. *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, translated Amir Harrak, 50-51 and 57-60.

that you will die as a bishop while you are sitting on a throne.” His words became the subject of surprise because he truly became a bishop after the invasion of Amid. In fact, the meek Bishop Tuma (Thomas) who had built the city of Dara, and whom some (bishops) tried to get hold of to have him confess the Council (of Chalcedon), entreated the Lord. He became suddenly ill and died while sitting in his chair. In fulfillment of John’s blessing, the people of Amid set up Nonus as their bishop. He lived few months and died. Then the people of Amid set up Mara as their bishop in the presence of Nonus, bishop of Miyafarqin, Orthos of Agel, and Aaron bishop of Samosata. Aaron was chaste and taken to fasting. He was proficient in the Greek language. Shortly after becoming a bishop for Amid, he was banished to Petra, and then was recalled to Alexandria. He wrote a number of books in which he recorded many wonder works. Now, for the sake of history, I shall record the prologue of the history of Bishop Mara in order that the reader, after reading few sections of it, will contemplate with scrutiny and knowledge what this book contains of discourses and opinions and will contemplate them one by one. If man collects a resume of what the evangelists had written, he will comprehend that God was incarnated, and to him are attributed the divine and human acts. On these acts, rest the foundation of the world, which will be more manifest upon his second coming.

He who contemplates this book will gain the knowledge of what has been written about him (Christ) before his incarnation, and the birth of John who came to testify to the God of Israel prior to the Annunciation of the angel (to Mary). He would further comprehend that the birth of Christ transcends nature, for it was through a virgin. It is a fact that every man has a beginning. However, Jesus, who is from heaven, has no beginning. This is borne out by the testimonies of the Incarnation in the Gospels. They were revealed by the (Holy) Spirit to the angel (Gabriel), to Elizabeth, to Mary and to the shepherds. They were also manifested by the glad tidings of a host of angels, the prophecy of Zechariah, the appearance of the star, the everlasting birth of the kingdom of the Son of God, and the prophecy of Simeon and Annah concerning the coming of Christ for the salvation of the world. This is in addition to the proclamation of John the Baptist who admitted that he is from this earth, but the savior is from heaven.

Based on the Gospel, one can also come upon the Divine Dispensation that was prudently done without the medium of the wisdom and teaching of philosophers. He would also learn the awesome and miraculous power by which he (Christ) acted and spoke, and of his knowledge of everything and that he was without sin; that his passions in the body were voluntary; that he has destroyed death by his Resurrection; and that he has ascended into heaven. He will also learn that he has taken from the Virgin (Mary) a body with a rational soul and comprehension, that he was conceived for nine months, was born according to nature by a miracle, he was wrapped in swaddle, suckled milk, was circumcised according to the law (of Moses). His mother, fearing Herod, took him to Egypt and returned from Egypt to renew Israel. He grew up in stature and was obedient to his mother and Joseph. He was baptized in water by John as a testimony of the new birth and the renewal of entire mankind. His baptism offered us a new and holy spiritual birth. As a man, he was tempted by Satan and after defeating the tempter, was served by angels. He granted peace to our human kind by restoring it to paradise. He acted with his apostles in a human manner and ignored the persecutors. He hungered, thirsted and tired indicating that the human acts he had experienced are not of nature’s obligation. This means that, by fasting forty days at the end of which he felt hungry, does not mean that he was not God. This also is true of his sleeping, retirement to the mountain and spending the whole nights in prayer. His prayer to the Father was for our sake, we human beings. He slept in the boat on the sea to train the disciples in the faith and to manifest his power to rebuke the wind. People tried to cast him down from the precipice of the mountain but could not, and when they crowded around him, he passed through them and slipped away. The lance was not the cause of his soul leaving him on the cross, but he himself bowed down his head and gave up the soul. In all cases, his were the divine and the human matters. The reforms that Christ introduced to the world were meant to rebuke the evil one. He cast out devils and evil spirits. He healed incurable diseases and raised the dead. He drove away different temptations and rendered passion ineffective. All of these things symbolized the world to come which is free from evil, and which we look forward to by hope, charity and faith. The teachings of our Christ keep people away from the disease of the love of money, vainglory and lust. They raise them to worship God by just will.

Of the things that Mara wrote about the Gospel, is a chapter containing Canon 39, which was not treated except by John. It is supported by the following: One day, while Jesus was teaching, they brought him a woman caught in the act of adultery to see what he would say about her. Jesus, being God and knowing their shameful acts, asked them, "How is it written in the law?" They said that according to the testimony of two or three, she should be stoned. Jesus said to them, "According to the Law of Moses, those who are only pure and free from the bondage of sin should bear witness against her and cast the first stone. They left one after the other leaving the woman alone, for all of them were stained with the lusts of sin. Jesus bowed down and began writing on the ground "Where are those who brought you here to witness against you? They departed after thinking of what I have told them. You, too, go and sin no more."¹²⁰⁷

Chapter Fourteen: On persecuting the monks and plundering the monasteries¹²⁰⁸

The monks of the East were persecuted for seven years in the regions of Antioch, Edessa, Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia) and the Monastery of Tella in Seleucia. They left their monasteries and went to Qinnesrin on the Euphrates assisted by the rhetorician John of Aphthonia (d. 538),¹²⁰⁹ Cyrus, abbot of the Monastery of the Syrians in Antioch along with the brethren was persecuted. Also persecuted were the monks of Tell'ada, Bazo, Damascus and the Monastery of Simon, the Monastery of the Najdites, Ignatius, abbot of the Monastery of Aqiba in Qinnesrin, the monks of the Monastery of Conon, John, abbot of the Monastery of Kafra Birta, the Monastery of Mor Basus, John, abbot of the Monastery of the Easterners and the Qubbis,¹²¹⁰ the Monastery of Mageous, the Monastery of Sergius in Phsilta, abbot Thomas of the Monastery of Nasih, Ishaq (Isaac), abbot of the Monastery of Abd Yeshu, the Monasteries of the Arabs, Izla and Beth Gugel and five monasteries of the metropolitan of Amid, Hananya known as the lame who wrought wonder works, Daniel the periodeutes, Solomon from the Monastery of Mor Samuel, Quris from the Monastery of Skolan and the Euspholians and the Tizians near Rish 'Ayna.

The persecution extended to the congregation of solitaries living in the wilderness. They were pious and honorable men. It also extended to the monasteries of Edessa, Elijah the Isquni, Samiz, Qozma (Cosmas), John Urtoyo, Marwan prior of the Monastery of the Easterners, Sergius the chaste and his successor Anton the good and innocent, Elias our country-man a lover of the brethren, Simon, abbot of the Monastery of Kish, Sergius, the Monastery of John of Beth Hura, Simon, abbot of the Monastery of Mor Ishaq in Gabbula who embraced the heresy of Julian (the Phantasiast), and Bar Nikia from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (the Za'faran Monastery) who wrought wonder works. He, out of zeal, went to the capital and rebuked the emperor face to face. Concerning him, Philoxenus of Mabug testified in his letter addressed to him from Gangra, the monks of the Monastery of Mor Zakai in Callinicus (al-Raqqa) and the Monastery of Mor Abai and Beth Requim.

Thus, was the wilderness teeming with inhabitants who the (monks) visited with charity? They were joined by the archimandrites and the honorable leaders of the congregations. Of these was John of Tella, the ascetic who did not even sustain himself on bread, which is the substance of the life of man. He was such a voracious reader that he became agnostic and well as versed in theories. He used to be raptured by the spirit for a span of three hours. He became thoroughly familiar with the knowledge of the wisdom of God's creation. He was seen delightful with everyone for six to nine hours, as he engaged in a pleasant conversation with those who carried out what was required of them. There was also Thomas of Dara who frequently discussed physics in addition to his many chores.

Paul (the Jew) was Chalcedonian and became bishop of Antioch. He succeeded Severus of Antioch in 518 who left his see under threat of having his tongue cut off by the Emperor Justin who supported the

¹²⁰⁷ John 2:11.

¹²⁰⁸ This Chapter is not numbered in the original Syriac text.

¹²⁰⁹ For the biography of John Bar Aphthonia, see Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, translated by Matti Moosa, 289-290.

¹²¹⁰ The Qubbis monks, are most likely those of the Monastery of Quba in the Mountain of Edessa.

Chalcedonians.¹²¹¹ He stirred up persecution against many monasteries, great and small, in the entire dioceses of Syria, Palestine, to the north and to the south, up to the boundaries of Persia and the eastern countries. They were looted, ravaged, placed in chains and endured hardships. The Roman army chose savage men who treated the persecuted and those who gave them asylum in their villages, without mercy. Paul's wickedness extended even to women and children. No one can describe the cruelty of this Jew who persecuted everyone by hunger, thirst, nakedness or hustling them from one place to another. They hardly settled in a place before they were transported to another not knowing where to find a shelter. They stayed with the beasts of the wild under the heaven even in wintery days. They resided in the wild in ice or rain. The persecutors brought down some of them from their pillars or took out others from jails and dragged (them down the streets), especially in the evening as they were eating dinner. They usually surprised them, beat them with sticks and evicted them, including old men and women, and devoured the food they had prepared.

Paul of Edessa was summoned several times but did not respond. The persecutors dispatched Roman soldiers against him, but he hid in the baptismal font in order not to be forced to endorse the Council (of Chalcedon) which he held in contempt. The people of the city and the monks challenged the soldiers as they tried to protect their shepherd but many of them were martyred. Then Paul of Edessa left and accompanied the soldiers who took him to Paul "the Jew." However, it became evident that he held the same belief as that of Paul "the Jew," and he collaborated secretly with Paul "the Jew." Both of them managed the situation carefully for fear of the Edessan. Paul of Edessa was released and dispatched by Paul of Antioch (the Jew) to Edessa, and the people received him as orthodox. At this time, however, the bishop of Harran passed away and Paul of Antioch (the Jew) desired to ordain a presbyter named Asclepius, for Edessa. After promising to ordain the presbyter, however, he reneged on his promise and ordained someone else. Asclepius went to the emperor (Justin) and betrayed Paul (of Edessa) as someone who does not accept the Council (of Chalcedon). The emperor wrote to Farzman who evicted Paul from Edessa, and was replaced by Asclepius.

Chapter Fifteen: On the death of Mor Jacob of Batnan (Sarug, d. 521), and the evils the persecutors inflicted upon the believers¹²¹²

Prior to Paul's exit from Edessa, he summoned the holy and great malphono (doctor) Jacob, bishop of Batnan (Sarug) to come unto him, but the holy (Jacob) hesitated to see him knowing that his faith was not sound and true. Paul persisted by constantly sending men to invite him to come to him, and finally Jacob went. He entered the church, and prostrating himself before the altar, prayed saying, "O Lord who knows the secrets, don't let me see the face of Paul if he holds the error of those who maintain two natures (Diphysites). When he reached the Monastery of the Persians, he saw a night vision about departing this life. He was asked in the vision to return to his own city. In that very night, he returned to his cell and told the people about his vision. Two days later, he passed away having giving instruction about his church, pupils and teaching. The people of the city were astonished. However, the effect of his prayers became known all over Syria. When Paul learned of what happened, he set up a person named Musa in his place. Also, the monks of the Monastery of the Easterners in the Mountain of Edessa, who had separated themselves since the time of Paul and were used to receiving communion at the church of Edessa, boycotted Paul when they learned of his misbelief. They began to celebrate the Eucharist in their monastery, and were followed by several monasteries who signed the anathema of the Council (of Chalcedon). They wrote on the gates of the monasteries that, "The monks were ejected in the winter by Farzman by the instigation of Ascpelius." The monks said, "How could you force us to leave in winter while we have amongst us the old and the sick? Even the barbarians would not do such a thing." Nevertheless, those savages mocked them. Two days before Christmas, the inhabitants of the city went out to receive their blessings. They found among them old and sick people carried in litters. They wept bitterly saying, "Woe to us for Christianity is being

¹²¹¹ See *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 190.

¹²¹² This Chapter is not numbered in the original Syriac text.

destroyed in our time.” They were joined by monks from the Monasteries of Mor Zakai, Mor Conon, Exedres, Naphshothe (souls), Mor Samuel, Hendiba, Mor Eusebius the chaste, and Mor Julian Saba (the old man) near the river of the Medes. Upon reaching the Monastery of Solomon (of Muqal or Muqaylat), they celebrated the divine Eucharist at Christmas. In addition, they and the people anathematized the Council of Chalcedon. They went to the Monastery of the Arabs in Tell Mawzalt. From there they went to Tell Besma and resided in the martyrium named after Mor Mari. Shortly afterwards, the notorious governor of Edessa evicted them and they came to Mardin and settled in the Monastery of ‘Ayn Halaf. Six and a half years later, the wrath calmed down because of the change of the emperor.¹²¹³ They returned to their monasteries by the effort of Queen (Empress) Theodora. Three years later, they were in disagreement with each other, and as a result, seventy men separated from them. One of them, called Elisha, with others, went up to Ephraim who had become a patriarch of Antioch and offered their allegiance to him. He was Ephraim of Amid who was an ardent Chalcedonian. For fear of the empress, he dressed them in soldiers’ uniforms and sent them to the emperor. They received harsh orders from the emperor and returned to the monastery, controlled it and evicted their brethren. Thus, persecution began anew in the East and the believers suffered immense affliction and torment. *End of the account.*

Chapter Sixteen: Concerning the persecution of the Orthodox and the flood which took place in Edessa and Antioch

Qawad, king of Persia,¹²¹⁴ received from Justinian five thousand five hundred qintar of gold for stationing the Persian soldiers as guards against the Huns. This is why he sometimes sent some Tayoye (Arabs) to the land of the Romans to pillage and take captives. Meanwhile, the Tayoyo (Arabian) Mundhir¹²¹⁵ invaded the region of Balikha and Khabur. In the same time, those who were inducted into the Roman army marched against Arzen and Nisibin pillaging, destroying and killing. Then, Mundhir, king of the Tayoye (Arabs) marched against Homs, Apamea and the province of Antioch, killing, destroying and taking the majority of the people captive. From the captives, he selected four hundred virgins who were disciples of St. Thomas the Apostle, and Dimius offered them as sacrifice to the god Uzzi. This was said by Dada the solitary who was one of the captives. Upon returning from captivity, Dada related this incident, which he had seen with his own eyes.

In the seventh year of Justin, the water of the Shiloh fountain situated to the right of Jerusalem stopped flowing for fifteen years. In the same year, a bolt of lightning destroyed the Temple of Solomon in Ba’lbak the city built in the forests of Lebanon. The Scriptures mention it saying, “Solomon built a temple and decorated it. On its right stood three huge and marvelous stones on which nothing has been built, but were interlocked and famous for their beauty.”¹²¹⁶ They symbolized the Trinity. For this reason, they were not touched by the thunderbolt that destroyed the temple. By the emperor’s effort, a temple was built on the same place after the name of the Mother of God.

In this period was found in Cilicia a very tall woman. She was one cubit taller than that of men. No one knew where she came from, and she did not converse in any language, but her food was the usual food of other people. She took one single penny from every shop owner. Suddenly she disappeared. Some say that she might have been of those called “children of the earth.”

In the year 836,¹²¹⁷ colossal damage occurred to the metropolitan center of Arzena in the city of Edessa when Asclepius was its bishop. He forced the believers to accept the wicked Council of Chalcedon. He held twenty solitary monks and tortured them brutally in order to accept the anathematized council, and then cast them into prison. On the third hour of that night, a flood took place. The river Daysan flooded suddenly and destroyed the upper part of the wall. Then the flood retreated and rushed to the markets of

¹²¹³ What is meant here is that the persecutor Justin died in 527 and was succeeded by Justinian (527-565).

¹²¹⁴ Qawad or Qabadh, was the first king of the Sassanids. He ruled twice, from 489 to 497 and 499 to 531.

¹²¹⁵ King of the Lakhmids of Hira in modern Iraq who ruled between 514 and 554.

¹²¹⁶ A loose translation of 1 Kings 7: 1-5.

¹²¹⁷ 525 A.D.

the city. The city was inundated and the people and beasts drowned. Their belongings were swept away. Those standing in a place higher than the water level tried to exit through the city's gates, but the water gushed through the gates and became like a lake. Because of the water's force, the wall was breached in three places and the towers collapsed. Suddenly, the water flowed and swept the corpses and houses up to the River Euphrates. Those who were alive attributed this matter to the wrath of God because of imprisoning the blessed (church fathers). The people picked rocks to stone Asclepius, but he hid himself and then fled to Antioch to seek refuge with Euphrasius. One day, Euphrasius brought him up with him to the pulpit and said to the people, "Come and see a second Noah who was saved in the ark from the Flood."

Those in Edessa who were saved (from being drowned), were actually saved from the impiety of (the Council) of Chalcedon. However, wrath overtook Asclepius in Antioch and he never returned to Edessa. The number of corpses which were buried amounted to three thousand. It is said that about two hundred thousand were killed.

When the flood subsided, the emperor sent gold to rebuilt Edessa. While workers were uncovering the foundation of the wall, they found in the bed of the river a stone inscribed three times in Syriac with the following, "The River Daysan rejoices maliciously."

Like Paul the "Jew", Euphrasius caused the believers immense harm, and divine justice did not endure him for long. The city was rocked by a quake that destroyed it in the seventh year of his impiety, and he was stricken by the wrath (of God).

In the ninth year of Justin, which is the year 840 of Greeks/525 A.D., Antioch was destroyed for the fifth time. The wrath (destruction) was so catastrophic that a huge fire kindled and devoured those who tried to run for safety. The sparks sputtered and burned everything on which they set. The ground raged, boiling from every direction and consuming everything. Buildings rocked and quaked upward and downward. Some tried to run for safety but were confronted by fire that consumed them like wood. The flame fell down upon them like rain from heaven. The city was like an oven with the exception of some houses at the foot of the mountain, which finally collapsed. No house, church, or fences were left intact. From the depth of the earth, rose a moist sand mixed with the sea rottenness and seashells. The great church, which had been built by Constantine the Great and said to have no like in all the Roman countries cracked but remained standing. On the seventh day, however, it caught fire and collapsed. Such was the destiny of other churches. John of Antioch wrote, "Those who remained alive counted those who suffocated and found them to be one thousand two hundred and fifty. They included many strangers who attended the festival and were suffocated."

On the third day of its collapse, a cross of light was seen in the northern part of the city. Those who were still alive were frightened and cried out, "Have mercy upon us, O Lord." They kept staring at the cross for one hour, and then it disappeared in the clouds. Thirty days later, men, women and children were found alive, which is a miracle done by God, for the quake did not subside day and night for a whole year. While discovering the bodies of those who suffocated, they found the bodies of Euphrasius and Asclepius the Edessan in a cauldron of tar. It happened that they fell in this caldron and suffocated. Their heads, however, were found on the brim of the caldron from the outside. They were recognized by their faces but their bones in the caldron were stripped of flesh. Some of their heretical followers circulated the rumor that they were raptured to heaven. But God, wanting to expose their impiety, preserved their faces that they would be recognized.

The devastation caused by the quake remained long in Seleucia and Daphne near Antioch. It covered an area twenty miles long and wide. The entire region was destroyed by the quake.

Upon learning of the quake, Justin cast down his crown, took off the purple and was immensely grieved. He sent five qintars of gold to rebuild the cities. In this time, collapsed the rest of city of Dyrrachium, center of the metropolitan dioceses of the region. Also collapsed Corinth, center of the metropolitan of Helada, and the city of Anazarba in Cilicia. These cities were destroyed by the quake.

One year after Paul "the Jew" was set up as a patriarch of Antioch, the emperor realized that he had torn up the church by his tyranny. Having realized his wickedness, he evicted him from the church. The

miserable man (Paul) died shortly afterwards and inherited the fire prepared for his master the Devil. May his memory be cursed.¹²¹⁸ He was succeeded by Euphrasius, son of the sailor, as the 52nd patriarch of Antioch.

When the emperor issued a decree that the army should accept the Council of Chalcedon, and that he would stop the payment to those who did not accept it and deprive them of military honor, the majority of the army accepted the council. Some generals who were known for fearing God like Amantus, Phraposius, Theocritus and Andrew the Cubicularius, were martyred by the sword for adhering to the orthodox faith and rejecting the Council of Chalcedon.

In the second year of Justin, John of Constantinople passed away. He was succeeded by Epiphanius as the 21st bishop.

In Edessa, Asclepius was the 38th bishop. He was ordained by Euphrasius of Antioch.

In Rome, Hormisda became the 50th bishop at the beginning of the reign of the old man Justin who persecuted the orthodox.

John of Constantinople did not proclaim the Council of Chalcedon. Lucipina, wife of the old Justin, who was intoxicated with the love of the council, sent him a message threatening him not to enter his church unless he proclaimed the council. John began to proclaim the council, and since then corruption began.

In the 19th year of Justinian, Antioch was destroyed by a quake and Euphrasius perished. He was succeeded by Ephraim of Amid, who was thought to be a sage and rhetorician. He was infected with the malady of those who held two natures (Diphysites). By his craftiness and the emperor's threats who listened to him, he was able to entice many. The truth is that this Ephraim was a pagan. He surpassed those who came before him by wickedness. He destroyed many monasteries and altars. Accompanied by barbarous soldiers, he roamed the Eastern regions up to the Persian boundaries persecuting the believers for eighteen years. Finally, he was afflicted by the wrath of God, as was his city which was destroyed by the Persians.

In Amid, after Saint Mara, Abraham Bar Kaili became a bishop. He was a wicked man who stirred up violent persecution against the believers. He forced the presbyter Quris (Cyrus) to receive communion from him. The presbyter said, "By forcing me to take communion from you, you are proving that our communion is unholy." Bar Kaili ordered that the elements be forced down his mouth, but the presbyter spat them out. Bar Kaili, (son of dog) had the presbyter burned by fire. He wrote to the emperor saying that a certain person stepped by foot upon the elements and was burned by fire. Moreover, Bar Kaili sent Arians (partisans of the heretic Arius), who resided in a monastery outside the city, to the house of anyone who did not accept the council to force him to escape and leave his home. They appeared in frightful spectacles of deformed faces and rotten bodies with offensive stench, with blood and pus oozing out of their hands. This was in addition to their sick minds and repugnant intentions against the orthodox. They reclined on their wares and rolled over their beds. They looted whatever they desired without inhibition, and after meals, they threw away everything. However, when they knew that they would be driven out of that house, they entered the place where wine skins and oil and honey jars were stored. They dipped their dirty hands in them in order that no one might eat or drink from them.¹²¹⁹ *This and the former accounts are ended. He, who reads, let him pray for me, I the sinner, by the love of Jesus.*

Chapter Seventeen: Concerning the affairs of Justin with the kings of India and Ethiopia¹²²⁰

The kingdom of the Himyarites is situated opposite of Egypt and Thebaid far away from India. For a time, it was ruled by a Jewish person who massacred the Christians. He also seized the Roman (Byzantine) merchants on their way to India for business and killed them, because the Christians in Roman lands harmed the Jews. For this reason, business with India and Ethiopia was interrupted. The king of Ethiopia sent a message to the Jew who ruled the Himyarites saying, "You have done a great wrong by killing the

¹²¹⁸ *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 54-55 with slight variation.

¹²¹⁹ On Bar Kaili, see *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 60-64 and 66-67.

¹²²⁰ This Chapter is not numbered in the original Syriac text.

merchants and abolishing the order of my kingdom. If you desire peace, you should open the way for the merchants.” But the Jew would not respond. On the contrary, he resorted to threatening and both men prepared for war. Anzoug, king of Ethiopia, pledged to embrace Christianity in case of his victory in the name of Christ. God made him triumph and he killed the Jew and occupied the country.¹²²¹

Afterwards, two prominent dignitaries at the head of two hundred Indians went up to Emperor Justin. They requested him for a bishop and other clergy to teach them the principles of Christianity. He had John Phermonra, a chaste and pious man, ordained as their bishop. He journeyed to their country accompanied by a number of clergymen where they embraced Christianity and were baptized. Then, the Ethiopian king, having gained strength from God, was fired with zeal and marched against the land of the Himyarites and annihilated the Jews who had regained strength, set up a king for them and began to obliterate the Christians. He killed their king, uprooted their kingdom and set up a Christian king for them named Abraham. Abraham gathered the scattered Christians and brought a bishop from Egypt in the time of Pope Timothy (of Alexandria) who renounced the Council of Chalcedon and never wavered in his renunciation.

Chapter Eighteen: Concerning the affliction and suffering the believers endured during this period from the impious Ephraim of Antioch and Abraham Bar Kaili of Amid¹²²²

When Ephraim, patriarch of Antioch, came to the East, he persecuted the believing orthodox and drove them away by the effort of Abraham Bar Kaili, bishop of Amid.¹²²³ A great crowd of monks gathered at the Monastery of Tella known as the Monastery of Repentance. As they proceeded to rebuild it, the Roman troops came and drove them out, but when they realized that many of them were engaged in the service, they were afraid and left them to their business. However, they pressured the natives of the neighboring villages and instigated them to expel these monks. When the monks learned of this matter they, in response to the wailing and crying of the villagers, left and went to a town called Madhbho and stayed in the Monastery of Horonitho (White Poplar). They were about a thousand men. When the impious Ephraim came to Edessa, he asked them through his brother, to submit to him that he might meet with them or receive a delegation from them for discussion. Now this monastery was situated in a district inhabited by the people of Edessa, Amid and Samosata, who refused to meet with him. Outraged, Ephraim sent troops to arrest the monks and bring them unto him. When they learned of this, they were divided into groups each one led by a presbyter and a deacon and went any direction they wished. John of Asia says, “The group assigned to me, when I the weak was still a deacon, consisted of ten men.” The groups departed the monastery leaving their provisions, books and belongings. Who would not shed tears for these pious men of God who crossed rivers in the winter suffering cold and the torment of sickness? Ephraim had already written to the commissioners warning them that they would be under the judgment of death if they received any one of these men. Thus, these men were tormented by living in caverns. The believers, for fear, brought them bread at night. Other groups went to the districts of Claudia and Hanzit in the winter, which was severe in that year.¹²²⁴

Abraham Bar Kaili sent persecuting men to the lands of Urtoye and Hanzit. They gathered about fourteen hundred clerics, monks and believers and forced them to accept the Council (of Chalcedon). When the governor asked them to accept the council, they said, “We will never accept another teaching in conformity with Paul’s instruction.”¹²²⁵ The governor and the bishop said, “The patriarch and the emperor accept other teaching.” They said, “As we do not say about you that you have accepted (the Council of Chalcedon), or that the fathers had taught a different teaching, so we do not accept from you another teaching.” The governor and the bishop said, “This is actually a confirmation of the faith.” The monks

¹²²¹ Cf. *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, translated Amir Harrak, 77.

¹²²² This Chapter is not numbered in the original text.

¹²²³ *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, translated Amir Harrak, 60-62.

¹²²⁴ *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, translated Amir Harrak, 64-67.

¹²²⁵ This is in reference to Galatians 1:8-9.

replied, "The faith of the Christians needs no new confirmation, it is not shaken in order to be confirmed or rebuilt." The governor rejoined, "What iniquity the Council (of Chalcedon) has done which made you renounce it? Is it because it called the Virgin, Mother of God, or because it condemned Nestorius and Eutyches?" The blessed (monks) said, "It is written 'Test everything. Hold on to the good. Avoid every kind of evil.'¹²²⁶ We beg you to provide us with more information for our knowledge is deficient. When did the Council (of Chalcedon) style Mary as the Mother of God while Ibas of Edessa was one of its presidents? It is he who blasphemed the one who was born by Mary saying, 'I do not envy Christ because he became God. For if he had become God, I have become man. But like me, he is a simple man.' Or, his saying, 'I worship the purple'¹²²⁷ and who wears it. I honor the temple and the one who dwells in it.' Again, how could the council condemn Nestorius while he held the doctrine of two natures and one person? Now, if Nestorius professed two natures and two *qnume*, the Council (of Chalcedon) held two natures and one *qnumo* (hypostasis, person). This is a matter worthy of mockery. How can one *qnumo* (hypostasis) be the same for two natures? And can a nature be without a *qnumo* (hypostasis)? And how does not everyone scoff at someone who says that here are two men with one head in one person?" The bishops said, "Would you submit to the command of the emperor and accept the council or not?" The blessed monks said, "We have been taught to obey God rather than men."¹²²⁸ The bishop said, "In this case, and according to your words, the emperor should not be obeyed." The blessed monks said, "We obey the emperor in matters which require obedience." The governor said, "In this case, the emperor should be sometimes obeyed and other times disobeyed." Then he expelled them. They crossed the River Euphrates to the district of Claudia while anathematizing the council. The following is written in Arabic script. *This and the other narrative are ended. Praise to God who through us accomplished this. Amen.*

Chapter Nineteen: Concerning the kingdoms of the Indians, Cushites and the Himyarites who were martyred in the Year 835 (of the Greeks, 524 A.D.) in the time of Justin the persecutor of the Christians¹²²⁹

Three are the kingdoms of the Indians and four are the kingdoms of the Cushites, in the southern and eastern region on the coast of the sea, which surrounds the earth and is called the Great Ocean.

In the period of Justin who persecuted the orthodox, the Jews waxed strength. They set up a king, especially when the kings of India quarreled with each other. The king of outer India, called Aksidon, quarreled with the king of interior India called Anzoug. When the Jew ruled,¹²³⁰ he killed the Christians whose story of martyrdom was written by the holy Bisho Simon known as the Disputant. They were killed in the city of Najran in the year 835 of the Greeks/524 A.D., which is the fourth year of Justin. He included their story in a letter addressed to the abbot of the Monastery of Gabbula saying, "We inform your affection that on the twentieth of January in this year 835 of the Greeks/524 A.D. we left the camp of Hirta (Hirat) al-Nu'man in company of Abraham the presbyter, the son of Euphrasius, who had been sent to Mundhir by Justin the king (emperor) to make peace, which we wrote also in our former letter. Moreover, here we, even all the believers, express our thanks to him for his assistance to our party. He knows what we have formerly written and what we are writing now. For we travelled ten days journey through the desert towards the south-east, and came upon Mundhir, over against the hills called 'The Frightening' or 'The Hills of Fear, or

¹²²⁶ 1 Thessalonians 5:21-22.

¹²²⁷ Purple is the emblem of the Byzantine Emperor.

¹²²⁸ Cf. Acts 5:29.

¹²²⁹ This Chapter is not numbered in the Syriac text. Cush is mentioned in the Old Testament as the father of Nimrod. Genesis 10:8 and 1 Chronicles 1:10. The Cushites flourished in eastern Mesopotamia in 1500 B.C. Cush may also indicate the kingdom of Nubia in present-day Sudan. The name of Cushites must have been extended to cover Ethiopia and even Yaman in southwestern Arabia. In this context, it likely means Ethiopia. The Christians in this context mean the Orthodox who rejected the Council of Chalcedon. Cf. *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 76-77.

¹²³⁰ This Jew is King Masruq of Yaman who persecuted the Christians of Najran. He killed the Christians. The story of their martyrdom was written by the saint Bishop Simon (of Beth Arsham) known as the Disputant. For his biography See Ignatius Aphram I, Barsoum, *Scattered Pearls*, translated into English by Matti Moosa (Gorgias Press, 2003), 290-292.

in the Arabic language called, 'The Dark Hill.' As we entered the camp of Mundhir, we were met by heathen Tayoye (Arabs) and Ma'doye¹²³¹ who said to us, 'What would you do? Behold the Romans, the Persians and the Himyarites expelled your Christ.' We were sorely distressed by their revile. We were further distressed when an envoy came who was sent by the king of the Himyarites (Masruq) to Mundhir, and handed him a letter full of boasting. In it, he had written the following, 'The king whom the Himyarites set up in our country died. Because the winter season had begun, they were not able to march out into our country and appoint a Christian king, as they generally do. Accordingly, I became king over the whole country of the Himyarites, and I resolved first to slay all the Christians who confessed Christ unless they became Jews like us. I killed two hundred and eighty men, the priests who were found, and beside them the Ethiopians who were guarding the church. I made their church into a synagogue for us, and then with a force of 120,000 men I went to Najran, their royal city. I swore oaths of (peace) to them and their chiefs came out to me. But I judged it right not to keep my words to the Christians, my enemies. I arrested them, and required them to bring their gold and silver and possessions. They brought them to me and I took them. I asked for Paul their bishop and was told that he was dead. I did not believe them until they showed me his grave and I dug up the bones and burned them. I urged all of them to deny Christ but they would not and I ordered them to be put to death. I brought their wives to witness their death thinking they would be scared but they were not. They hastened to death, and they were all put to death except Rhumi, the wife of one who would have become their king. We spared her because she was still young, but we kept urging her to deny Christ and live. We bade her go and take counsel attended by guards. She went out, going around the street and squares of the city with her head uncovered crying out, 'Women of Najran, my Christian companions, and the rest of you who are Jews and heathens, listen! My birth and my family, and whose Christian daughter I am, you know. I have gold and silver and slaves, male and female, and many lands and revenues. Now my husband has been put to death for Christ's sake. If I wish to be married to a husband, I have 40,000 dinars and gold ornaments, and much silver and pearls and raiment, splendid and magnificent, besides the treasures of my husband. You know that for a woman there are no days of joy like the days of her marriage. For from that time forward there is distress and lamentation at the birth of children, and when she is deprived of them and buries them. However, I, from this day forward am free from them all. On the days of my first marriage, I was full of joy, and now, behold! It is in the gladness of my heart that I have adorned my five virgin daughters for Christ. Look upon me, my companions, for you have twice seen me, at my marriage, and this second one. For it is with my face exposed before you all that I went to my former bridegroom. Now it is with my face exposed that I am going to Christ, my Lord and my God, and the Lord and God of my daughters. He in his love humbled himself and came to us and suffered for our sake.

Imitate my daughters, and me and consider that I am not inferior to you in beauty. Behold I am going to Christ my Lord resplendent in that beauty, undefiled, as it is, by Jewish denial. My beauty may be a witness before my Lord and that it could not lead me astray to commit the sin of denial. All my gold and silver and all that I have may be witnesses that I did not love them as I loved my God. That tyrannical king permitted me to deny and live. Far be it from me to deny Christ my God in whom my daughters and I have believed and baptized. Behold! I am leaving everything that is pleasant to the eyes and to the bodily senses on the earth that I may go and receive from my Lord that which does not pass away. Blessed are you my companions, if you will hear my words and love Christ. Pray for me that the Lord may receive me.'

At once, she came and stood before me with her daughters who were attired as for marriage. She loosened the bands of her hair and turned them around with her hands, stretched out her neck, and bowed her head, crying, 'I am a Christian.' However, I exhorted her to deny Christ and only to say that he was a simple man, and she would not. However, one of her daughters insulted us for saying this. Then, I gave orders (and they threw her to the ground), and her daughters were slaughtered and their blood ran down her mouth. Afterwards, her head was cut off. I did not have the young boys and girls killed, but to be brought up as Jews. I have written to you that you may not suffer any Christian to remain alive in your kingdom."¹²³²

¹²³¹ Arab tribes of the Ma'd.

¹²³² This episode is in *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 192-197 with a slight difference where Michael Rabo omitted some

A boy (a child) whose mother was coming out to be put to death and was holding him with her hand, saw the king sitting clad in royal apparel. He ran up to him and kissed him on the knees. The king took hold of him and began to caress him and to say to him, 'Which would you like, to go and die with your mother, or to stay with me?' The boy said to him, 'I would like to die with my mother for she told me, "Come my son, let us go and die for Christ's sake." Release me that I may go to my mother, lest she dies and I do not see her, because she said to me, "The king of the Jews has commanded that everyone who does not deny Christ shall die, and I will not deny him." The king said to him, "How do you know Christ?" The child said to him, "Every day I see him in the church whenever I go with my mother." Again, the king said to him, "Do you love me, or Christ?" The boy said, "I love Christ more than you." The king said to him, "Deny Christ." The boy said, "Woe to me, woe to me. You are a Jew." Then he bit the king in the thigh in order to have him released, but the king said to him, "Why did you come and kiss my knees?" The boy said to him, "I thought you were the Christian king whom I used to see in the church." The king said to him, "I will give you nuts and almonds." The boy said, "No, by Christ, I will not eat the Jews' nuts." The king said to him, "Stay with me and you will be a son to me." The boy said, "No, by Christ, I will not stay with you, because your smell is foul and fetid, and not sweet like my mother." The king said to those standing by, "Look at this evil root, which from his boyhood Christ has deceived so as to make him love him." One of the magnates said to the boy, "Come, and let me take you to the queen and you will be her son." The boy said to him, "May God blacken your face. My mother is much better for me than the queen because she takes me to church."

Then the king gave him to one of the magnates, and said, "take care of him until he grows up. If he denies Christ he shall live, if not, he shall die." While this man was carrying him away, he struggled to his feet and cried to his mother, "My mother, come and take me that I may go with you to the church." She cried out saying, "Go my son. You are entrusted to Christ's care. Do not weep." After a while, the boy went to Constantinople, and John, bishop of Asia, saw him visiting the churches and the monasteries.¹²³³

Chapter Twenty: Concerning the final period of the life of Emperor Justinian (Justin), the old man¹²³⁴

The old man Justin associated his nephew, Justinian, in the government, made him Caesar and entrusted to him the administration of the kingdom (Empire). On his way to the Persian kingdom in the East, Justinian stopped over at Mabug where he married Theodora, daughter of an orthodox priest. The priest refused to give his daughter in marriage to Justinian to avoid her mixing with the Chalcedonians, until Justinian vowed not to force her to confess the Council (of Chalcedon).¹²³⁵ Three months later, Justinian returned to Constantinople. The old man Justin died having reigned nine years.

phrases. The reader is advised to check footnote 3 on page 192 about the different Syriac manuscripts, and one Greek manuscript, which contain this story and who first published it and commented on it. The reader is also advised to check *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, translated by Amir Harrak, 78-83, and the Arabic version of the story in Ignatius Yacoub (Jacob) III Patriarch of Antioch and All the East, *al-Shuhada' al-Himyarīyyun al-Arab fī al-Watha'iq al-Suryāniyya* (The Himyarite Arab Martyrs in the Syriac Documents), (Damascus, 1966), 36-39 where this text is longer and contains many things Michael Rabo did not mention. Also should be consulted Esteves Pereira, *Historia dos Martyres de Nagra* (Lisbon, 1899), and Axel Moberg, *The Book of the Himyarites* (1924, reprinted Gorgias Press, 2010), and Irfan Shahid, *The Martyrs of Najran: New Document* (Bruxelles, 1971.) Shahid gives the impression that he had discovered a new document of the Second letter of Simon of Beth Arsham on the Himyarites. The fact is that Patriarch Ignatius Yacoub (Jacob) III, had already found it and published it with elucidation in his previously mentioned book in 1966. It is also by the approval of the patriarch that Shahid was given a copy of this letter at St. Mark's Monastery of the Syrian Church in Jerusalem.

¹²³³ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 200-202, and *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, translated by Amir Harrak, 83-85, and Ignatius Yacoub III, *Al-Shuhada' al-Himyarīyyun*, 46 and 77-78.

¹²³⁴ This chapter is not numbered in the original Syriac text.

¹²³⁵ The anonymous monk from the Monastery of Qartmin (Mor Gabriel Monastery), whose chronicle ends in 819 A.D. was the first Syrian writer to mention the marriage of Justinian to Theodora who was, as he says, the daughter of a Syrian Orthodox priest from Mabug (Manbij). See J. B. Chabot, *Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens, praemisum est: Chronicon anonymum ad A.D. 819 pertinens curante Aphram Barsaum, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, 81/Syriac, 36 (Paris: J. Gabalda Bibliopola, 1920), 192. I

When Mama, bishop of Constantinople, and Socrates, bishop of Caesarea of Cappadocia, learned that the bishops were coerced into confessing the council, they pledged to fight until death (against the council). They instructed the citizens of their city saying, "He who confesses the council (of Chalcedon) will be a heathen." However, when they went to the capital, these two wretched men confessed the council from fear of the sword. They said, "How can we face the people of our city?" Therefore, they requested Roman soldiers to accompany them. When the people of their city learned of their story, they pulled down their portraits and spat on them. They shut the gates of Caesarea in their faces and declared their anathematization, and battle began. The magnates, however, opened the gates for fear of the emperor's oppression, and the two men entered in. In Melitene, they were also cursed and insulted immensely.

The bishops in the time of Justin were as follows:

In Rome, Hormisdas followed Symmachus who was succeeded by Iyawannis (John).

In Jerusalem, after Elijah came Yuhanon (John).

In Antioch, after the departure of Saint Severus, Paul "the Jew" was set up for one year. He was then ejected, and after his death, was succeeded by Euphrasius, the persecutor, who was suffocated during an earth tremor. He was succeeded by Ephraim of Amid, who was more wicked than he was.

In Alexandria, after Dioscorus was Timothy for twelve years. At the time of his death, he handed the See of Alexandria to someone from his church called Theodosius.

In Constantinople, after Timothy came Yuhanon (John) as the 20th bishop. Two and a half years later, he died in the second year of Justin, and Epiphanius became the twenty-first bishop for 7 years. Then was installed saint Anthimus from Trebizond. He was appointed a patriarch of Constantinople for his piety, but he abandoned his office voluntarily.

Chapter Twenty-One: Concerning the beginning of the reign of Justinianus II (Justinian I)¹²³⁶

Justin died having reigned nine years and twenty days. He was succeeded by his sister's son Justinian. He was first made an associate of his uncle in the administration of the state for three years. Then, his uncle designated him his successor after his death. Justinian became emperor at the beginning of July of the year 840 of the Greeks/527 A.D., in the 327 Olympiad. He ruled 38 years, 7 months and 12 days ...lacuna of three lines...

In this period, Qabad (Qawad) ruled Persia. He handed his son to the Manicheans in his country to have him educated, but the Manicheans deceived him and lured him to their faith. He pledged that if he received the kingdom, he would support and confirm the Manichean faith. The Manicheans deceived the boy into believing that he would receive the kingdom by the power of their prayer. Accompanied by his mother, they appeared before King Qawad. They asked him to hand over the government to his son in his lifetime. Having learned the reason, the king became outraged. However, fearing that the Magi might think that he wanted to obliterate Magism, he convoked a council to be attended by the Magi. When the Magi attended the council, they rejoiced thinking that the king's son would become the ruler. The king summoned the Manichean bishops and said to them craftily, "Now I know that you love men and my son and that you think of our wellbeing. Stand at one side that we may discuss the subject of my son's governing." They rejoiced immensely. Many of them made themselves even more known than ever. When they congregated, the king had them put to death by the sword and had their bodies burned. Thus, he decimated the Manicheans. Then, he issued another decree that all Manicheans be burned and their temples given to the Christians.

In this same period, there was a group of the followers of Mani in Constantinople. Since they did not renounce their error, he (Qawad) had them burned by fire.¹²³⁷

wish to thank Dr. Amir Harrak, University of Toronto, for verifying this source; Gregorius Bulus Behnam, *Theodora*, translated by Matti Moosa (Gorgias-Beth Antioch Press, 2007), p. ix, note 4 of the translator's preface, and Susan A. Harvey, "Theodora the Believing Queen: A Study in Syriac Historiographical Tradition." (On line).

¹²³⁶ This Chapter is not numbered in the original text.

¹²³⁷ *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 91-92.

In this same period, Belisarius was dispatched to fight the Persians during Passion Week. The Persian leaders sent to him someone saying, "Let us honor the Feast (Easter) because of the Nazarene and the Jews who are with us, and for you Christians." Belisarius agreed. However, the Roman army generals complained and refused to honor the days of the feast, but rather prepared to battle in the evening of Passover. The cold was bitter and the winds were blowing against the Romans who weakened and fled. Many of them fell into the River Euphrates and the rest were killed.

Khosrau (Chosroes, or Kisra according to Arab chroniclers) Anusherwan, meaning Eternal Soul (531-579, perhaps the greatest of the Sassanid kings), succeeded his father Qawad. His mother was tormented by evil spirits during the lifetime of Qawad. Since she could not be healed by the Magis and the magicians, she resorted to Musa, the solitary in a monastery near the city of Dara, and received healing from him. Musa gave her a bone of the remains of Quryaqus (Cyriacus) the martyr. She built a temple in her country, which later became the Monastery of Mor Musa, known as the Monastery of Carmel. Khosrau sent envoys to Justinian, and peace prevailed for seven years.

The Samaritans of Palestine set up a leader. They came to Nabulus, killing the bishop and a great number of people, and set the temple on fire. The Romans fought them, restored the city, and killed the magnates and the majority of the Samaritans.

At the beginning of his reign, Justinian ordered that the churches of the heretics be taken and they be accepted by the churches regardless of their heresies. After he had taken their churches, he dominated them and allowed them to enter the churches. But he noticed that the deeds of the superintendents of the churches had become repulsive. They had converted the churches into places of business in the time of his uncle. They persecuted the people under the guise of the fear of God. They devised means to pillage the possessions of the people, and they (great and small) worked for their own interests. He (Justinian) halted the persecution and ordered the persecuted to return to their monasteries. A great majority of them returned except the bishops who did not return to their sees.

The emperor was greatly concerned about the peace of the churches. If it were not for the stumbling caused by the commitment of some mistakes, the Empress Theodora would have even paid more attention to the peace of the churches. She always urged the emperor to do this. She received the persecuted (bishops) and fed them, motivated by a spirit of faith and love. The great palace of Hormizda accommodated more than five hundred Syrian and Greek men who were driven out of their monasteries, and she (Theodora) received their blessing. When the holy Patriarch (Severus), accompanied by the Patriarchs Theodosius (of Egypt), Anthimus (of Constantinople) and a number of persecuted bishops, arrived at the capital, she took care of them at the royal palace for many years. In addition, she sent subsidies to the persecuted for their living, and, when the Chalcedonians were circulating rumors to distort his (Severus) name, she pacified him with her wisdom. Moreover, she accomplished many other things for the Orthodox as she was motivated by her faith.

The agonies of the believers multiplied because of the commotion that took place among the people. The See of Alexandria was the only one enjoying peace. Later, however, it was afflicted by trouble as the congregation split into two factions. Whereas Theodosius was set up as patriarch in conformity with apostolic canons, a man named Gayana, who was infected with the love of leadership, emerged. He bribed the citizens of the city to remove Theodosius and appoint him a patriarch. Having learned of this scheme, Theodosius departed, and Gayana was set up illegally as a patriarch by one bishop, some laymen and wealthy magnates. They searched for Theodosius to kill him but could not find him. Learning about the situation, the emperor dispatched a general commanding six thousand soldier to solve the problem. The emperor thought that if Theodosius were restored to his see, he would obey him and confess the Council (of Chalcedon). When the contingent of soldiers arrived in Alexandria, Gayana fled, and Theodosius, who reappeared, was placed on the See (of Alexandria) being protected by two thousand soldiers. Gayana was arrested and banished by the emperor and died in exile. However, strife took place in Alexandria and three

thousand souls perished because they were divided into two factions: one following Gayana and the other, Theodosius.¹²³⁸

Because of their blind zeal, the Alexandrians said that, "Theodosius is a partisan of the emperor who appeared to be an orthodox, but this was not true. A false heresy arose in Alexandria in the name of Gayana. The gist of it was that the partisans of Gayana took a piece of bread in Gayana's name and ate it as if it was Holy Communion, thus exchanging Christ's name with that of Gayana. Furthermore, some women were caught baptizing their children in the sea in Gayana's name.

When Theodosius sat in the Apostolic See, the emperor asked him to confess the Council of Chalcedon, but he refused and the emperor deposed him. However, Theodosius was still occupying the see when Saint Severus was becoming well known in the wilderness.

The blessed Anthimus occupied the See of Constantinople against his will. He was formerly the bishop of Trebizond in the region of Pontus. He was an ascetic who endured adversity for several years never tasting bread, wine or oil. He guided many heathens (to Christianity). His serenity and meekness were admired by all. When he was asked to confess the council (of Chalcedon), he cast out his (bishopric) garment and left. The empress Theodora kept him in her palace for twelve years. When Theodosius abandoned his see, he went to the capital and resided in the empress' palace, the three Patriarchs (Severus, Theodosius and Anthimus) kept in communication with each other. When Severus was invited by order of the emperor and the empress (to proceed to the capital) to discuss the peace of the church, he remained in the capital one and a half years proclaiming the true faith and exposing the transgressions of the Council of Chalcedon. The emperor gathered a group of disputants to convince him, but he frustrated their hopes many times. Severus proved that they were schismatic and in error, but they would not come to their senses. Therefore, he asked for permission and departed with the monks who were in his company.

In this period, a cross of light appeared in heaven to the north. Shortly afterwards, the Persians and the Tayoye (Arabs) came up to Antioch and Apamea killing, pillaging and taking their inhabitants captive to Persia.

Sedition took place in Constantinople in which the governor was killed and the great church burned down.

In the second year of Justinian, the Persians and the Huns attacked Miyapharqat but failed to capture it. Afterwards, they received news of the death of their King Qawad. They burned down the neighboring environs of the city and returned to their country.

In the first year of Justinian, Agrippa, king of Herules came with his kindred and counselors. They converted to Christianity and received baptism on the day of Epiphany. Emperor Justinian welcomed him at the baptistery and lavished him with abundant money.¹²³⁹ In this same period, Gourdis, king of the Huns, arrived with his army. They converted and were baptized. The emperor welcomed him also at the baptistery. Upon his return to his own country, he smashed the gold and silver images that they worshipped. However, his brother, the army generals and the priests conspired against him and killed him. They fled to other countries fearing that the Roman emperor might fight them and take revenge on them.¹²⁴⁰

Emperor Justinian enacted a law for the bishops and the superintendents of bimaristans¹²⁴¹ and stewards of inheritance, not to bequeath anything they have except what they possessed before occupying their (governmental) positions. This required that they should register all their possessions before occupying their positions, in order that each of them would bequeath only what he owned. Then, the emperor condensed the laws of kings and gathered them in one code, which contained the laws of the world.

In the second year of Justinian, a violent earthquake took place, which demolished the city of Pompipolis. The ground cleft from one side to the other and the houses collapsed. The bitter cries of the people who were trapped inside were heard but no one dared help them. Antioch was also destroyed by five

¹²³⁸ See *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 86 and 115, which is very brief on the subject.

¹²³⁹ *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 74-75.

¹²⁴⁰ *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 74-75.

¹²⁴¹ Bimaristans is a Persian term for hospitals. In this context, it means treasuries.

former earthquakes, and this one was the sixth. The earthquake was accompanied by a terrible sound in the sky. It came out of the earth like the bellow of a bull. All the churches, houses, old and new, and the neighboring villages tumbled down. The number of casualties amounted to 4700 souls. Those who were safe fled to other cities and to the mountains. The city was vacant for five months, and only a few people returned to it.¹²⁴²

In that year, winter was very harsh to the point that snow fell three cubits high. The inhabitants supplicated while walking barefoot in the snow with their faces, turned yellow and changed color, to the ground. While they were raising supplications, some believers heard one saying, "Let those who remained in Antioch write on the doors of the houses which have not collapsed the words, "Rise up. Christ is with you." They wrote down these words and entered the city accompanied by the Patriarch Ephraim. He informed the emperor of the event, and the emperor was immensely saddened. He sent gold to have it rebuilt. He instructed that the outer wall of the city be destroyed and another one built in the middle of it, but most of the city's squares were left outside it. He also ordered that they should dig outside the new wall and built a bridge over the nearby river, which crossed the city from one side to the other. Thus, the river was blocked and the water ran through a canal beside the wall. All of this took a great deal of labor. Because of this earthquake, the River Euphrates was totally blocked in the higher region of Claudia because of the collapse of part of the mountain. The waters of the river retreated and inundated the villages. People rushed forward and destroyed the city of Laodicea. The victims of the earthquake were 7500 Christians and a number of Jews. However, the left part of the city where the Great Church of the Mother of God was located did not collapse, neither had the rest of the churches collapsed. However, and despite all this, Ephraim of Antioch did not fear or abstain from wickedness or heed these punishments. On the contrary, he kept urging the emperor against the believers until the emperor issued an unjust decree against those who refused to take communion from Ephraim. In addition, he had many believers banished, and stirred up an unprecedented persecution in the East.¹²⁴³ *The account is ended.*

Extracts from the history of Saint Severus

When Saint Severus was staying at the royal palace of Empress Theodora, Anthimus, patriarch of the capital (Constantinople) desired to see him. The empress permitted him to see him after the pledge mentioned. Anthimus asked for permission and went to see Severus. When he had taken his seat, the Saint Severus asked him to pray. This was an indication of the spiritual awakening since this loyal guardian of the faith had not prayed with the heretics. When Anthimus finished praying, Saint Severus said "Amen." Saint Severus said to him, "I commend you for not heeding the things of the body. I pray for you that you may flourish in the faith that yields fruits that nourish the man of God. Such matters, if one of them is severed from other, will become useless. The old man Anthimus said, "I have not accepted the definition of faith of the Council of Chalcedon but only consented to the ejection of Nestorius and Eutyches." The learned (Severus) said to him, "It is necessary that you bear witness against the ejection of the heretics and adhere to the orthodox faith and rebuke the adversaries by the sound teachings according to the law of the great Paul." He rejoined saying, "If one does not have orthodox faith, he cannot recognize or censure anyone who wrongs the faith of Peter or divest them from the authority which the Savior had given Peter after confessing him (as Christ) saying, 'I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven; whatever you bind on earth will be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth will be loosed in heaven.'¹²⁴⁴ In this case, the Council (of Chalcedon) has wronged the confession of Peter that is of binding and loosing or deposing." When the pious Bishop (Anthimus) heard these words that were stuck firm in his mind, he left immediately surrendering everything: the (patriarchal) see, the pulpit, the honor and glory and joined the ranks of the persecuted (anti-Chalcedonians), especially that he was a patriarch and a malphono (doctor).

¹²⁴² *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 88 with some difference.

¹²⁴³ Cf. *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 90 which is much shorter than this account.

¹²⁴⁴ Matthew 16:19.

Chapter Twenty-Two: Concerning the monks and the bishops who assembled in the city of the kingdom (Constantinople) in that period and what they accomplished¹²⁴⁵

When the believing bishops and a host of zealous and God-loving monks who were invited to the capital to discuss peace and unity (of the churches) saw the above-mentioned events that had taken place, they submitted a petition to the emperor containing the following:

“Various other men crown your believing head, O Victorious king (emperor), with a crown of praise—men who take occasion from the case of other persons to write about your favors towards them. However, we, who have been ourselves judged worthy to experience your virtues, render thanks to you with a crown of thanks, which we weave with splendor. While in the desert, and, so to speak, at the end of the world, we have been this long time living in quietness, praying to the good and merciful God on behalf of your majesty and on behalf of our sins: that your indulgence has inclined toward our vileness and in your letters have summoned us to come to you. The summons was like a wonder to us. For what the emperor has done was not as a response to our request, but for his kindness, so as to bring us out of affliction making the pretext that this man or that man had interceded for us.”

“Now, we, since it is our duty to obey when commanded, immediately left the desert, and, journeying quietly along the road in peace without our voice being heard, have come before your feet. We pray God, the bountiful giver, on our behalf to reward your serenity and the God-loving queen (empress) with good gifts from on high, and to bestow peace and tranquility upon you, and to set every rebellious people as a stool beneath your feet.”

“However, now that we have come, we submit a supplication to your peacefulness containing our true faith, not wishing to hold an argument with any man on any matter that is not profitable, as it is written, lest we annoy your ears. For it is very hard for a man to convince persons of a contentious disposition, although he makes the truth manifest. The apostle says, ‘We have no such custom, neither the churches of God.’”¹²⁴⁶

“Accordingly, Victorious king (emperor), we do not also declare the freedom of our faith, although in the desert, when we received your edict at the hands of Theodotus the duke, we wrote and declared what we thought, and your Majesties gave us a message of a truth free from affliction in that you were graciously moved and summoned us to your presence. Since we have been judged worthy of the mercies of God, we do in this supplication inform your affection that by the grace of God we have from our earliest infancy received the faith of the apostles, and have brought up in it and with it. We think and believe even as our three hundred and eighteen God-inspired holy fathers, who drew up the faith of life and salvation (at Nicaea), which was confirmed by one hundred and fifty holy fathers (bishops) who assembled and once met here (Constantinople), and ratified by the pious bishops who assembled at Ephesus, rejecting the impious Nestorius. Therefore, in this faith of the apostles we have been baptized, and do so baptize; this saving knowledge is grounded in our hearts, and this same doctrine alone we recognize as a rule in the faith, and beyond it, we receive no other. It is a perfect faith on all points, and it does not grow old nor need renovation.”

“Now, we acknowledge a worshipful and holy Trinity of One Nature, and honor, which is made known in three persons. We worship the Father and his only Son, God the Word, who was begotten of him eternally beyond all times and is with him always without variation, and the Holy Spirit, which proceeds from the Father, and is of the nature of the Father and of the Son. One of the persons of this holy Trinity, that is, God the Word, we say by the will of the Father in the last days for the salvation of men, took flesh of the Holy Spirit and of the holy Virgin, the *Theotokos* (Mother of God) Mary, in a body endowed with a rational and intellectual soul passible after our nature, and became man, and was not changed from what he was. Therefore, we confess that, while in the Godhead he was of the nature of the Father, he was also of our nature in the manhood. Accordingly, he who is the perfect Word, the invariable Son of God, became perfect man, and left nothing wanting for us in respect of our salvation, as the foolish Apollinaris said, that

¹²⁴⁵ This Chapter is not numbered in the original text.

¹²⁴⁶ 1 Corinthians 11:16.

the humanization of God the Word was not perfect, and deprives us, according to his opinion, of things that are of prime importance in our salvation. For, if our intellect was not united with him, as he absurdly says, then we are not saved, and in the matter of salvation have fallen short of that which is of the highest consequence for us. However, this is not what he actually says. For the perfect God for our sake became perfect man without variation, and God the Word did not have anything wanting to the humanization, as we have said, nor was yet a phantom of him, as the impious Mani supposes, and the erring Eutyches.”

“Since Christ is truth and does not know how to lie or deceive, because he is God, therefore God the Word truly became incarnate, in truth again, and not in semblance, with natural and innocent passions; because of his own will he endured also our death, which he made life for us by a Resurrection befitting God, for he first restored incorruption and immortality to human nature.”

“Indeed, as God the Word left nothing wanting and was not phantasmal in the Incarnation and Humanization, so he did not divide into two persons and two natures according to the doctrine introduced by Nestorius, the man-worshipper, and those who formerly thought like him, and those in our day so think.”

“The faith contained in your confession refutes the doctrine of these men and contends with it, because in your earnestness you said thus, “God appeared who became incarnate. He is in all points like the Father except the individuality of the Father. He became a sharer of our nature, and was called Son of Man. Being man and the same, God and man, he showed himself to us, and was born as a babe for our sake. And being God, he for men and for the sake of their salvation became man.”

“If these who dispute with us adhere to these things in truth and were not content to hold them in appearance only, but rather consented to believe as we do and as you do and as our holy God-inspired fathers did, they would have abstained for this stirring of strife. For that Christ was joined by composition, and that God the Word is joined by composition with a body endowed with a rational and intellectual soul, the all-wise doctors of the church have plainly stated. Dionysius, who is from the Areopagus and from the darkness of error of heathenism attained to the supreme light of the knowledge of God through our master Paul, in the treatise which he composed about the divine names of the Holy Trinity says, ‘Praising it as kindly, we say, as is right, that it is kindly, because it in truth partook perfectly of our attributes in one of its persons, drawing to itself and raising the lowliness of our manhood, out of which the simple Jesus became joined by composition in a manner that cannot be described. And he who was from eternity and beyond all times took upon him a temporal existence, and he who was praised and exalted above all orders and natures became in the likeness of our nature without variation or confusion.’”¹²⁴⁷

“Athanasius again in the treatise upon the faith, named the unity of God the Word with soul-possessing flesh a composition, speaking thus, ‘What is the relationship to the belief of those who call it indwelling instead of an Incarnation, and instead of a union and composition a human energy.’ If, therefore, according to our holy fathers, who your serenity have followed, God the Word, who was before simple and not composite, became incarnate of the Virgin, the *Theotokos* Mary, (Mother of God) and united soul-possessing and intellectual flesh to himself personally, made it his own and was joined with it by composition in the dispensation, it is manifest that according to our fathers we ought to confess one nature of God the Word, who took flesh and became perfectly man. Accordingly, God the Word, who was before simple, is not recognized to have become composite in a body, if he is again divided after the union by being called two natures. But, just as an ordinary man, who is made up of various natures, soul and body and so forth, is not divided into two natures because a soul has been joined by composition with a body to make up the one nature and one person of a man, so also God the Word, who was personally united and joined by composition with soul-possessing flesh, is not divided into or in two natures because of his union and composition with a body. For according to the words of our fathers, whom the fear of God that is in you has followed, God the Word, who was formerly simple, consented for our sake to be united with composition by soul-possessing and intellectual flesh and without change to become man. Accordingly, one

¹²⁴⁷ See *Patrologia Graeca*, 3: col. 592.

nature and person of God the Word, who took flesh, is glorified, and there is one energy of the Word of God which is made known, which is exalted and glorious and fitting for God, and is also lowly and human. How is it that some are not corrected?"

They were urgent and refused to accept what Leo wrote in the *Tome* in opposition to these things, he and those of his opinion. They produced quotations from him, Nestorius, Theodore, Diodorus, Theodoret and the Council of Chalcedon, who spoke of two natures after the Incarnation of God the Word and two persons. They provided a copious refutation of these with proofs drawn from the fathers who taught one nature and one person of the Incarnate Word of God, besides things which we forbear to record here on account of their length, and because they were everywhere to be found in works against the Diphysites.

At the end of their petition, they said thus, "And for this reason, 'we do not accept either the *Tome* or the definition of Chalcedon, O victorious king, because we keep the canon and law of our fathers who assembled at Ephesus and anathematize, deprive and excommunicate any who should presume to compose any other definition of faith beside that of Nicaea, which was laid down by the Holy Spirit. These we reject and anathematize. The definition and canons of those who assembled at Chalcedon violate this definition and the canons as they state in the Acts of that Council. They are to blame for having introduced a new definition of faith which is contrary to the teaching of the doctors of the church, who, we believe, are also entreating (Christ) with us, that you may aid the truth of their faith, honoring the contest undergone by their priesthood, by which the church has been exalted and glorified."

When the letter of defense for the faith had been presented and read to the king, and many words had been spoken over the lengthy span of one year, more so by the believing bishops who had come there to the royal city by the king's command as recorded above, including the learned John the archimandrite, the son of Aphtonina, the king (emperor) would not banish the Council of Chalcedon from the church. Severus addressed a letter to the king explaining the reasons he and other bishops did not attend the meeting beginning thus, "The eternal Word of the Father."

The Patriarch Theodosius with the monks in his company went into the presence of the emperor, who welcomed them enthusiastically and they left rejoicing. On the next day, the opponents also went to see the emperor and were ready for contention. After lengthy conversation, they left victorious. On the third day, after prolonged discussion of the faith, the emperor felt that they were adherent to the true faith and that their opponents had been shaken and discomfited. They believed that the emperor was inclined toward them and thus left joyous. The partisans of the Council (of Chalcedon) approached the emperor saying, "We hope you do not incline yourself to these few men for no one supports them except the few whom you have seen."

When the Empress Theodora learned of these things, she instructed the believers to meet and put the heretics to shame. Six hundred clerics went into the presence of the emperor. After deliberating with the heretics, and after the citizens of the city listened to them, they made a vow and went out to the Hippodrome (Palace) of Hormizda on the festival day of Sts. Peter and Paul. Many of them, however, returned because the time was opportune for Erithclius (Archelaus?), who was ready for combat to disperse them. When they saw the soldiers put on their arms and shields, they thought that the emperor had commanded them to fight. They became scared and left. Those who were fired with zeal delivered themselves to death and remained in the Horses Hippodrome. They were about eighteen or twenty thousand men. As the emperor went down to pray, they exclaimed saying, "One faith for all the Christians," repeating it about a hundred times. When the emperor learned of their intention, he and his counselors wept. He ordered them to keep quiet and they obeyed. However, they resumed their cries saying, "For the sake of our Lord, we are in your charge. We receive Communion in one church, and we confess one Godhead of that who was born of the Virgin and was crucified for our sake." They repeated this about a hundred times." Then, they exclaimed, "Mother of God, pray for us," and "O God, who was crucified for us, open their minds for the sake of the concord of your church."

With eyes filled with tears and raised to the heaven, they said, "Lord have mercy upon us." As they were exhausted from weeping and crying, they fell on their faces. The emperor asked them to rise and

comforted them. Then they met for the second time and repeated what they had said and heard. This took place in the year 850 of the Greeks/540 A.D.

In the meantime, many bishops and solitary monks discussed the subject of concord (of the churches) and struggled for the sake of the truth. In addition, a group of Egyptian monks came to debate and censure, and finding no hope for conciliation, left and returned home. Then a great number of learned men, monks and jurists, came with the transporters of wheat to investigate the subject of conciliation. The emperor opened the discussion of the faith with the transporters of wheat. They said, "We are people used only to combat the sea. We have no experience of debate."

Then, the emperor listened to the discussion of the monks and learned men and was amazed, for he also was experienced in the matters of debate, believing that no one could debate him. They (the bishops and monks) spent about a year debating and feeling triumphant, but at the end, they realized that there was no benefit to any of it. Some of the holy men were told in a vision, "There is no benefit." The holy Severus asked for permission and returned to the desert, and each of the other bishops went to some quarter secretly. The monks returned, each to his own district. Thus, these meetings dispersed with no result. This may have been the hidden and incomprehensible schemes of God. It might also have been a call of victory to those who hold the truth, and for whom the wreath of victory has been laid down, as they endured much in the cause of their struggle.

I appeal to the discerning reader throughout the generations, to pray for me. May our God Jesus, who forgave people, forgive you, too. Forgive that you may be forgiven with the rest, for I am aware of the multitude of my sins. This, I beseech (the reader) with all humility. This was completed in the year 909 of the Greeks/598 A.D.

Chapter Twenty-Three: Concerning the bishops and monks who assembled at the capital for the union, most of whom were invited by the emperor like the holy Severus. Others were motivated by divine zeal, like Mor Z'ura.¹²⁴⁸

Pope Theodosius, who did not obey the emperor or accept the definition of the faith by the impious (Council of) Chalcedon, departed Alexandria and went to the capital and hid in the palace of the Queen (Empress Theodora). So also did the Patriarch Anthimus who, driven by divine zeal, abandoned his see and joined Pope (Theodosius) in exile. Then by order of the emperor, the holy Severus, along with bishops and monks were summoned from the wilderness to the capital. Others, like the holy Z'ura, arrived in the capital without invitation. Z'ura was of short stature but distinguished in thinking and more powerful than many others. This holy man lived on top of a pillar, and like his master Habib the bishop of Paitar, he made wondrous works. When the partisans of the Council (of Chalcedon) brought him down from the pillar because he did not submit to them, he took ten of his disciples and journeyed to the capital. He immensely reproached the emperor for endorsing the council and for persecuting the believers. He said to him, "The Lord will hold you accountable for all these people on the Day of Judgment." The emperor became furious but did not have him detained for awe of his holiness and humility. But he struck the blessed (Z'ura) on the chest saying angrily, "The Council (of Chalcedon) is legal, and I do not want to hear anything like this about it. If you (anti-Chalcedonians) were right, God would have showed me a sign by you." When the blessed (Z'ura) heard these words of the emperor, and that he had threatened death to anyone who condemned the council, he, fired by zeal, turned to him and said, "The council which divided Christ not only do we anathematize, but we do so with the holy angels. And since you ask for a sign, you ought to know that the believers need no sign as it is written, and the Lord gives no sign to any other but you."¹²⁴⁹ On the next day, the sign that the emperor had asked for appeared. He was inflicted in the head and lost his senses as a malicious swelling covered his face, but what happened to him was not known in the city. However, the empress sent for the holy (Z'ura) to pray for his healing and pledged to establish peace in the churches. When Z'ura saw the emperor, he told him, "Here is the sign which you asked for." The blessed prayed for him and immediately his senses were restored. He promised to carry out what Z'ura commanded. When he

¹²⁴⁸ This Chapter is not numbered in the original text.

¹²⁴⁹ See 1 Corinthians 14:22.

recovered, he became possessed by the awe of the blessed Z'ura and fulfilled his demands, but did not put the affairs of the church in order, probably because "the sin of the Amorites has not yet reached its full measure."¹²⁵⁰ However, they (the partisans of Chalcedon) stopped their cruelty and the believers began to assemble in public.

When the fame of the holy Z'ura reached Rome because of the wonder works he made, it provoked the envy of Agapetus, bishop of Rome and Ephraim, bishop of Amid. Agapetus learned that Z'ura had arrived in the capital (Constantinople). He also learned that Pope Theodosius, also a miracle worker, and a rhetorician and a friend of the holy Severus, was also in the capital. He further learned of the assembling of the monks who came to the capital. He was greatly disturbed when he learned that Peter, bishop of Jerusalem, was not a courageous man but capricious.

In those days, Sergius, chief physician of Rish 'Ayna (d. 536),¹²⁵¹ went to Antioch to bring charges against Ascholius, bishop of Rish 'Ayna, to Ephraim of Amid, bishop of Antioch. Ephraim noticed that Sergius was an educated man well versed in the books of the Greeks and of Origen, that he was proficient in the Syriac language and had studied the commentaries of the fathers in Alexandria. He also noticed that Sergius was an expert in medicine, that he was of orthodox doctrine as attested by his *Prologue* and the *Commentary on Dionysius* (Pseudo- Dionysius the Areopagite) and his *Discourse on Faith*, which he wrote in the time of the believing Peter. However, he was lascivious, lustful, infatuated with women, unchaste and a money monger. Ephraim pledged to fulfill all of his demands. He sent him to Rome, and Sergius returned carrying letters from Agapetus. He journeyed back to Rome carrying letters from Ephraim to Agapetus in which he instigated him against the believers, and Agapetus was pleased with them because he had borne animosity toward the holy Z'ura. Agapetus accompanied Sergius on his journey to Constantinople in the month of March in the spring. At that time Severus, Anthimus, Z'ura and the holy monks were in the city. The citizens (of Constantinople) were repulsed by Agapetus' arrival in the city and the sun darkened in the day and the moon at night. The sea billowed and the people went out to watch it, but the emperor received him with alacrity because he was of his own kind.

Agapetus had no experience in scientific (church) or cultural matters. He did not call the Virgin the Mother of God. He disdained communion with the Patriarchs Severus, Anthimus and Theodosius, and converted the love of the emperor toward them into enmity. He contended harshly with the emperor because he did not annihilate all those who did not hold two natures. He fulfilled the words of the Scriptures, which say, "A fool shows his annoyance at once."¹²⁵² However, Justinian welcomed him with peace for being a priest.

Agapetus urged the emperor to issue an edict against anyone who did not accept the Council (of Chalcedon), that they should not be given a government position. Moreover, if an official was found among them, he should be expelled. In addition, their testimony should be considered invalid and they are not entitled to inheritance. Concerning the blessed Mor Z'ura, he said to the king (emperor), "Why did you allow here this Syrian deceiver? He has disturbed the world with his magic." The emperor said, "What can I do with him? He is tough and fears no one." Agapetus said, "Give me permission and I will force him to obey, otherwise, he should leave the country." The emperor said, "Do what you can."

At the beginning of Lent the holy (Z'ura) went to the Proasteion of Sycae across the river where the empress (Theodora) prepared a special place for his residence. The audacious Agapetus sent someone to him saying, "The emperor and the patriarch order that either you come to us or we go to you. If you refuse our order, you shall not stay in this country." The blessed replied, "Our canons neither allow us to receive anyone during these days nor answer the invitation of him. The door leading to us is shut by clay. Wait until Maundy Thursday where the door will be opened and God will do whatever he wills." Agapetus became sorely furious and asked the executioner to bring him (Z'ura) in chains. The executioner took a boat to fetch

¹²⁵⁰ Genesis 15:16.

¹²⁵¹ For a biography of Sergius of Rish Ayna, see Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, translated by Matti Moosa (Gorgias Press, 2003), 273-274.

¹²⁵² Proverbs 12:16.

him but the wind pushed back the boat to where it started. This was repeated three times, which made the executioner furious against the sailors. When the sailors proceeded a little further, something like lightning struck the boat and ripped one of the boards, hurling it to high heaven, which could be seen as far as the eye can see. The wretched sailors believed that what happened was by the work of God and the prayer of the blessed (Z'ura). They almost lost their lives. They informed who delegated them (Agapetus) about what had happened, but the impious (Agapetus) blasphemed and harbored even more enmity toward the believers. He arbitrarily deposed the holy Anthimus and set up in his place a man from Alexandria called Maina. He anathematized the holy Severus, Theodosius, Anthimus and Z'ura, and ordered that the Virgin should not be called the Mother of God, but the emperor censured him. In addition, the Lord inflicted him severely on his tongue, which became swollen and stuck out of his mouth, and he could not push it back into his mouth. The physician cut it twice but it finally became stinking and putrefied. God prolonged his torment until Maundy Thursday, which Mor Z'ura had designated for their meeting, and who at that time said, "God will do what he wills." The wretched (Agapetus) died after his eyeballs were bulged. His partisans were ashamed and claimed that Z'ura had killed him by his magic. May his memory be accursed.

Chapter Twenty-Four: Concerning the epoch of Justinianus II (Justinian I) and the events which followed the assembling (of the anti-Chalcedonian bishops and other clerics in Constantinople)

While Justinianus II (Justinian I) was in the capital, Domnus rebelled against him in Carthage. The emperor had him captured and brought under escort.

In the eleventh year of Justinian, which is the year 850 of the Greeks/549 A.D., a great and terrible comet was seen in the sky for several days.

In that year the treaty of peace was violated. Khosrau (Chosroes), the Persian king, went up and ravaged the cities of Soura, Antioch, Aleppo and Apamea and all of their districts. The Romans went down to Persia and ravaged the country of the Kurds, the Arzenians and the Arabs. Khosrau came back with a huge army and marched against Callinicus (al-Raqqa) and Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia) pillaging them. He also went up against Edessa, and being unable to capture it, he captured Batnan (Mabug, Manbij) and departed. There was no one there to cry or shout as was written. He also went up against Antioch, captured it, burned it, and laid it entirely to waste. The Persians even took the slabs of marble (or white alabaster) which was on the walls, brought them down to Persia and built with them a city that they called Antioch.¹²⁵³

Concerning Ephraim (of Amid, Chalcedonian bishop of Antioch), he was followed by disgrace and hid himself lest an acquaintance might see him. He died in his place of hiding and departed this life awaiting divine judgment. As to Justinian, he mourned over Antioch immensely.

During his stay at the capital, Pope Theodosius went around the city in secret. He ordained clerics for the churches of Egypt, while John of Tell Mawzalt ordained clerics for the East.

The Chalcedonians set up a bishop for Alexandria called Paul also known as Cursus, but one year later, he was deposed and replaced by Zoilus.

In Rome, Agapetus died from a blow by God and was followed by Silverius as the 55th bishop who was succeeded by Vigilius.

In that year, Zoilus, bishop of Alexandria, was deposed and Apollinaris was set up in his place.

In the time of Justinian, the remains of the martyr Morina (Morinus) were discovered outside the village of Gendaris in the province of Antioch. They were deposited in the church of Mor Julian in the same province. His body had been stuck to the board with signs of large nails. He was the subject of great honor by all denominations because of the miracles he wrought.

In this time, a great number of heathens were found in the capital (Constantinople). They were forced to embrace Christianity and were baptized. One of them, a prominent man named Phocas, committed suicide by taking poison in the very night for the severity of the oppression to have him converted (to Christianity). The emperor ordered that he be buried like an ass.

¹²⁵³ Evagrius, Book Four, Chapter, 25, pp. 404-405 of the English translation.

In the fifteenth year of Justinian (544 A.D.), God visited us in the regions of Asia, Caria, Lydia and Phrygia by the historian and authority John of Asia. He converted 70,000 souls, the expense of whose baptism was paid by Justinian who proved immensely generous. For this reason, they embraced the Chalcedonian doctrine, whereas they should have followed the belief of the holy man who led them out of heathenism. He, who desires more information about the means by which they were converted and the wonder works wrought, should read the book the holy John who wrote about them. For what he did, he was nicknamed "John of Asia the Convertor of Heathens."

John recorded in detail the true events that took place in his own time of the kings of the earth and of the churches.

When Ephraim (of Amid) learned of what had happened, and that Severus and Anthimus did not accept (the Council of Chalcedon), he became more tyrannical. He asked the emperor to give him a contingent of soldiers to accompany him to the East. His intention was to exhort the people to accept the Council of Chalcedon. He also intended to use force against the objectors. He was able to subdue some of them by means of promises and others by means of threat of banishment. He chased others from one region to the other. He captured John of Tella from the Mountain of Sinjar and imprisoned him in Antioch where he died. As to Paul, who succeeded Theodosius for one year in Alexandria, he suffocated his archdeacon in the bath for his orthodox faith and imprisoned his son lest he exposes his father's death. Adding more to his impiety, Paul cast many who refused to confess the Council (of Chalcedon) into the bath, and were boiled. Thus, he eliminated many (orthodox) in a manner not even practiced by heathens. However, the son of the archdeacon escaped from prison and went to the capital. He told the empress of the story and she related it to the emperor. The emperor and his commanders were mightily disgusted by the enormity of the matter. The emperor ordered him (Ephraim) banished and replaced by Zoilius of Palestine. Seeing that his predecessor was ejected for his cruelty, Zoilius overlooked the persecution of believers. Later, he committed odious deeds and was deposed.

Ephraim of Antioch built a magnificent round church by effort of the Emperor Justinian to which he added four stories. He also built four hundred houses and shops as part of its property. For its dedication, he gathered one hundred thirty-two bishops from the outskirts of the city who confirmed the Council of Chalcedon in writing and anathematized the holy Severus as well as those who disagreed with them. However, God who avenges the wronged people, overwhelmed him and his city with the Assyrians according to the words of the prophet, "Woe to the Assyrian, the rod of my anger; in whose hand is the club of my wrath! I send him against a Godless nation. I dispatched him against a people who anger me to seize, loot, snatch and plunder."¹²⁵⁴ Khosrau (Chosroes) went up and captured Antioch, destroyed it completely and took the people captive to Persia. When Emperor Justinian learned of this matter, he put on the garment of mourning, but the accursed Ephraim escaped. *Here ends this and other accounts.*

We append below the letters of the three Patriarchs (Severus, Theodosius and Anthimus) which clearly show that the reason for abandoning their (Patriarchal) Sees was their zeal for God and their steadfastness in the orthodox faith.

The letter of Anthimus to the Holy Severus, patriarch of Antioch

"To our all-pious, all-holy brother and fellow-minister, the patriarch my Lord Severus, from Anthimus, greetings in our Lord.

Bearing in mind the utterance of the Lord that says, 'From everyone who has been given much, much will be demanded,'¹²⁵⁵ and the saying of the Psalmist, 'Who may ascend the hill of the Lord? Who may stand in his holy place?,'¹²⁵⁶ and the apostle, who ordains what sort of a man must be who is set apart for God,¹²⁵⁷ I have been in no small fear, for if those great patriarchs called themselves, one 'dust and ashes'¹²⁵⁸

¹²⁵⁴ Isaiah 10:5-6.

¹²⁵⁵ Luke 12:48.

¹²⁵⁶ Psalm 24:3.

¹²⁵⁷ Cf. 1 Timothy, 3:1 and Titus 1:7-8.

and another, 'a worm and no man.'¹²⁵⁹ What shall I say, the small and contemptible, who have attained to the highest of this ministry without being worthy of it? The disturbances of the holy Churches agitate my soul greatly. For certain men, being held fast in sins and, and while appearing to avoid variation and confusion which does not exist, wantonly divided God the Word who is one and indivisible, and became incarnate without variation. For this reason, I am in great sorrow, as it is said by the Psalmist, 'Indignation grips me of the wicked, who have forsaken your law.'¹²⁶⁰ However, trust in God gives me joy, and I believe that he will surely perform his promises and will give us all that we mean creatures need, not because we are his friends but because of importunity; he will make requisition for all his elect. For he has also for a long time preserved your Holiness from sins through your apostolic content, labors and your spiritual teachings, which by grace have been vouchsafed unto you as a stone that cannot be moved, as well as us, his holy Churches, to be an invariable foundation of the faith. It is, therefore, the same God who assigns exaltation to the lowly, greatness to the small and strength to the weak, as the divine apostle says, 'By grace we are all justified.'¹²⁶¹ These things, being by divine power made strong in weakness, have by an ineffable judgment brought our weakness also to be ruler in the holy church in this royal city. Acknowledging therefore his grace, we beg you, pious one, to entreat Christ our God to assist our worthlessness. Because different men have different marks, the mark of priests is also the preaching of the gospel, for, 'Speak,' he says, 'priests, and, when you go up upon the high mountains, make proclamation.'¹²⁶²

In this first spiritual and love-abounding greeting, I communicate with you, O holy one. For while rejoicing in union and with the laws of the church, I declare that I cleave to one only definition of faith. He wrote about this definition saying, 'I confess three Councils'¹²⁶³ and I also receive the formula of Zeno which annulled the Council of Chalcedon.' After discussing the belief in the Incarnation, and condemning the heretics,¹²⁶⁴ he said at the end, 'On the basis of these apostolic and divine and blameless doctrines, I give you the right hand of communion, a communion which I will hold fast till my last breath. I will not consent to hold communion with any man who thinks differently from this, for Basil says, 'He who communicates with the heretics will be denied Paradise.' For I know that you also, pious one, hold these things fast, and have for a long time labored. For who is there who in our times has undergone such a contest removing from place to place, that his faith may not be shaken? In you, I see the doctors of the Church, because you have set the lamp visible on a stand shining, as you do, in deed and word. It will be worthy, therefore, of your piety in consideration of these things to gladden us by instruction in return for our letter. Pray for me, O pious one, that in everything Christ God disposes everything by your holy prayers for the days that remain of my life, so as to please him. Also pray that he may save me these temptations which are placed upon me and make me worthy of his mercy, that I may preserve this faith for which I am fighting by my mean strength and acknowledge me as the gospel says, 'before his heavenly Father.'¹²⁶⁵

Greet your brotherhood. All those with us greet you in the Lord. Farewell, and may you be protected by God. Don't forget to remember me in all things, O pious one.'¹²⁶⁶

The response of the holy Severus to the letter of the holy Anthimus

"To our all-pious, all-holy brother and fellow-minster, the patriarch Anthimus, from Severus, greetings in our Lord Jesus Christ our God.

For the letter of your chastity, Paul the apostle shall give me a precedent in the very opportune time crying aloud, 'Thanks be to God for his indescribable gift.'¹²⁶⁷ Immediately after your accession to the see of

¹²⁵⁸ Genesis 18:27.

¹²⁵⁹ Psalm 2:6.

¹²⁶⁰ Psalm 119:53.

¹²⁶¹ Titus 3:7 and Romans 3:24.

¹²⁶² The reference is likely to Isaiah 40:9.

¹²⁶³ Nicaea, Constantinople and Ephesus.

¹²⁶⁴ Valentinus, Marcion, Arius, Macedonius, Eunomius, Apollinaris and Eutyches.

¹²⁶⁵ Matthew 10:32.

¹²⁶⁶ The entire text of this letter is in *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 271-276.

the patriarchal throne of the Church in the royal city, you determined in the exaltation of the primatial see, for the sake of the right religion, to despise that which to others is an occasion for betraying the faith. Those who wish to follow the divine commandments, should direct their thoughts to the Lord, as it is written, each according to his priestly rank, be they deacons, presbyters or patriarchs.

So is the patriarch Abraham. Having settled in many and diverse countries, came to a certain country and drank copiously from a well that sprang from it, which was named the Well of Oaths, because he made treaties and oaths with the barbarians who lived near the country and planted fair and fruitful plantations. Lest his thoughts should be dissipated in them, he called there upon the name of the Lord, the everlasting God, and, as he said to him, 'Your thoughts shall not go after the beauty of things that are seen and forget God in the pleasant delight of the sight, for he alone is from everlasting, and has made the things that are seen bright to the eyes and pleasant to the taste.' The Scripture goes on to relate thus, 'Abraham planted a field by the Well of Oaths and called there on the name of the everlasting God.'¹²⁶⁸ Some explained the field to be woodland; others say it was plantation land. In the same way, therefore, your piety after having settled in other countries has come to the head of the Oaths, as to a piece of land fair in produce, I mean, the see of the royal city, which is rich in the pomp of the world and drinks from the plentiful abundance of the stream. Then, when you perceived that certain men wish to pervert you to a reprobate mind, different from the pure and unadulterated mind that is well tried in the orthodox faith, you did not allow the eyes of your mind to go astray through the beauty of the world and the splendor of its vanities, which pass away. However, after the pattern of the patriarch Abraham you called there upon the name of the Lord, the eternal God before whom we are destined to be judged of all that we have done. With the apostle you said, 'For the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal,'¹²⁶⁹ the things to which we are called and in which we believed and were baptized. Now, if our hope in Christ is only in this life, we, of all people, are most miserable. It was fitting for your affection that you have done well by providing us with these teachings in your canonical and church writings. We have become glad with them and we are glad with you, as the Apostle Paul said in his letter to the Philippians, 'I am glad and rejoice with all of you. So you too should be glad and rejoice with me.'¹²⁷⁰

We hold the faith about which you have written. We confess no definition of the faith except that of the hundred and eighteen holy Fathers at Nicaea. The Word and the Son of God is of God. He is the radiance of the Everlasting Father and is his Son. He is co-eternal with him and the Holy Spirit in essence. He became Incarnate, and from our nature and for our salvation, took a rational body with a soul and he is unchangeable. In addition, the body that he took did not change his nature or confuse it. He was from two natures, the Godhead and the manhood by the Holy Spirit and by the Mother of God. Immanuel was wholly manifested without diminution. He is Christ the Son and Lord. He is one *qnumo* (hypostasis), one nature of the Incarnate Word. He is not divided into two natures after the union. The Incarnation affected no change in him, the change known by those who object to the most ineffable union. Nevertheless, it is a true Incarnation for those who contemplate this great mystery with the eye of faith. It is far above division and confusion. He became like us in everything save sin. Being Incarnate, he accepted the passions of the body by his own will. He suffered hunger, thirst and the toil of the road, as well as the external things like flogging, beating of the cheek, piercing his hands and feet and nailing him to the cross. Now, how can the God-Word, who is eternal, impassible, and not subject to death, suffer the experience of our passions unless he did not become personally a body capable of passion and death? In the meantime, he was free from passion in his Godhead. Thus, we should boast. He suffered in the body and freed us from the grip of death, and he granted us a means of salvation whereas his Godhead was not touched by passion. We do not say that his passion was a mere supposition or a fantasy. As a testimony, I use the words of the

¹²⁶⁷ 2 Corinthians 9:15.

¹²⁶⁸ Genesis 21:33.

¹²⁶⁹ 2 Corinthians 4:18.

¹²⁷⁰ Philippians 2:17.

Ecclesiastes¹²⁷¹ for the sake of those who swerved from the king's highway to travel down a crooked way and rejoice in evil perversity as the Holy Spirit says in the Book of Proverbs.¹²⁷² Based on the ancient apostolic canons that had been delivered to the church, we place them under the burden of excommunication. Nestorius was inflicted with the disease of investigation but without knowledge. It is a disease which, like leprosy, does not heal.

If someone says that the Chapters of Cyril exposed the heterodoxy of the maneuvers of Nestorius, and are, according to the Habakkuk's prophesy, rapid flashes of light that crossed the universe and enlighten it, that person is not wrong.¹²⁷³ It is the same for his whole work, which joins with all the accuracy and the marvelous wisdom of the divine doctrines that gives liberty and, according to what our Lord said to Job, 'They are preserved for us, and intended for the moment of struggle, and when the time comes to fight against enemies.'¹²⁷⁴

The law of the Church requires not only that we profess the orthodox doctrine, but also that we condemn, with the help of the anathema, the conflicting blasphemy, as shown by the symbol of the 318 (fathers at Nicaea).

I am rejoiced to communicate in that sense with your holiness, in an inseparable accord. For those only who think and say those things (those who think or talk in a different way), I reject them as aliens and strangers to our communion. I flee from their insanity, as says Malachi, like the thing that makes us strangers with the familiarity of Christ and gives to several the opportunity to sin.¹²⁷⁵ Or as said by a man imbued by the divine wisdom: 'For their lack of prudence, several have sinned.'¹²⁷⁶ If we stand upon this watch-tower and place of observation; if we proclaim it to those who are under our power, we will hear them say, 'Good words are like a honeycomb, their sweetness are the healing of the soul.'¹²⁷⁷

Since therefore you have chosen for yourself to contend in a good struggle and have confessed a good confession, cry out like the divine Habakkuk, 'I will stand upon my watch and walk upon a rock,'¹²⁷⁸ and despise those that strive below. If they place you under curses and the anathemas, say to God with David with great witness, 'They shall curse, and you shall be blessed: let them that rise up against me be ashamed, but your bondservant shall rejoice.'¹²⁷⁹ For also those who profess a sound faith according to the utterance of the apostle, 'are come unto Mount Zion and unto the city of the living God, not Jerusalem in heavenly Jerusalem, and into innumerable companies of angels, and to the Church of the firstborn, which are written in heaven.'¹²⁸⁰ Now, can a man, shooting from the earth, hit those that are in the Church that is in heaven and mingle with it? For in vain will he toil and without profit will he stretch his bow, even if he dares to shoot upwards, for upon himself will the arrows that are shot come down? For we listen also to one of the wise men who says thus, 'He that casts a stone upwards casts against his own pate.'¹²⁸¹ Therefore, we continue to the end, arriving in the breastplate of the right faith¹²⁸² and girt about in every place with the arms of the Spirit, as the apostle says.¹²⁸³

I will send information to our fellow minister, my lord Theodosius, the holy pope and archbishop of Alexandria, who labors in apostolic fashion, who undergoes a contest and stands in danger on behalf of the orthodox word, and increases the efficacy of the talents entrusted to him every day by means of industry,

¹²⁷¹ Ecclesiastes 3:14

¹²⁷² Proverbs 16:25.

¹²⁷³ This may be a loose quotation of Habakkuk 3:11.

¹²⁷⁴ This is a loose quotation of Job 38:23.

¹²⁷⁵ Perhaps an allusion to Malachi 2:6?

¹²⁷⁶ Cf. Baruch 3:28 and Sirach 10:8.

¹²⁷⁷ Proverbs 16:24.

¹²⁷⁸ Habakkuk 2:1.

¹²⁷⁹ Psalm 109:28.

¹²⁸⁰ Hebrews 12:22-23.

¹²⁸¹ Sirach 27:25.

¹²⁸² 1 Thessalonians 5:8.

¹²⁸³ Ephesians 6:17.

rejoicing constantly in the manifestation of them. Do write to him, even as you have written to us. Stretch out to him the same hand of harmony, and communicate with him by a letter in accordance with the rules and laws of the holy Church. Wherefore the love of God that is in you should take care to perform your part toward him also. It shall be to you, according to the prophecy of Isaiah, 'walls and bulwarks,' as shall come to pass.¹²⁸⁴

Greet your brotherhood. Those with me greet you in our Lord."¹²⁸⁵

The letter of the holy Severus to Theodosius

"To our all-pious, all-holy brother and fellow-minister, the chief priest, my lord Theodosius, from Severus, greetings in our Lord.

In the Book of the Judges, which is the Book of the Tribes, the Spirit said that the tribe of Judah invited the tribe of Simeon his brother to community of lots, urging him to brotherly assistance in these words, 'And Judah said unto his brother, come with me unto my lot, and let us fight with the Canaanites, and I will likewise go into your lot. And Simeon went with him.'¹²⁸⁶ Nevertheless, I invite your person, holy brother, not to the community of war and fighting to give a helping hand for the sake of lots for inheritance, but rather to the community of peace and concord, on account of the gain made by the Church which Christ, even God, purchased with his own blood, a wonderful addition. For the holy Anthimus, the chief priest, who has been judged worthy to tend the Church of the royal city by severing the bonds and snares of the bitterness of the heretics and repelling their deceitful arts, has embraced our communion, holding the sound and pure faith without communion with the adversaries. To my meanness he has sent a letter, containing a covenant of communion upon a perfectly orthodox confession, and he has anathematized by name everyone who is a heretic and an alien. His mind is not estranged from the commandments and ordinances of the Lord, which our spiritual fathers left as holy laws. We should then gaze earnestly upon them like the enduring Job, 'I will maintain my righteousness and never let go of it.'¹²⁸⁷ Therefore, I eagerly and with goodwill welcomed this event which has happened as the gift of God, and I repeated the saying of the divine Scripture, 'This day we know that the Lord is with us, that all the peoples of the earth may know that the power of God is mighty.' For this is written in Joshua the Son of Nun.¹²⁸⁸

It would indeed have been right that the holy archbishop, Anthimus, should apply to your evangelical throne and offer to you the first fruits of concord. However, the necessity of this time, the distance of the country and the hurry of events changed the due order of things, because this was done in secret. As a wise doctor of divine doctrines, you know what is written in the record by John the Theologian beyond the other evangelists, that the disciples were assembled with the doors shut for fear of the Jews, and that our great God and Savior, Jesus Christ, while the doors were shut, appeared inside by a miracle, stood in the midst and said, 'Peace be with you.'¹²⁸⁹

I have therefore attached to this letter a copy of my own letter of concord, and that of the God-loving chief priest, the man above mentioned, which were composed under fear of the Jews, and have sent them to your Holiness. But the religious presbyter and steward, Theopompus (The MS has Theopontus), also has certainly already given you an account of this proceeding, for he also has communicated with us in this counsel and action, as I believed that the love of God that is in you would rejoice and exult over it, especially when you met with the canonical letters containing the covenants.

But know, O pious brother, beloved by me above all things, that these demands of the Chalcedonians differ in no way from the promised covenant of Nahash the Ammonite. While he wished to make with the Children of Israel, who said to him, 'Make a covenant with us and we will serve you,' he

¹²⁸⁴ Isaiah 26:1.

¹²⁸⁵ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 276-281 with some divergence.

¹²⁸⁶ Judges 1:3.

¹²⁸⁷ Job 27:6.

¹²⁸⁸ Joshua 22:31 and 4:24.

¹²⁸⁹ John 20:19.

cruelly and barbarously returned the answer, 'On this condition will I make a covenant with you, that you pluck out all your right eyes, and I will lay a reproach upon Israel.'¹²⁹⁰ We are therefore in need of much watching and immutable faith, of prayers and entreaties that he that keeps Israel will not slumber nor sleep, and that he will turn the reproach upon those who are rich and boastful. May we not become 'a scorn and a reproach to them that are round about us,' as David somewhere sings,¹²⁹¹ while falling from divine things, they also confess human things. For no trust is to be placed in unbelievers and enemies of God. But to you, who understand divine things, what is here said is a matter of knowledge.¹²⁹²

The response of Pope Theodosius to the holy Severus, patriarch of the Apostolic See of Antioch

"To our pious and holy brother in everything and fellow-minister, the patriarch, my lord Severus; Theodosius offers greetings in our Lord.

O, being beloved by me in Christ above all things, the protector of the true faith which cannot be shaken, blessing to our time which has displayed your spiritual constancy to the holy Churches of God. We are also in good hope and are confident that the blameless pattern of your virtues that we possess will be preserved for us. Nevertheless, I do not know which of your virtues to admire. For what is there among your qualities that is either defective or which stands in superfluous description? If I wanted to express my admiration of your good life, the words would fail me. In fact, the virtue of chastity attracts me to (admire) your good life. It requires me to praise the glorious purity of (your) orthodox faith, and place it before all of your qualities. Beside these qualities, I admire your life of labor which you have endured for a long time for God's sake, and your flight from place to place, and the fact that in everything you have chosen to suffer in order that we may not be perverted from the orthodox faith. In the same faith, how many times you have cried with Paul, 'who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall trouble or hardship or persecution?'¹²⁹³ But, in what category shall we place the exactitude of your teaching whereby those that err are reprov'd and deceit is plucked out by the roots, while those that believe are delivered and are planted into the right faith? It seems to me as if I heard Christ, even God, saying to you what he said to Jeremiah the divine prophet, 'I have put my words in your mouth. See today I appointed you over nations and kingdoms to uproot and tear down, to destroy and overthrow, to build and plant.'¹²⁹⁴ Again what he said about Paul, 'He is my chosen instrument to carry my name before the gentiles and their kings and before the people of Israel.'¹²⁹⁵

These are your qualities, O divine father, qualities that are easy to admire but difficult to carry fully into action, even now, as by the watchful labors of your pious soul, good deeds have been done to the Church of God. For in Christ Jesus, those who were before far off have come near. The pious Anthimus, who will be henceforth renowned for character and faith, the chief priest and true pastor of the Church of the royal city, has of his own will become a communicator with you, pious one, and also with us, and walked after our right faith. He has banished the snares of disturbances, and has trampled on transitory and unstable profit, inasmuch as he has learned to believe that human greatness is nothing, and has boldly proclaimed the right and unfailing faith. Because of this which has happened, how we rejoice and how we gave thanks to God, and what spiritual festival we celebrate. O honored father of ours, it is not possible to say in words.

Now he has made a firm canonical covenant in a canonical letter and sent it to our evangelical throne, as indeed your Holiness also has already stated even in your honored letter. In the things which have been written, he has declared the whole exactitude of the sound and right faith. He spurns with anathemas everything that is deceitful and heretical. He professes what he holds and proclaims these things with us. He says these things, since he communicates with those in whose communion our holy Church also rejoices,

¹²⁹⁰ 1 Samuel 11:1-2.

¹²⁹¹ Psalm 79:4.

¹²⁹² *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 281-285.

¹²⁹³ Romans 8:35.

¹²⁹⁴ Jeremiah 1:10.

¹²⁹⁵ Acts 9:15.

and rejects all that which we have rejected and in the same manner. He has therefore mentioned by name and anathematized those other names of the impious heresy, namely the Council held at Chalcedon and the letter (Tome) of Leo. When we, with all possible care, had considered the things written to us by the pious man, minutely examined them all, found that nothing in them was alien from the right faith, and seeing that everyone opposed to us was attacked, we all the more admired your judgment upon them. For, with the things that were canonically written to you, holy one, by the pious Anthimus upon the divine doctrines, we found also those that were written to us to be in accord. Since, therefore, we have found the letter of concord and communion of the holy Anthimus to be of such sort, I will, like the prophet cry out in due season, 'You heavens above rain down righteousness; let the clouds shower it down. Let righteousness grow with it,'¹²⁹⁶ because the Lord has had mercy on his people, and such good reform has been brought to pass for the holy Church of God.

With outstretched hand, therefore, we have accepted the event, and on our own part hastened to conclude similar covenants. We have admitted the pious man to the closest communion with us and have indited a return letter to him, in which we have already set forth the right faith of the fathers and exposed the evil character of the faith that pollutes feeble understanding. Because of the documents that we entered into communion with him, we will give to any who shall come hereafter, and of this, we have sent a copy to your fatherhood, because we did not wish anyone to deceive you in any of our affairs, especially those that have to do with our holy Church. Then, of necessity I say that, the fact you observe towards the evangelical see the prime honor which is due to it, and express the same in writing as the things written to me declare to you to do, was in truth worthy of your holy soul, which is careful to do everything with judgment and in accordance with the will of God. But I plainly declare my feeling that my chief honor, and one which gives me great joy, is that honor which is justly paid to you by everyone. I advise that you should not cease from action or advice which will be of benefit to the Church.

As to ourselves, O honored father, we now suffer immense distress and humiliation. We are now surrounded by every kind of plot concerted against us, in order that we may either flee of our own accord or that we may be expelled by force by others, while they may be granted time here also to do their own deeds and lead the holy Church astray. I wished to declare in this letter also, that you who sympathize with us to pray on our behalf. However, it is not right for us to add load-to-load and burden to burden. Only by saying this much about the greatness of the stress, I make it plain that we are in very truth in need of your pious prayers, although these prayers and your supplications to God on our behalf are incomprehensible.

For a long while, we have lost hope, not because of lack of the truth of the faith, far from it, or because of slackening in the thrust of the struggle for the right faith. We would rather be expelled from our countries in order to keep what is good. In my replies to the Chalcedonians, I offered as a testimony your wise words and I still do so, knowing that the words of the sagacious servants of God have reached you. I then said with great confidence, 'I would rather suffer all kinds of torment and leave nothing of the instructions or customs of the fathers who have relied on divine providence to confirm the true apostolic faith, kept it unadulterated, and renounce every worthless and defiled word.'

Greet your brotherhood. That which is with me greets you in our Lord. I pray God that you may be continually doing well, and keep me in your memory."¹²⁹⁷

The letter of Anthimus to Theodosius of Alexandria

"To our pious and holy brother in everything, and fellow-minister, the Patriarch my lord Theodosius, Anthimus offers greetings in our Lord.

Christ our God, who called simple and unlearned men and fishermen to be apostles and teachers, and called those who were before these from feeding a flock to be kings and prophets, who has chosen

¹²⁹⁶ Isaiah 45:8.

¹²⁹⁷ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 283-287 with divergence.

weak things and despised things, as the divine apostle said,¹²⁹⁸ he it is who has now called me also, the mean one, to the work of his spiritual ministry in the judgment which he knows, to be the head of his holy Church of Constantinople. I therefore, the sinner, remembering the utterance of the Lord spoken through Ezekiel, 'Son of man, I have made you a watchman for the house of Israel; so hear the word I speak and give them warning from me. When I say to a wicked man, 'You will surely die,' and you do not warn him or speak out to dissuade him from his evil ways, in order to save his life, that wicked man will die for his sin, and I will hold you accountable for his blood,'¹²⁹⁹ and the commandment of the apostle to Timothy about the blamelessness of the bishop's office, am beset with fear and trembling. Besides these things, I also contemplate the turmoil that is increasing in the holy Churches on the side of those who do not believe rightly. Because they have reckoned religion as a means for a profit for a time, speak wickedness on high against their head, and divide God the Word, who became incarnate without variation and became perfectly man, I am beset with weeping and groans, and mourn over myself, because I am unworthy. However, trust in God comforts me, as it is said, 'Study the generations long past and understand; has anyone hoped in the Lord and been disappointed? Has anyone persevered in his fear and been forsaken? Has anyone called upon him and been rebuffed? Compassionate and merciful is the Lord; he forgives sins, he saves in time of trouble.'¹³⁰⁰ Therefore, all my hope and my thought are set upon him, that he will see our state and will hear, he who made the eyes and planted the ears, and that he will reprove the turbulence of those who prevent right ways, and will call like the true shepherd who laid down his life for his sheep, because he said, 'No man shall snatch them out of my hand.'¹³⁰¹ For he foreordained your Holiness to stand at the head of the people of Alexandria the great, and established you as a tiller of the Church, not in calm, but in the turmoil of storms, that you might guide the ship above the waves into the peaceful harbor of Christ our God by the holy and adored Spirit. For by the prayers of your holy fathers, the former rulers, you have, as it were, received the trust of standing at the head of the Christ-loving people who walk after the divine teaching of the fathers, and contend for its pastor who follows the Church's ordinances. We affirm to you in this letter that we adhere to one definition of the faith, supported by covenants, assurance and by the anathematization of the heretics."

The rest consists of the greetings in the letter.¹³⁰²

The letter of Theodosius to Anthimus

"How else could it have come about that you, chief priest, wise and watchful toward the Savior God and Creator of all things, should in the midst of events openly show yourself crying out like Jeremiah the divine prophet, 'I have not run away from being your shepherd; you know I have not desired the day of despair,'¹³⁰³ except that you despised such human honor, and placed the observance of religion before all things? The thing, therefore, which has been thus done by your Holiness, is great without controversy, and all the believers who have heard of it are already wondering at it. In addition, all the bondservants of the Lord who shall come hereafter will wonder at it, when it is duly proclaimed in all the holy Churches. However, it is no higher than the rest of your apostolic and truly sublime and holy life. For it was truly fitting for you, who by increasing energy in ascetic exercise have mortified your earthly members, that you might speak in the words of Scripture, and with Paul are able to say, 'I have been crucified with Christ and I no longer live, but Christ lives in me,'¹³⁰⁴ after the manner of Moses, the great, to esteem the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of the world and to choose rather to be afflicted with the people of God than to enjoy the temporal pleasure of sin.¹³⁰⁵

¹²⁹⁸ 1 Corinthians 1:27-28.

¹²⁹⁹ Ezekiel 3:17-18.

¹³⁰⁰ Sirach 2:10-11.

¹³⁰¹ John 10:29.

¹³⁰² *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 287-288. The text is much longer than that given by Michael Rabo.

¹³⁰³ Jeremiah 17:16.

¹³⁰⁴ Galatians 2:21.

¹³⁰⁵ Hebrews 11:25-26.

For I, who am feeble, judge that on my account of shortcomings I endure all the troubles that befall me. But since I am bound to represent the Church under the evangelical throne which is now enduring many ills, how much it endures is not easy to say, therefore in due season I say as the divine Paul said, 'For as the sufferings of Christ abound in us, so our consolation also abounds by Christ.'¹³⁰⁶ For, 'what thanks can we render to God?'¹³⁰⁷ For this apostolic saying I do also use on account of the help with which he has helped his holy Churches, who have now established you as an establisher of these, and as a foremost fighter in danger to religion. For you have shown that you have dwelling within you the holy utterance of the Lord, which says, 'Fear not them which kill the body but are not able to kill the soul. But rather fear him which is able to destroy soul and body in hell.'¹³⁰⁸ Moreover, you 'reckon that the sufferings of this time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us.'¹³⁰⁹ While, therefore, your spiritual light so shines before men, God is glorified in this great increase of those that are being saved, which his true Church receives.

Therefore, it is with joyful exultation and delight that I have canonically received your piety's letter of concord and union that has just been brought to me.¹³¹⁰

For as man, who is made up of soul and body, is one out of two, and the two are called one nature, though the soul was not converted into flesh nor the body changed into the essence of the soul, so also Christ, who consists of the two elements, the Godhead and also the manhood, which have a perfect existence, each in its proper sphere, is one and is not divided, and the union is not confused or changed. In his love I remained steadfast and also in the love of the fraternity."¹³¹¹ *By the power of our Creator God, Jesus Christ, the son of Mary who became man like us, these letters of faith and their replies are ended.*

With such holy words, the three Patriarchs (Severus, Theodosius and Anthimus) encouraged each other. They preferred to be banished for the sake of confirming the true faith. With joy, they ended their lives fraught with trouble. They inherited eternal life and were seated in spiritual seats in heaven enjoying everlasting delight. It is through their prayers, I, the weak servant and sinner Michael (of 'Urbish)), and the lowest of monks, become worthy to receive forgiveness of sins, and be near these holy men in the eternal world. Amen and Amen.

The copyist added the following, "The holy father Patriarch Michael (Rabo) composed with diligence and labor this book. I have transcribed this Chronicle from the copy of Metropolitan Musa of Sawar (d. 1587) who copied it from the original text in the handwriting of Mor Michael himself. *He who reads this, let him pray by the love of him who prayed and sweat for everyone.*"¹³¹²

Chapter Twenty Five: (not mentioned in the Edessa-Aleppo Syriac text)

Chapter Twenty Six: Concerning church affairs in the time of Justinian (I)

In the 15th year of Justinian which is the year 854 of the Greeks (543 A.D.), the Persians went up and took the whole country of Lemiton (the frontier), destroyed Callinicus and Beth Balish, and carried away the bones of Mor Bacchus the martyr and the gold which was studded on the sarcophagus of Mor Sargis (Sergius).

In the year 848 of the Greeks (537 A.D.), there was a sign in the sun the like of which had never before appeared. If it were not for the fact that we found it recorded in many sources, we would have

¹³⁰⁶ 2 Corinthians 1:5.

¹³⁰⁷ 1 Thessalonians 3:9.

¹³⁰⁸ Matthew 10:28.

¹³⁰⁹ Romans 8:18.

¹³¹⁰ From this point onward, the text of Michael Rabo diverges from that of Zachariah of Mitylene.

¹³¹¹ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 291-295 that diverges in some parts with the text of Michael Rabo.

¹³¹² This Garshuni colophon is also found on the upper-left part of p. 781 of the Edessa-Aleppo Syriac Codex of the Chronicle of Michael Rabo. The scribe, Rev. monk Mikha'il (Michael) of 'Urbish, (later a metropolitan), completed it in 1598. See Ignatius I Barsoum, *al-Lulu al-Manthur*, translated by Matti Moosa as *The Scattered Pearls*, 446.

refrained from mentioning it because it is very difficult to believe. The sun became dark and its darkness lasted one year and a half, which is for eighteen months. Each day the middle of the heaven shone faintly with a shadowy light for four hours, and every man decided that (the sun) would never recover its full light. That year the fruits did not ripen and the wine tasted like squeezed sour grapes.

The letter of the holy Severus to the Eastern monks informing them of his departure and the departure of the holy Anthimus from Constantinople

“To the God-loving presbyters, deacons, archimandrites, priors and all the holy order of monks in Christ in the East, from Severus, greetings in the Lord.

That I have passed outside the city which is the ruler among cities and beyond the pursuit of men, some of you, O holy ones, being present, have seen with their own eyes, I who have reckoned it to indite this short letter on my part and to bring your attention the importance of offering prayers of thanksgiving, and to explain the reasons for my departure. To state clearly, the actions of the divine providence toward us are in truth beneficial to us for the preservation of the orthodox faith and a formation of a new will, with which, as one may say, it is right to clothe oneself after the fashion of new garment, and for shunning every heretical opinion and contention. Also for Jacob the patriarch, great in endurance of labors and in trust in God, when he fled from the intercourse with the barbarians in Shechem and from the dangers that surrounded him there, urged those that dwelled with him to the same course to which I have urged you. He relates in Scripture, ‘So Jacob said to his household and to all who were with him, ‘Get rid of the foreign gods you have with you, and purify yourselves and change your clothes. Then come, let us go to Bethel and build an altar to God, who answered me in the day of my distress and who has been with me whenever I have gone.’¹³¹³ For he has in truth delivered me from all the expectation of the adversaries, who hate me without a cause, and mocked at me and wagged their heads and said, as in Job, ‘His feet thrust him into a net and he wanders into its mesh. A trap seizes him by the heel; a snare holds him fast. A noose is hidden for him on the ground; a trap lies in his path.’¹³¹⁴ But, as for the wickedness of these men, it is not sated with blood, the Christ-worshipping queen (Theodora) was a sufficient protection for me, and God who through your prayers directed her to that which is good in his sight, even as he cries in Isaiah the prophet to those that trust in him, ‘Fear not, for I have redeemed you; I have summoned you by name; you are mine. When you pass through the waters, I will be with you; and when you pass through the rivers, they will not sweep over you. When you walk through the fire, you will not be burned; the flames will not set you ablaze. I am the Lord, your God, the Holy One of Israel, your Savior.’¹³¹⁵

He that said these things have not only given me a marvelous deliverance, but have also further added to the portion of the believers, to say truth, to the portion of the Lord and to the possession of his inheritance, Israel, that it may not be as those whom the Scripture blames, saying, ‘You will plant seed in vain.’¹³¹⁶ For the pious Anthimus, archbishop of the royal city who received the chief chair, even though he was in possession of it, would not retain it, but in upright fashion and with true judgment and knowledge hated the impiety of these men, and accepted the communion of us and of Pope Theodosius of Alexandria and of all the pastors who belong to our confession. Accordingly, they vainly lead men astray who say that they do not receive the Council of Chalcedon in respect of the definition of faith, but in respect of the rejection of Eutyches and Nestorius, cloaks which Flavian also used but did not succeed in leading your zeal astray, and overreached by Satan, and are able to say like Paul, ‘For we are not unaware of his schemes.’”¹³¹⁷

And so on with the rest of the letter.¹³¹⁸

¹³¹³Genesis 35:2-3.

¹³¹⁴Job 18:8-10.

¹³¹⁵Isaiah 43:1-3.

¹³¹⁶Leviticus 26:16.

¹³¹⁷2 Corinthians 2:11.

¹³¹⁸*The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 268-270.

BOOK NINE

In the time of Justinian were found some Chalcedonian bishops who were sodomites. The words of the divine Paul was fulfilled in them as in the erring pagans that, "they exchanged the glory of the immortal God for images...they exchanged natural relations for unnatural ones, etc."¹³¹⁹ In like manner, these (Chalcedonian bishops) changed the true faith and fell. Because they loved the glory of this world more than God, they were overwhelmed by weakness and became exceedingly corrupt. When the king (Justinian) learned of their story, he ordered that their masculine members be cut off. These bishops were Isaiah, bishop of Rhodes and Alexander, bishop of Diospolis, who came to Constantinople, became Chalcedonians by their own will, and were established in heresy. When their case was exposed, the emperor ordered that they be paraded throughout the city riding on beasts and their detached masculine members fixed on lances. A crier in the front shouted aloud, "This should be done to the bishop who does not keep the sanctity of his office." Immediately, the emperor issued a canon declaring that anyone who copulates with a male should have his masculine member cut off. As a result, fear gripped the people.

In this time, Bar Kaili stirred up persecution in the city of Amid by order of the emperor to have the people accept the Council of Chalcedon.¹³²⁰ The zealous people crowded in the church and shouted in one voice, "We will never accept the council or the *Tome* (of Leo). They began to throw stones forcefully. The bishops and the emperor's magistrates who were present became frightened and went into hiding. At night, the bishop went over to Tuma the Goth, bishop of Tella, to help him. Both of them addressed a letter to the emperor. The emperor dispatched a certain Bar (son of) Yuhanon (John), a harsh man who was meaner to human bodies than those of beasts, having no mercy upon them. Bar Kaili welcomed him and asked him to forgive the people. When Tuma and Bar Yuhanon arrived, they cast into prison about fifty men after having beaten them almost to death. They crucified four others and expelled many from the city. In order to explain to people of discernment what happened to these wronged men, we say that a demon possessed man from Eusebia, known as "the fasting one" was tortured. While he was tied up and tormented, he cried aloud, "They are torturing new and wronged martyrs that they might become a refuge for (Bar Kaili). Although it is not what he wants, the voice of truth shall ring in the ears of the people of forthcoming generations to prevent them from having intercourse with the heretics." Furthermore, Bar Kaili persecuted and expelled the poor monks.

Bar Kaili carried on as a bishop for thirty years. He was handsome and obsessed with his physical appearance. He even dyed his grey hair and beard black. The citizens of Amid criticized him for this action saying, "The evil times are rejuvenated. The meaning of the name Amid now means sadness." Bar Kaili was accustomed to releasing prisoners and suspending the execution or punishment during Passion Week, but he did this to coerce the people of Amid to accept the (Council of Chalcedon), otherwise, he would have them tried or imprisoned. In fact, he imprisoned many after suffering much torment. Several people were burned in the furnace of fire. Prayers, supplications, and the celebration of the Eucharist and partaking of the Communion were offered on Friday and Wednesday of each week of Lent. However, old Abraham Bar Kaili used to eat in the daytime for he felt ashamed of men and not of God. Thus, he committed the sin of the lust of the belly. He nourished his body during the daytime with pure bread and wine of pleasant aroma, while in the evening he celebrated the Eucharist and partook of the Communion before the people. I write down this information not because of malice but because of the truth, especially since I have received it from his priests and deacons. I do it also for admonition, though I have no desire to do so, just in case he is exposed; those who read and hear may pray God to forgive him for he is most merciful and desires no one to perish.

One of the combatant Egyptian fathers saw the body of a sinner buried with pomp. He ordered that it should be dragged that, when it is denigrated, God may have compassion for him.

¹³¹⁹ For full quotation, see Romans 1:23-26.

¹³²⁰ *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 60-64.

Chapter Twenty-Seven: Concerning the heresy of the Phantasiasts, which Satan displayed in the teachings of Julian, bishop of Halicarnassus, and his defiled followers in this period.

While the holy Severus was moving from one wilderness to the other to avoid the persecutors, living like an ascetic dressed like a pauper with a cowl covering his head and sandals on his feet, the tares of the phantasy of Julian, bishop of Halicarnassus of Caesarea, began to sprout. He held the views of Mani, Marcian and Bar Daysan that the passions of Christ were not real but a phantasy, and that the Lord rendered his body incapable of death and passion since his indwelling in the womb. Julian also maintained that it appeared to him that the Lord suffered passion, but actually, he did not. The holy Severus contended with him but did not succeed. On the contrary, he insisted that the passions of the Lord were a phantasy, whereas Mor Severus held to the testimony of the apostle, "But we have one who has been tempted in every way, just as we are—yet was without sin."¹³²¹ Severus also said that, "His (Christ) body was subject to passion and death until the time of his Resurrection. In it he suffered and in it he truly died for our sake." Julian did not quit, but formed a party and circulated a rumor that Severus was ascribing corruption to the Lord's body, and that it had become decomposed in the grave. Such allegations astonished and shook up many.

At the beginning, old man Julian was zealous in the faith. However, in his desire to avoid speaking of two natures, he fell into this heresy. We find it necessary to say how he fell into it. When this old man Julian was persecuted, along with the believing bishops by the Chalcedonians, someone asked him what the faith of the Holy Church was. He composed a treatise against the Diphysites, but he was not truthful in what he said. Severus heard of it and kept his knowledge hidden, knowing that if he corrected it, house would be divided against house. However, when Julian addressed a letter to Severus, the rhetorician who knew him, Severus answered twice but Julian would not waver. It was then that he tried to expose his error with sagacity and faith for the benefit of the believers.¹³²²

We first write down the letter of Julian to Severus

"Certain men have appeared here who say that the body of our Lord was corruptible, making use of the testimony from the holy Cyril, who wrote to Succensus saying, 'After the Resurrection it was the body (of Christ) which had suffered, though it no longer sustained human infirmities but was incorruptible.' From this, they try to prove that before the Resurrection it was corruptible, in as much as it was of our nature, but that after the Resurrection it received incorruptibility. His second point was from what he (Cyril) wrote to Theodosius, the king (emperor) saying, 'It is a marvel and a miracle that a body naturally subject of corruption rose without corruption.'

They quoted such things as these by way of extracts. However, I, who set down the whole passage, made it my endeavor to show the opinion held by numerous doctors. They brought to me also his (Cyril) sixty-seventh treatise, written by him on the subject of the holy Virgin, the *Theotokos* (Mother of God), and in it are contained the words, 'The body of our Lord was in no way subjected to the sin which belongs to corruption, but was susceptible to death and true burial, and he destroyed them in it.' I indeed considered it to be an error in writing. Therefore, in order that the dispute may be solved by our being examined by you, I have also sent what I have written and I am convinced that our fathers agree with it. Write to me at once, that I may know what opinions to hold on these matters, because I do not consider it right that we should again say that that which was not corrupted was susceptible to corruption. Pray that our life may be in union with the grace of God."¹³²³

The response of the holy Severus to Julian's letter

"When first I received your piety's letter, I rejoiced in accordance with my custom at your greeting, which with I was well pleased. Since in it you urged me to read the tome composed by you, which you sent

¹³²¹ Hebrews 4:15.

¹³²² Only scanty excerpts are produced in *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 232-233, and *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 121 and 136.

¹³²³ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 234-235.

with it, written to those who say concerning the body of our Lord that it is corruptible, and you asked me to study it and send it to your piety. In obedience to you, I have readily done this, though I am a man who moves from one place to another and have no convenient time even for other things that are required. Still, so far as it was possible for it to be written, I have written it, partly in collecting in my memory passages from the teaching of the fathers, partly also from the few volumes of their works which were here. For I knew well that there was a similar question in the royal city also, and by men of the proofs from the fathers drawn up by me, the controversy and the dispute were brought to an end. And so, since there appeared to me something unseemly in things written by you, since I find that the doctors of the holy Church, who from time to time have instructed me differently on these matters, I have delayed sending what I have written to your piety (as indeed was right), lest some in ignorance should suppose that the controversy conducted in these words was a strife between us, although a discussion such as I knew it was would abound in love, yet some might suppose it to be hostility. Accordingly, let me know at once what your pleasure is upon these things, for I am ready to perform whatever is agreeable to your affection holding as my warrant the saying of the apostles, who said, 'Let everything that is done by you be done in love.'^{1324 1325}

The second letter of Julian to the holy Severus

"You write that there appeared to you to be something unseemly in the things which I have written, and you ought to have informed me at once in the letter, and released me from anxiety. However, I believe that in all that I have written, I have truly confessed the Incarnation derived from us, and I have exerted myself to prove that the fathers were in accord with one another. For I do not consider it possible for us to believe and hold that which is corruptible and that which is incorruptible to be the same. While we confess him who by his stripes healed all men to be passible, yet we also know him to be raised and exalted above passions. If he was mortal, yet we also confess that he trampled on death, and gave life to mortals through his death. Accordingly, you have only caused me anxiety by saying that I have written something that is unseemly and not telling me what it is, that I may defend it. Condescend to write and tell me what is stated by the fathers Athanasius and Cyril and others, for I wish to know your mind also. However, I believe that I have followed the intention of the fathers who are not at variance with one another, even as Paul who says that, 'salvation is not by works but by faith,'¹³²⁶ is not at variance with James who says that, 'faith without works is dead.'¹³²⁷ They did not say these things in opposition to one another, but in concord.

Pray that we may be enlightened by God, and may not through passion yield to our own wills, while at the same time you cause the word in a brief compass to shine upon us.

The holy Cyril writes, 'It is not easy for us to say that corruption can ever take hold of the flesh which was united to the Word,' and shortly lower down he says, 'It is a wonder and a miracle that a body naturally subject to corruption was raised.' What is the idea that he wishes to reveal (for he is not at variance with himself in these things), if he was not in these words thinking of the corruption of universal nature? For he (Christ) borne out infirmities of his own will and not by compulsion of nature. And he took up our sins in his body on the tree, dying for our sin.'¹³²⁸

The response of the holy Severus

"It seems to me a very strange thing, when I call to mind the few words which I wrote, that the love of God that is in you says that you were in great anxiety. I have performed your request for no other reason than to free you from anxiety and disturbance. For, if you had sent me a small question and problem, I might perhaps have used few words in making answer. Since it is a tome of many lines and a fully complete

¹³²⁴ 1 Corinthians 16:14

¹³²⁵ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 235-236.

¹³²⁶ Romans 3:28.

¹³²⁷ James 2:26.

¹³²⁸ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 236-237.

work that you have sent me to examine, after considering the things contained in it every day according to my ability, I will make my opinion clear to you.

Now in respect of what is fitting I have much which I will do readily for your piety. I will show that I am not speaking falsely but listen to what you wrote as follows. 'In order to bring about an understanding of the matter in dispute, I have sent what I have written, but test it to see whether it is in accord with the Holy Scriptures, because I believe that our fathers were in accord with these. Write and tell me what opinion I am to hold.' Since, therefore, you have given me matter for much discussion, how is it that in your second letter you have required me to treat of many matters in a few lines and in a single utterance, as you say, a things which needs many words and proofs from the fathers, who spoke under the inspiration of God? For the Holy Scriptures says, 'It is the Lord that teaches intelligence and knowledge.'¹³²⁹ Again in another place, 'for the Lord gives wisdom, and from his mouth come knowledge and understanding. And he gives salvation to the righteous.'¹³³⁰

For, if your piety and we endeavor in this way to prove with respect to these fathers that they are not in opposition to one another, there is nothing to prevent us from examining the matter carefully and knowing that they have never in anyway shown them to be in opposition either to one another or to themselves.

For you rightly and justly say that the doctors are not in opposition to one another, even as Paul is not in opposition to James when the one says, 'By faith is a man justified without works (or by deeds of the law)',¹³³¹ while the other wrote, 'Faith without works is dead.'¹³³² Paul spoke of faith before baptism, which is the perfection of confession out of a pure heart, when it has not previously displayed good works in the world; such a man is justified by believing, confessing and being baptized. James referred to faith after baptism, when he said that it is dead without works, if a man does not confirm it by right action. For baptism is the down payment of good conduct. In fact, the Lord was our good example when he hallowed the water and was baptized by John and gave us the institution of baptism, and then went up to the mountain and underwent a struggle with the tempter. He destroyed all his power, thereby guiding us, that we might know that after the divine cleansing we ought to display a contest in deed to struggle according to law with the adversary, therein displaying our virtues.

Someone may object and say, 'Behold! Paul took Abraham as proof that a man is justified by faith without works,' saying, 'So those who have faith are blessed along with Abraham, the man of faith,'¹³³³ and, 'However, to the man who does not work but trust God who justified the wicked, his faith is credited as righteousness,'¹³³⁴ while James proved by the case of Abraham that a man is not justified by faith only, but by words confirmed by faith.'¹³³⁵

How are these not contradictory? For the same Abraham is an example of those who have not worked but believed, and of those who have shown faith by works.

I am ready to explain from the Holy Scriptures. For he who examines the periods of Abraham's life (will see) that he is an instance of both: of the faith which before baptism confesses salvation by believing in Christ, and of that after baptism which is joined with works, which is the reproduction of the old circumcision of the flesh which invalidates the denial of uncircumcision and brings to us the adoption as sons by God. Indeed, God thus ordered Moses to say to Pharaoh, 'Then say to Pharaoh, "This is what the Lord says: Israel is my firstborn son."¹³³⁶ Wherefore, Paul writes to the Colossians and says, 'In him you were also circumcised, in the putting off of the sinful nature, not by a circumcision done by the hands of

¹³²⁹ Job 21:22.

¹³³⁰ Proverbs 2:6-7.

¹³³¹ Romans 3:28.

¹³³² James 2:26.

¹³³³ Galatians 3:9.

¹³³⁴ Romans 4:5.

¹³³⁵ James 2:21-24.

¹³³⁶ Exodus 4:22.

men but with the circumcision done by Christ, having been buried with him in baptism.¹³³⁷ Wherefore he said of Abraham also that he was justified by faith without works while he was in uncircumcision, before he was circumcised, thus pointing to confession before baptism without works in his writing to the Romans, 'Abraham's faith was credited to him as righteousness. How? Not through circumcision, but in uncircumcision.'¹³³⁸ He did not speak falsely. For the words of Moses are witness, which say of God that he said to Abraham, 'Look up at the heavens and count the stars—if indeed you can count them.' Then he said to him, 'So shall your offspring be.' Abraham believed God and it was credited to him as righteousness.¹³³⁹

Again, James also took the same Abraham as an example in the faith that saves by works after being circumcised and not in uncircumcision. We may learn from the Scriptures, for he writes thus, 'You foolish man, do you want evidence that faith without deed is useless? Was not our ancestor Abraham considered righteous in what he did when he offered his son Isaac on the altar? You see that his faith and his actions were working together, and his faith was made complete by what he did. And the Scripture was fulfilled that says, "Abraham believed God, and it was credited to him as righteousness, and he was called his friend."¹³⁴⁰ It is easy again for one who reads the writings of Moses to learn from the book of Genesis that Abraham, after he was circumcised, offered Isaac on the altar and fulfilled the commandment. He was justified by works, giving an instance of faith after baptism, which is a spiritual circumcision, justifying a man by works. For it is written that, 'Abraham and his son Ishmael were both circumcised on that same day. And every male in Abraham's household, including those born in the household or bought from a foreigner, was circumcised with him.'¹³⁴¹ Then God, trying Abraham, said to him, 'Take your son, your only son, Isaac, whom you love, and go to (the land of Moriah). Sacrifice him there as a burnt offering on one of the mountains.'¹³⁴² Accordingly, these words of the apostles and those written in the old law do not seem to be in opposition to one another, but to be one, and to have been spoken by one spirit concerning faith before baptism. This baptism justifies the man who presents himself upon a short confession only without action. It is being full of salvation if a man departs from the world immediately. However, faith that is after baptism requires the proof of good works and raises the man to the measure of perfection and to high place. So also, James very properly says of it that faith is made perfect by works. The wise Paul also in another place gives a similar teaching respecting faith, saying that it is made perfect through works. For the Galatians, after they had been baptized and been reckoned sons of God through the Spirit were perverted to Judaism and were circumcised. They vainly supposed that by the circumcision of their flesh they gained something in Christ beyond the uncircumcised. He (Paul) wrote to reprove them, saying, 'For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision nor uncircumcision has any value. The only thing that counts is faith expressing itself through love.'¹³⁴³ From this also, therefore, it is plain that that kind of faith after baptism is of avail and saves with which work is joined and united in love. Moreover, what work done in love Paul declares and says, 'Love is patient, love is kind. It does not envy, it does not boast, it is not proud. It is not rude, it is not self-seeking, it is not easily angered, it keeps no record of wrongs. Love does not delight in evil but rejoices with the truth. It always protects, always trusts, always hopes, always perseveres. Love never fails.'¹³⁴⁴ These things are for the direction of actions and labor and toil, that many may be profited and saved when united to faith. Who will dare to find fault? For respecting this, our Lord also said, 'If you love me, keep my commandments.'¹³⁴⁵

Therefore, the Holy Scriptures and our fathers have been consistent in the teaching given to us. Upon this question too they are in accord in teaching those who do not read negligently as it is written,

¹³³⁷ Colossians 2:11-12.

¹³³⁸ Romans 4:9-10.

¹³³⁹ Genesis 15:5-6.

¹³⁴⁰ James 2:20-24.

¹³⁴¹ Genesis 17:26-27.

¹³⁴² Genesis 22:2.

¹³⁴³ Galatians 5:6.

¹³⁴⁴ 1 Corinthians 13:4-8.

¹³⁴⁵ John 14:15.

'everything is known to the understanding, and plain to them that find knowledge.'¹³⁴⁶ This is the knowledge I have endeavored to send in a discreet manner to your affections, as in the duty of Christians.

However, since I have learned from several quarters that you have published the tome containing your work that was addressed to me, not only in the great city of Alexandria but also in various places, in accordance, as I am persuaded with Christ, even God the Lawgiver. I have in love again sent and written to our brother the presbyter Thomas not to publish my work, but to keep it to himself because my writings and those of your holiness might be known to the king (Emperor Justinian). For after this fashion I once again examined the teaching of the memorable Akhsnoyo (Philoxenus of Mabug) and Eleusinus the bishop, who composed books concerning the faith, and I never found in their case any declaration of the relations which we had with one another in love during our discussion, when by the help of our Lord we were of one mind. For I never produced with book or treatise in order to gain distinction with men, or to win renown beyond the measure of my feebleness, but in the rectitude of the Gospel in accordance with the teaching and legislation of the apostles. However, it is also unseemly that at such a time as this we should abandon the struggle against the heretics, contend, and write against one another, lest the saying of the apostle be fulfilled against us who says, 'If you keep on biting and devouring each other, watch out or you will be destroyed by each other.'¹³⁴⁷ Such contention is the duty of those who love our Lord to shun with all their power, and to love one another, that peace may abound and may visit the Israel of God. Greet the brotherhood that is with you. The one that is with me salutes you in the Lord."

When Julian received this letter, he was very indignant and was moved with anger. He wrote saying that his request had been refused by him for a year and some months, he had not received the respect due to him and he had been tricked. Then Severus again wrote a long treatise abounding in proofs from the doctors who said that the body of Christ that he received from us was susceptible to innocent passions except sin until the Resurrection. The holy Severus also wrote many books against Julian, Felicissimus and Romanus.¹³⁴⁸

As a warning to those who might be seduced by similar iniquity, I have written down a portion of the letter of Rabula, bishop of Edessa to Gemellinus, bishop of Perrhe

"I have heard that in your country of Perrhe, certain of the brethren who do not know their cloisters, and others of the distinguished archimandrites of the place have falsely given out concerning themselves the vain report that they do not eat bread. They have also falsely uttered of themselves the empty boast that they do not drink water, and have asserted of themselves that they abstain from wine. Accordingly, I am afraid to mention that I have heard that they insult the body and blood of Jesus, the Son of God. But since necessity constrains me, I will as is right, be bold to say things which are what these men are not afraid to do, who madly and without discrimination offer the body and blood of Jesus Christ our Lord, that is, the holy and hallowing body which they have received and the living and life-giving blood which they have drunk. These men, whom I do not know how to name, are said impiously to satisfy the constant wants of their natural hunger and thirst upon it, and it is impossible for them of their own will to go even one day without the oblation, which is their sustenance. However, continually, every day a large quantity of food is supplied by the sacrament. For this reason also they richly leaven the particle which they prepare, diligently dress it, carefully seethe it, that it may serve them for food, and it is not treated as the mystery of the body of Christ, symbolized in unleavened bread. For the rest it is said that, whenever hard pressed, they even offer common unconsecrated bread over one another's hands and eat it. It is said to be their practice, when walking from one place to another or going on a long journey, to satisfy their natural hunger and thirst on the same body of our Lord two or three times in one day. However, as soon as they have reached their destination in the evening, they are said again to offer the oblation and partake of it as if

¹³⁴⁶ Proverbs 8:9.

¹³⁴⁷ Galatians 5:15.

¹³⁴⁸ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 237-244.

they were fasting. Not only so, but also even on the holy days of the fast of Lent, they presume to act in this manner without fear of God and without shame before men. Moreover, men, who as they say, refrain from bread and water every day, are found to eat the holy bread and drink the blessed wine on such glorious days, on which even the vile themselves abstain.

Now the Spirit that is in me, holy brother ours, bears witness for me that I tremble to write to your reverence all that I have heard about them because my heart could not really believe it. Do not think yourself or let them suppose that it is because I believe the evil report about them that I write these sane things to you concerning them. However, being still in doubt, I say to others also that it is impossible that such a great sin should be committed by men who have never been baptized in Christ. For they say that as soon as they have performed the sacrament in the paten, they eat sufficiently as much as they want of it. However, as to the cup of the blood, each of them tempers with hot water whenever they can like mixed wine, and drink it, and again fills it and gives it to his neighbor.

What an impiety! These men have converted the revered vessels of the sacraments into vessels for the service of their belly. They did not even so much as remember the punishment Belshazzar received. For, by using the vessels of the service of God in a carnal fashion, he purposed to insult God. The likeness of a hand that wrote was sent from on high to write on the wall of his house the righteous sentence of condemnation for his impudence.¹³⁴⁹ For how can the vessels of service of the Temple in Jerusalem be compared to the glorious vessels of service of the body and blood of the Son of God? For neither is the showbread of the priests of Israel in any way worthy or be compared to the glory of the transcendent mystery. If any man likens the bread of the table that David ate when he was hungry, to the life-giving body of God the Word, we ought to look upon him as a foolish man who does not distinguish the body and blood of the Lord from showbread. Therefore, he is an offender against the body and blood of our Lord. For the showbread scarcely cleansed a bodily pollution, even when baptisms of various kinds were combined with it in observance of this or that. However, the life-giving body and blood of our Lord Jesus not only purged and hallowed the sin of the soul and the body in those who received it with faith, he also caused God to be in us, and that by his Spirit, and so we are in him by his body. For, 'Whoever eats my flesh and drinks my blood' says the Lord, 'remains in me and I in him, and I will raise him up at the last day.'¹³⁵⁰ In another way, again we may understand the greatness of this service, which is a new one, delivered to us by God the Word, from the hard and severe punishment, which Paul pronounced against those who have enjoyed it beyond that received by those who offend against the old service introduced by Moses. For he says, 'Anyone who rejected the Law of Moses died on the testimony of two or three witnesses. How much more severely do we think a man deserves to be punished who has trampled the Son of God under foot, who has treated as unholy thing the blood of the covenant that sanctified him?'¹³⁵¹ Who is there, therefore, who is so mad as to compare this bread of life, which came down from heaven by virtue of its union with God the Word and gives life to the world, to the showbread with its earthly seasoning? For it follows that not only is the bread in the body of Christ as is seen by them, but in the bread is the body of the invisible Son of God, as we believe and receive the body, not to satisfy our bellies but to heal our souls. For those who eat the holy bread in faith do in it and with it eat the living body of God the Sanctifier, and those who eat it without faith receive sustenance, as with other things necessary for the body. For if the bread is carried out and eaten by enemies by violence, they eat common bread, because those that eat it have not faith, which perceives its life. For the bread is tasted by the palate, by the virtue that is hidden in the bread is tasted by faith. For that which is eaten is not only the body of our savior, as we said a little before, but whatever is mingled with it, as we believe. For the body that is not eaten is mingled with the edible bread, and to those that partake of it becomes one with it, even as the hidden leavens mingle with the visible water, and from them a new birth is born. For the Spirit secretly hovers over the visible water, so that from it, a likeness of the heavenly Adam is born anew. Just as in the visible water, in order that it may impart to all

¹³⁴⁹ Daniel 5:1-6.

¹³⁵⁰ John 4:54-56.

¹³⁵¹ Hebrews 10:28-29.

who are outwardly baptized in it, there is invisible life, so also is the external bread food hidden and concealed, of which everyone who rightly partakes obtains immortal life. We believe the saying of Paul that those who receive it slightly, obtain from it injury of soul and body and are not even profited, even if they are reckoned among the believers. Would that they obeyed the saying of the apostle, who says, 'A man ought to examine himself before he eats of the bread and drinks of the cup. For anyone who eats and drinks without recognizing the body of the Lord eats and drinks judgment on himself.'¹³⁵² The same proclaims by his words that it is on account of our enmity against the body and blood that the various infirmities and unexpected sudden death have befallen us by a righteous judgment. For he says, 'That is why many among you are weak and sick, and a number of you have fallen asleep. But if we judged ourselves, we would not come under judgment. When we are judged by the Lord, we are being disciplined so that we will not be condemned with the world.'¹³⁵³ If those who were in the fixed days of service were now to partake, they would receive one substance only of the body of life. If it were done without the sorrow of repentance, and men do not receive it in faith with reverent fear, even if they do not also commit a deed contrary to their faith, then they are guilty of the body and blood of the Lord, as Paul said, because they do not discern the Lord's body. What punishment can be too severe for this, too great even to be applied to the judgment of those who approach it without fear and do not receive an aliment of faith, but a thing necessitated by their hunger? O, what insolence is this, of which the divine retribution is not equal, if it slays the man! Who does not fear even heaven when men satisfy the needs of their bodies on a coal of devouring fire, as if it were common bread? Who is not frightened at this statement, that of the coal on which our life depends, that which the seraph revealed to us, grasping it with a fiery forceps in his hand, to signify the sublimity of our mystery, and, while meditating upon it with reverence, approached to take hold of it, of this these men eat to satiety and without fear? Before the body which is given for the life of the world, their heart does not quake and they are not afraid; their hands do not tremble or shake; their knees do not slip that they should fall when they eat it for the support of bodily life. Perhaps we ought to say that our Lord also in his full knowledge of all times knew the deeds of these men. For this reason, after they (the disciples) had eaten of the legal Passover and were satisfied, then (Christ) blessed the bread and gave it to them, in order that these men might not say that, after he had blessed, they were satisfied (but, after they were satisfied, he blessed, when the Master (Christ) and his disciples took a small particle of it). Over the cup he said, 'Take drink of it all of you,' that they might understand by this that it was of this small cup that the twelve (disciples) drank.¹³⁵⁴

It must be said that they thought of themselves that they would attract the admiration of simple persons by their abstinence from bread and wine, and did not understand that the laughter of the intelligent would defeat and overcome them, and would fall upon their heads, prevailing over the praise of ignorant persons like them. Those who are like them have in all this unpardonable sin accepted for themselves glory from perishing men, even it did not result to them. It should not fit that they should be named men, but, in justice, they should be named rabid dogs. For the sign of rabid dogs is this, that they suddenly attack the body of their master to eat it.

A man who has forbidden himself bread ought to be empty and not taste anything until the time appointed for him. This is well known that, when Saul enacted that not one should taste anything on the day of battle until the evening, then Jonathan, because he tasted some honey on the end of his rod, incurred the penalty of death, if it had not been for the violence of the people until he was safe.¹³⁵⁵ 'For the foundation of the life of man is bread and water.' Jesus Bar Asiro (Sirach) said,¹³⁵⁶ "Under the name of bread, he extended his saying to all food".

¹³⁵² 1 Corinthians 11:28-29.

¹³⁵³ 1 Corinthians 11:30-31.

¹³⁵⁴ Matthew 26:29, Mark 14:22-25, Luke 22:14-23

¹³⁵⁵ 1 Samuel 14:24-31 and 36-46.

¹³⁵⁶ Sirach 29:21.

It is said about these men that, after they have received the oblation in the morning, and partaken of it again in the evening, then they eat other food like boiled Swiss chard, dressed beet and pulse. They are said to fill themselves on cheese instead of bread. Moreover, they are in the habit of eating fish with all their pleasant taste; they sate themselves largely on fresh and dried fruits besides honeycombs and fried eggs. Because the heat of the wine they drink under the name of the Sacrament inflames them more with thirst, all through the summer season they are said regularly to drink the milk of goats. This again they have done of set purpose, for they have also discovered that the moisture and coolness of milk are found to temper the perpetual burning which results from the wine in excess. Now, because of these things, the reproof of God, which he pronounced to Eli (because of his sons), proclaims, 'Behold! I have given you all the good things of the earth, that you might use them without sin. Also, I set for them apart all the offerings of the children of Israel, that they might enjoy them without guilt. Wherefore have you also offended against my body, like those who wrought wickedness against my sacrifices? Therefore, the Lord, the God of Israel declares, 'I promised that your house and your father's house would minister before me forever. But now the Lord declares, Far be it from me! Those who honor me I will honor, but those who despise me will be disdained.'¹³⁵⁷

Thus, he also says about those who are not in unison with the prophets (of the Old Testament) and do not listen to the apostles. They should have at least learned from Peter when Clement asked him to allow him to be his only minister. After praising his zeal and jesting at his sustenance, he said to him, 'Why! Who is strong enough for this entire ministry? Are you not continually eating bread and olives? Or perhaps it may be that sometimes there may also be some vegetables.' On the other hand, consider Paul who out of great need sold his tunic, and with the price of it is written that they bought bread only and brought it to him with some vegetables.¹³⁵⁸

However, these men, as I hear, do not follow in their deeds those that err, nor yet are they in concord with the truth in their actions. For they are not Nazirites like the Marcionists, or ascetics like the Christians. They are not like those deniers of the truth who eat only pulse or bread, but do not presume to commit a lie at their oblations, neither yet do they resemble us believers in any form or manner."

Further continues the rest of the letter with proofs from the Scriptures.¹³⁵⁹

By the power of Jesus, this narrative has come to an end. It contains a warning for partaking of the Sacraments with gluttony, but that man should use it according to what has been recorded above.

Chapter Twenty-Eight: Concerning the plague which afflicted the whole earth (the Roman (Byzantine) Empire), especially the southern regions¹³⁶⁰

As the plague intensified in the royal city (Constantinople), it first overwhelmed the poor people of whom every day five thousand, seven thousand, or twelve thousand, and as many as eighteen thousand died. When the plague first erupted, some men stood at the entrances of ports and crossing places counting those who were carried outside the city (to be buried). If someone had to count (properly), he would have counted at least 300,000 dead. However, those who counted stopped at the figure of 230,000. Still, the number of the poor people who perished was relatively small. The destroyer extended its blow to those in power and officials of the kingdom. Those who escaped death were afflicted by the bubonic plague. The plague not only afflicted people but also extended to domestic and even wild animals. Dogs, cattle and even rats were found dead with their bowels sticking out.

¹³⁵⁷ 1 Samuel 2:30 with slight divergence.

¹³⁵⁸ See *Acts of Paul and Thecla* in the *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, ed. Rev. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 8 (WM. B. Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1951, rept. 1974): 489. The story says that the children of Onisephorus, who were going from Iconium to Daphne, were fasting and hungry and could not buy loaves. Paul took off his cloak and told them to go and buy loaves and bring them. Also, our Lord ate bread and even the bread made of barley. And after his resurrection, he ate bread with his disciples that they might believe in his fleshly assumption of the body.

¹³⁵⁹ *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 301-310.

¹³⁶⁰ This Chapter is not numbered in the Syriac text.

Another phenomenon manifested itself in what appeared to be black pimples in the middle of the palm of the person like three dots of blood not sticking out, but embedded in the palm. Their appearance signaled the end; some people died while practicing their craft. Others died in the public baths and still others in the market places. The movement of buying and selling was paralyzed. The markets stocked with commodities were closed. Brothers, woe for that bitter end! Men stood on the seashore pulling into ships groups of corpses. Some groups consisted of three to five thousand corpses. The number of corpses in other groups could not even be counted. Finally, the number of those (dead) who were counted greatly diminished, and the great city became a deplorable graveyard for its inhabitants. In fact, no place was left to bury the dead. The dead bodies were piled up in the ships and were thrown far away like discarded rubbish.

Upon seeing what happened, the emperor ordered six thousand coffins to be made. He appointed a director of finance and ordered him to dispense of all the expenses. He also commanded him to hire men to dig up ditches on the side of the mountain to bury the dead. Seventy thousand corpses were pile up in every ditch by men like bales. Because of such endeavor, the city eliminated the corpses. One of our deacons who cared about what happened, discovered, while going around the city, a locked house from which an offensive stench was coming out. Upon entering the house, he found about twenty bodies eaten by worms. He called someone to remove them. Among them were women who had given birth to children and they were still alive. They were holding unto the breasts of their mothers crying. The punishment in this city was, of all other cities, very harsh. No weeping or lamentation was heard. No one was even found who would demand inheritance or the execution of wills because the heirs succumbed to death before the testators. It often happened that death overtook a person who entered an opened shop to get something out of it. Poor people stopped asking to receive anything from the rich, and those who did ask and received, died.

Some poor people tried to beg, that they may as it was said, stay alive. Then they said, "We do not enter the houses of dead people but seek help from the living ones." They went to a big market place and saw an old man sitting at the entrance, and asked him for help. He said to them, "Behold the whole market place is before you." They went in and carried whatever they could of gold, but as they crossed the threshold, they fainted and dropped dead.

There were also two young men who carried the dead, demanding excessive charges from the emperor's treasurer. The treasurer told them to be satisfied with the wages they had collected. However, being greedy, they went and collected more money. As they were carrying the corpses to the graveyard, they fainted and dropped dead, and were piled up with the rest of the dead. Beholding what happened, the treasurer said, "Woe to you Adam's greed! Nothing would satiate you except this sleep." He took the gold that they collected and gave it others who were burying the dead. Other men collected 450 dinaris and divided it outside the city. As each one was taking his share, the three of them fainted and dropped dead, and the gold (money) remained. Indeed, providence had the angel (of death) undertake this chastisement, and punish human beings in order to have them despise the things of this world.

The Chronicler John of Asia says, "How can I not imitate, in wishing to relate these matters, one who falls into the depth of the sea who can neither touch the bottom nor approach the shore in order to get out and one who is on the verge of being overwhelmed."

In addition, the demons who desired to deceive the inhabitants of this city insinuated to a person to tell them, "If your throw jars from the windows of upper floors the plague will vanish." The women believed this insanity. Finally, the whole population succumbed to this error, and none could be seen in the streets because all the people were busy throwing jars to drive away the plague. However, they did not benefit a thing and death continued to sweep up people more than ever. Furthermore, the demons increased their deception by mocking those of the holy priesthood habit. Whenever a monk of a cleric was found, the people ran away wailing thinking that he was the very death. So, no one of the priestly cloth was found in the streets. Moreover, if it happened that one was seen, the people would ran away from him crying out, "Why did you come? We belong to the Mother of God, or we belong to such and such Martyr." This deception continued two years after the plague had lifted. In this great city nothing of the multitudes remained except the very few. Death continued for three years.

Concerning this plague, Zachariah the rhetorician (Zachariah of Mitylene), says that, "In the Greek version of the prophecy of Ezekiel is a passage referring to the plague. It says, "All knees shall flow with water."¹³⁶¹ It is unlike the Syriac version that says, "All thighs shall be befouled with pus." This plague, which is a rising of the swelling of the groin and the arm-pits, began in Egypt, Ethiopia, Alexandria, Nubia (Greek, Libya), Palestine, Phoenicia, Arabia, Byzantium, Italy, Africa, Sicily, Gaul, and it penetrated to Galatia, Cappadocia, Armenia, Antioch, Arzen, Mesopotamia, and gradually to the land of the Persians and to the peoples of the North-East; and it slew. Those who were afflicted with the scourge, who happened to recover and not die, trembled and shook. It was known that it was a scourge from Satan, who was ordered by God to destroy men.¹³⁶²

The head of John the Baptist was in the city of Emessa (Homs). Many interceded to it and were saved. But the demons were disturbed. They murmured in the tongues of men complaining against the saint.¹³⁶³

John of Asia wrote in detail concerning the pestilence that took place in the year 825 of the Greeks, which is the year sixteen of Justinian. (A.D. 544). He says that nothing like it had ever been and will never be since the creation of the world because the whole world has been bitterly afflicted with it. It began with the interior people of the Southeast, of India and Ethiopia and the Himyarites, etc. It spread into the upper countries in the West, that is, the peoples of Rome, the Italians, the Gauls and the Spaniards. It was heard that people raged like rabid dogs and lost their senses and went mad. They attacked each other, went to the mountains, and destroyed themselves. All of this was like a resounding gong. The rod of the pestilence came to the countries of Cush (Ethiopia) which is on the border of Egypt. From there it spread into Egypt. It was like the harvester who mowed down one portion after another until the end. After the majority of people died in Egypt and it became desolate of inhabitants, the plague came to Alexandria and destroyed many. Those who escaped instant death fell by the attack of tumors that is swelling of the groins, or, pustules that oozed pus and blood day and night. Besides, the people were afflicted with another scourge that destroyed them instantly.¹³⁶⁴

The mercy of God was manifest everywhere in the destitute people who died first. First, because of the zeal of the city dwellers who did themselves a benefit by burying the poor. Second, if the scourge had reached them, how could they bring the dead with their pus and bare bones out of the streets since the number of those concerned with the burials would have diminished? Nevertheless, the destitute died first when the people were wholesome, carried them and buried them outside the city. It was also rumored that if death visited a house and began with the children, no hope was left for life, and the whole household would die. Some were even paid twelve dinarii for each corpse to be buried, but someone to carry the corpses and throw them out like dogs was hardly found. It also happened that four men who were carrying a bier fell instantly dead. Others dropped dead while conversing, passing by or eating. Everyone lost hope of life, and everyone was afraid to go out but preferred to die in the house. Those who were forced to get out gave instructions to be carried off to their burial place. Everyone hung a tablet to his arm with the inscription, "I, so and so from so and so district. If I should die (on the street), I beg by the love and mercy of God to find someone who knows my residence to inform my people to come and bury me."

When this great city had almost reached the point of extinction and destruction, people refrained from walking through the streets because of the corpses' stench and the skeletons, which had been ravaged by dogs. When the pestilence had ended at the seashore, it turned toward Palestine and Jerusalem. Frightful signs appeared on the sea as death passed from one country to the other. People beheld on the sea what looked like copper boats, black people without heads sitting in them and sailing swiftly. They were bound for Ascalon (Asqalan) and Gaza, and wherever they passed, the plagued took place there. The plague took

¹³⁶¹ Ezekiel 7:17.

¹³⁶² See *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 313.

¹³⁶³ See *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 313.

¹³⁶⁴ Cf. Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, translated by Ernest A. Wallis Budge (Oxford University Press, 1932), 75 with considerable divergence.

place in Palestine more than in Alexandria. Gold, possessions and merchandise were scattered all over. He, who was tempted to take a thing, was struck by punishment. A city on the border of Egypt was totally destroyed and no one remained in it except seven men and a boy ten years old. They went through the city for five days and were sure that the whole population was destroyed. They entered the homes of the wealthy, gathered gold and silver and piled them in a house. Instantly, the seven men died and only the boy remained, crying. When he attempted to go out to the city gate, a man saw him and made him sit at the door of the house where the gold and silver were piled up. This incident occurred several times.

It also happened that a rich man went to his village before the pestilence struck out. Upon hearing that death had come, he began to pray hoping his life would be extended. A few days later, he sent his servants to check his house. When they reached the city, they found no one alive except that boy weeping. He told them of what had happened. Overcome by greed, the steward ordered the servants of his master to carry the gold, but they refused. He himself entered in and loaded his beast with gold as much as he could carry. As he reached the city's gate, he was followed by something like an apparition of a man who tied him with the boy, and restored the gold. The servants cried out, "Go back and cast away the gold that you may be saved." Upon reaching the house, they found the steward and the boy dead, but they were saved with their lives.

In another city of Palestine, demons appeared like angels. They asked the people to worship a brass image in the city that had formerly been worshipped by the inhabitants to ward off the plague. Nevertheless, the wretched people were deceived and brought on themselves a second death as they worshipped the image. One day, as they gathered in front of the image, something like a whirlwind entered the image, lifting it about hundred cubits, it hurled it down to the ground with such a force that it was smashed and became like water. Moreover, the people were overcome by the sword of death, and by the evening, no living soul was left in the city. The plague swept the entire country of Palestine, and the North and the South and the East as far as Cilicia, Syria, Iconium, Moesia, Asia, Bithynia, Galatia and Cappadocia. Darkness overwhelmed the crossroads and they became desolate. People's entire possessions were left scattered on the plains and the mountains, and no one was to gather. The fields were full of crops but no one to harvest or gather them to barns. The season of picking the vineyards was over and no one was found to pluck (the grapes) because people perished in all the earth. Hardly one out of thousand was saved. However, this scourge stopped after three years. *Here ends this account.*

Chapter Twenty-Nine: Concerning the same period of Justinian (I); the destruction of Rome; the death of the believing Queen Theodora; and the death of the holy and great Patriarch Severus

In the year 18 of Justinian, which is the year 857 of the Greeks, the Hunoye (Huns) occupied the great Italian city of Rome, but failed to keep it. They settled in the villages in its neighborhood and left it desolate of inhabitants. In order to know the extent of the Romans' loss from occupying the city, I will record its history in brief taken from a person familiar with its affairs, buildings and edifices.

In the third year of the destruction of the city of Ilion (Troy) which took place in the time of the priests Samson and Eli, the kings began to reside in the city of Rome, which formerly was known as Italia, and its kings were known as the kings of the Latins. In the time of Jotham and Ahaz, kings of Judah, it was ruled by Romulus who built in it grand edifices and thus was called Rome after his name. Romulus' kingdom was called kingdom of the Romans' since the time of King Hezekiah.

Rome had twenty-four holy churches of the catholic and holy apostles, and two grand basilicas where the king and the Senate assembled. It also contained 324 wide and spacious streets, two great capitolia, 80 gold idols, 64 ivory idols, and 46,063 residences, 1797 manors for dignitaries, 1352 sewage canals, and 274 bakers who provided provisions for the city other than those who were engaged in baking. It had also 5000 sepulchers where they gathered and buried the dead. It had also 31 great marble pillars, 3785 statues of brass representing kings and prefects, and 125 antique bronze statues of the family of Abraham, Sarah and Hagar as well as the kings from the house of David, which were plundered by Vespasian when he destroyed Jerusalem and moved to this city. He even took its brass gates and other

objects. In the city, there were two huge statues of mighty men, 2 spiral columns of seashells, 2 circuses, 3 theaters, 2 amphitheaters, 4 warehouses, 11 stadiums and 22 grand antique bronze horses. It had also 956 baths, 4 Arkilkon (sic), 14 (text corrupted), 2 (text corrupted), special antique bronze horsed, and 45 sistra (Greek, Lupanania). There were also 2300 authorized public oil dealers. There were 291 prisons, and (term not understandable). There were in the neighborhood of the public baths 254 latrines. There were 673 guardians to guard the city; seven of them had lordship over the rest. Further, the city had 37 doors and its circumference was 26 myriads, 6 thousand and 36 feet, which measured 40 miles. The inner size of the city from east to west was 12 miles.

The destruction of this great city that was set on fire by the barbarians, grieved immensely the Emperor Justinian, and he and his counselors dressed up in mourning. What grieved the emperor even more was the death of Theodora, of blessed memory; in the 20th year of Justinian, which is the year, 859 of the Greeks/548 A.D. Justinian distributed much gold for the repose of her soul. Meanwhile, he summoned into his presence Saint Anthimus and Saint Theodosius, and offered them the freedom of belief and to live in peace as they wished. *End of this account.*

In this period, the Monastery of St. Simon the Stylite in the province of Antioch was burned down.

In this period, confusion and disturbance prevailed in the churches, especially in Constantinople because of the introduction of fasting and the Passover.

In the year 23 of Justinian, Tarsus in Cilicia was inundated by the river which flowed by it.¹³⁶⁵

In this period, an earthquake took place and destroyed the city of Laodicea, and seven thousands of its inhabitants perished. Another earthquake took place and destroyed the city of Mapholopolis in Mysia whose inhabitants, including clergymen, were buried alive. For many days, their voices were heard out of the ground but no one could rescue them. Moreover, other cities in this region were destroyed. In the sea coast of Phoenicia, Tripoli, Beirut, Byblos (Gubail), Troas and the cities of Galilee were destroyed. The sea withdrew two miles inland and the ships anchored on dry land.

At this time, John Philopones flourished in Alexandria.

At this time too, the Romans invaded the lands of the Kurds, Arzenians and the Tayoye (Arabs). Chosroes, king of the Persians, attacked Petra and stationed in it a garrison. The Romans defended it for seven years. They defeated the Persians and took the city.

In this period, there was scarcity of grain and fruits in the country of Hunta, and a feeling of ravenous hunger afflicted men body and soul. It was followed by a pestilence. The hunger was so severe that a man would sometimes eat ten pounds of bread together with other things, and would not be satisfied, but continued to ask for bread although his belly was full, and in this way, he died. After these things, a pestilence among the cattle took place, especially in the East, and it lasted two years. The fields became sterile through the absence of oxen.¹³⁶⁶ In addition, a severe earthquake took place in Constantinople, in the month of August, many houses collapsed and became graves and baths, and churches collapsed and became graves to their inhabitants. The wall of the Golden Gate collapsed as well. Nicomedia was completely destroyed by this earthquake, which lasted for forty days in order that people may seek repentance. They were commemorated every year in the great plain about six miles far from the capital where prayers were said.

In the year 31 of Justinian a severe earthquake took place, and the two walls of the capital (Constantinople), both the inner wall, which Constantine built and the outer wall which Theodosius had built, were breached. Several houses collapsed and the rest were cracked and breached and then fell down. No standing building was saved from defacement. The earthquake turned the city of Regin upside down to the extent that no one could identify it. In addition, the purple pillar which stood before the palace, which had a statue of the Emperor (Justinian) upon its top, was first cast into the air, and then it turned upside down, and became embedded in the ground and sank in it to the depth of eight feet. Thus were destroyed several cities and villages. Of all the preceding earthquakes, nothing was heard about like this one where the

¹³⁶⁵ *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 123.

¹³⁶⁶ For the above see Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 76.

trees swayed from the wind. The city of Troas in Phoenicia on the seacoast shook for ten days and then fell down. In addition, the mountain known as the Mountain of the Phase of the Rocks, which is adjacent to it, rumbled and a huge piece was detached from it and fell into the sea, because the earthquake cast it a long distance into the seas opposite the city. The city was inundated by the waters of seawater. On one of its sides, the water formed a large and wondrous harbor accommodating big ships. By the force of this awful earthquake, the sea in the city of Beirut and the seacoast city retreated for two miles into the interior. The seabed became exposed and in it were seen many precious possessions and sunken ships loaded with merchandise. Instead of feeling sorry for this calamity, those present rushed to pillage the buried treasures. The men entered the ships to carry loads of merchandise, while others tried to get to the ships by force. However, the fearful sea returned and buried them in its depths by a hidden intimation of God. Those who were still on the seashore, when they saw the waters rushing towards them, escaped and were safe, but the tremor destroyed the houses that fell upon them and they were buried in them. This incident took place in the majority of the coastal cities, especially Beirut, where fire kindled within it and destroyed it. The fire started for two months and even its stones were burned down. King (Emperor) Justinian sent abundant money (for relief). The bodies of the drowned people were pulled out of the sea and buried. The people reconstructed a part of the city.

At this time, the heresy of the Agnostics appeared in Alexandria. They produced a foolish interpretation of the expression, "No one knows about that day or hour,"¹³⁶⁷ to mean that, "The Son (Jesus Christ) does not know about that day." They denied that the Son of God had the knowledge that was given to the prophets by grace. They gathered from sources some foolish testimonies, which were added by Eusebius, the bishop who became their leader, and who was condemned with his followers by the church.

When the blessed Patriarch Mor Severus, was transported from this temporary life, and died in Alexandria in February of the year 850 of the Greeks (538 A.D.) in place called Ksouta. The orthodox set up in his place the pious man Sargis (Sergius) as Patriarch of Antioch. Sergius lived only for a short time and was succeeded by Paul, nicknamed the Black.¹³⁶⁸

After Saint Anthimus abandoned the See of Constantinople, Mena, the object of wrath, became a patriarch¹³⁶⁹ and was succeeded by Eutyches.

In Rome, Vigilius came after Agapetus.¹³⁷⁰ The number of bishops in the Roman kingdom diminished with the exception of the See of Alexandria, which after twenty years, succumbed to the heresy of the two natures (Diphysites) by the effort of Paul.

Philoxenus, bishop of Mabug, died in Gangra (523).¹³⁷¹ His nephew (sister's son) accepted the Council (of Chalcedon) for a reason that I decline to mention, and was appointed a bishop for Cyprus and died there.

As to Tuma (Thomas), bishop of Mar'ash (Germanicia), Tuma, bishop of Damascus, and others from the province of Alexandria, they were transported from this life. However, Mara, bishop of Amid, and Severus who died recently (538), resisted in their struggle. They were of the few who acted according to the will of God without slackening or compromising their faith. They went throughout the capital pleasing the emperor and appealing to the empress (Theodora) to take care of the believers. I myself say that Constantine, bishop of Laodicea, John the Egyptian, Peter, Theodosius, Anthimus and some of the city's bishops, were adherent to the one definition of the faith. Others like Tuma, bishop of Dara, John, bishop of Tella, Antonina, bishop of Aleppo, Sargis, bishop of Shura, and Peter, bishop of Rish 'Ayna were all dead and the East became desolate of archpriests. Because of necessity and the scarcity of shepherds in the land of Persia, a bishop of the orthodox named Qiros began to ordain priests for a region that extended from

¹³⁶⁷ Mark 13:32.

¹³⁶⁸ See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum*, translated into Latin by Joannes Baptista Abeloos and Thomas Josephus Lamy, 1 (Lovain, 1872), 211-218. Actually, Severus of Antioch died in Sakha, Egypt, on February 8, 538.

¹³⁶⁹ *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 114.

¹³⁷⁰ *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 124.

¹³⁷¹ For this date of his death, see, Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, translated Matti Moosa, 262.

Phrota to Ogdi (sic), in order that the leaders of the faithful should not be blamed, and that those who were ordained priests for the land of Persia would not be humiliated or persecuted by the opponents (Chalcedonians). Urged by just zeal and taking into consideration the responsibility they were shouldering, they blessed and ordained as archpriests for Arabia the monk Theodore, an energetic man who was in the capital, and Jacob (Baradaeus) the combatant and courageous. Jacob moved from one place to the other visiting and encouraging the people. He was thin, swift in walking and furthermore he was an ascetic. He ran like a deer. He was a priest who came out of the Monastery of Phsilta from the village of Gamua in the Izla Mountain. He saved many Persians by means of the faith entrusted to him.¹³⁷²

In this year, John son of Quryaqus (Cyriacus) who was imprisoned in Antioch passed away. In addition, the archimandrite John, son of AphTonya passed away (538). In this year these two saintly bishops, Jacob from the Phsilta Monastery, was ordained a bishop for Edessa, and Theodore for Hirta (Hirat al-Nu'man), by the request of Harith ibn Jabala (King of the Tayoye (Arabs) and the determination of the Empress Theodora. They were ordained by Pope Theodosius¹³⁷³ at a time when the Chalcedonians had Amazon as their bishop of Edessa. Amazon was the 38th bishop who built and adorned the great church of Edessa.

Jacob (Baradaeus), abbot of the Phsilta Monastery, who was ordained for Edessa, traveled throughout the entire regions of the East ordaining clergymen for the orthodox (anti-Chalcedonians) dressed up like a beggar. He usually went through side roads for fear of the persecutors.¹³⁷⁴

Harith, son of Jabala and king of the Christian Tayoye (Arabs) and their acquaintances, were opponents of the Council (of Chalcedon). They never ate bread with the Chalcedonians. Ephraim the Jew, patriarch of Antioch, had been already delegated by the emperor (Justinian) to Harith before his death. He said to Harith, "Why do you mistrust us and the church?" Harith said, "We have no doubt about the church of God, but run away from the evil you have introduced to the faith. You have contrived a Quaternity instead of the Trinity and coerce the people in order to disclaim the true faith." Ephraim said, "O king! Do you believe that the council of the 630¹³⁷⁵ was corrupt and worth the condemnation of its members?" Let us consider all of them as bishops. Is it appropriate to reject them and accept the few who are heretics?" Harith said, "I am an ordinary and military man. I have not read books. But let me offer you proof. When I order my servants to prepare food for the army, and they fill the pots with meat of sheep and oxen to cook, and just perchance an unclean mouse was found in the pot, I adjure you by your life O patriarch, would not that clean meat become unclean (by the mouse) or not?" Ephraim said, "Yes it would become unclean." Harith said, "If plenty of meat becomes contaminated by a small, unclean mouse, how it is that the entire Council (of Chalcedon) does not become unclean by those who have accepted the unclean heresy and endorsed the *Tome* of Leo, the unclean mouse?" When Ephraim realized that he could give an answer, he tried to deceive him that he may receive communion from him. Harith said to him, "You are invited today to our dinner." He rejoined saying to his servants in Arabic, "Do not offer him anything but camel's meat." When dinner was ready, Harith asked Ephraim to bless the food. Ephraim hesitated and did not bless the dinner. However, Harith went on eating. Ephraim said, "You have polluted the table by the camel's meat." Harith

¹³⁷² The above passage seems somehow vague. What the author wants to say is that Anthimus, who abandoned his See of Constantinople, and Theodosius, patriarch of Alexandria, were persecuted because of their opposition to the definition of faith by the Council of Chalcedon. To protect them from the persecution of the Chalcedonians, the Empress Theodora, who was anti-Chalcedonian, kept them under her protection in a palace at Constantinople. Meanwhile, the Chalcedonians inflicted severe persecution against the anti-Chalcedonian bishops, and drove them out of their see, especially in Syria, that there remained only one or two bishops in the entire country. To save the anti-Chalcedonian church from utter extinction, Anthimus and Theodosius ordained the monk Theodore as a bishop for Arabia and Jacob Baradaeus as an ecumenical bishop with the authority to ordain patriarchs, bishops and other ranks of clergy. With his indefatigable effort for forty years, Jacob saved the church of the East from being decimated. See Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, translated into Latin by Abeloos and Lamy (Louvain, 1872), 213-217.

¹³⁷³ See Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, 300-301 under the biography of Jacob Baradaeus; Rev. Monk Yuhanna Dulabani, *Al-Qiddis Mor Yaqub al-Baradi'i al-Suryani* (Al-Matba'a al-Suryaniyya, Buenos Aires, 1942), 25-26; Ignatius Jacob III, *Mor Yaqub al-Baradi'i* (St. Jacob Baradaeus), Damascus, 1978), 16 and 24-25.

¹³⁷⁴ Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, 215-217; Ignatius Jacob III, *Ibid.* 24-25.

¹³⁷⁵ Allegedly the number of bishops who attended the Council of Chalcedon.

said, "Why do you then force me to partake in your communion while you abstain from my food because it is unclean? Know that your communion is forbidden to much more than your rejection of the camel's meat that we eat, because infidelity is hidden in it. Moreover, you are destitute from the orthodox faith." Ephraim became furious and departed being unsuccessful in misleading Harith.¹³⁷⁶

Chapter Thirty: Concerning the council Justinian assembled in Constantinople and was known as the Fifth Council, and the persecution which afflicted the Orthodox, and the heresies which appeared in Justinian's time¹³⁷⁷

After the death of the believing Empress Theodora, some urged the emperor to assemble those (bishops) who rejected the Council (of Chalcedon). The reason was that since the empress (who supported them) had passed away, they might, out of fear, be cowed to accept the council. First, the emperor summoned John of Asia and instructed him that the summoning of the bishops of Syria to the council should be in his name. He promised to lavish on him gifts and expenses. John declined the emperor's request and the emperor assigned another one to perform the task. As a result, four hundred bishops assembled and debated for a whole year. Realizing that they would not change their stand (meaning they would not accept the Council of Chalcedon), he released them and each one went to his own place.

Meanwhile, Mennas, bishop of Constantinople, died and was succeeded by Eutyches of Amasia. But when Eutyches was found to be of the Sabbaterian heresy, the emperor ejected him and appointed in his place John who exchanged excommunications with Eutyches. Nevertheless, God condemned both of them.

Constantine, bishop of Laodicea in Syria, was likewise the subject of persecution. He retreated to live as an ascetic from Epiphany until Easter. Wherever he went, he kept ascetic life. However, when summoned to the capital, prominent men and women went to see him to listen to his teaching and have communion with him. Some of them appealed to him to take a step that would make the emperor happy. He said, "What a step could be taken toward the truth if it is really a truth? If you desire a solution, let us follow the truth and it, and not us, will find a solution. I personally know nothing but the truth." He then entered into the presence of the emperor and disputed the heretics who placed the blame on him. The emperor sighed and said to him, "Today is Saturday. You should sign before Monday." Constantine became emboldened and said, "If God loves me he will never allow me to see Monday lest I would see your faces." He returned to where he was staying. Standing before the altar, he prayed saying, "Lord take my soul." Immediately, he became sick. On Monday morning, he entered the altar once more and prostrated saying the same words he uttered before, and instantly fell dead. When he delayed at the altar, his deacon thought that he was still prostrating and praying. He shouted the words, "Bless O Lord," but heard no response. He drew close to him and found that his soul had departed him. He rushed crying and informing his companions of what happened. Thousands assembled at the site. The emperor and his prominent men participated in the grand funeral of the blessed man. May God save his church and congregation by his prayers forever.¹³⁷⁸

At this time, Theosbius the archbishop of Ephesus was summoned to the capital in order to accept the Council of Chalcedon. He asked for three days period (to make a decision). He entered the church and prostrated himself before the altar praying, keeping wakeful and fasting. At the end of the three days, he called the clergymen and said to them, "Choose a bishop because I am going to the King of Kings and will not partake in the communion with those who divide Christ into two natures." That night he slept (died), and everyone was astonished of the power of his prayer. He was succeeded by Hypatius who was soon deposed when he was found to be a Manichean. He was succeeded by Andrew.

In this period flourished Mor Ahodemeh, the bishop of Persia. He was a learned man and a saint. He was antagonized by the Nestorian of Nisibin and its environs. (For this reason) he found it necessary to have an audience with Chosroes, king of Persia. Chosroes invited the Nestorian Catholicos to debate

¹³⁷⁶ See Ignatius Jacob III, *Mar Yaquḇ al-Baradī'i* (Jacob Baradaeus), 18-21.

¹³⁷⁷ This chapter is not numbered in the Syriac text.

¹³⁷⁸ On the Fifth General Council, see Evagrius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Four, Chapter 38, 419-422 of the English translation.

Ahodemeh. The holy (Ahodemeh) presented testimonies from the Scriptures and from books of natural sciences. Chosroes and those present were astonished of Ahodemeh's wisdom and knowledge, and the king praised him. Then the king ordered that the two parties, the orthodox and the Nestorians, meet again. It appeared that the number of the orthodox was five-fold more than the Nestorians. Chosroes permitted them to build churches and to conduct services openly. Thus, the Nestorians were discomfited.

The Council convened by Justinian in Constantinople

In the year 16 of Justinian, which is the year 864 of the Greeks/554 A. D, a council was convened, for the sake of information, at the capital Constantinople. It was known as the Fifth Council. It was attended by three Patriarchs: Eutyches, patriarch of Constantinople, Apollinaris, patriarch of Alexandria and Domnus, patriarch of Antioch. Although Vigilius, bishop of Rome, was present at the capital in the wake of the destruction of Rome, he did not attend the council lest he become denigrated as being equal with the other three patriarchs. This is an illogical and most arrogant attitude. If the council were attended by the four patriarchs, it would have been said that it was better than all of the councils. It was also attended by many metropolitans and bishops. Among them were Chalcedonians who came to defend (the council), because it did not admit the creed of Theodoret (bishop of Cyrus) or Theodore (bishop of Mopsuestia), and because the letter of Hiba (Ibas) to Mari the Persian was not read in it. The council confirmed the excommunication of Origen imposed by Justinian, and condemned the teaching of Theodoret and the writings of Theodore (of Mopsuestia) and the letter of Hiba (Ibas). The result was that confusion prevailed in all of Italy that is Rome. Vigilius protested vehemently the condemnation of Theodoret 130 years after his death, but later endorsed the council. However, dissension increased and not everyone approved his position.¹³⁷⁹

The council issued fourteen articles contradicting each other. Some of them praised the Council of Chalcedon; others opposed it.

Acts of the Fifth Council

1. Anyone who does not confess one nature and one essence of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, one Triune equal in nature, and adoration in three persons, because God is one, and one is the Lord Jesus Christ by whom everything was made, and one is the Holy Spirit, the giver of life and the Lord of all, let him be anathema.

2. Anyone who does not confess two births of the Word of God, one spiritual without a body from the eternal Father and before all ages and times; the other at the end of time when he descended from heaven and became incarnated by the Holy Spirit and from the Virgin Mary of perpetual virginity, let him be anathema.

3. Anyone who says that the Word of God, who made miracles, is other than the suffering Christ, who was born of a woman, or that he dwelt in him, and does not confess that he is one and the same Lord Jesus that is the incarnated Word of God, and to whom is specifically attributed the miracles and the suffering which he endured in the body for our sake by his will, let him be anathema.

4. Anathema is he who says that the union of the divinity and the humanity happened by grace or stimulation or gradation by means of equality of dignity and power, or by subordination or sublimation, or that it happened under coercion, or according to the will of God the Word, which excelled over the humanity as said by the wretched Theodore (of Mopsuestia), or by the worthiness of the name, as the foolish Nestorians say that God the Word became Christ and Son. As to the humanity (of Christ), they say he is reportedly Christ and Son. They publically confess two persons. Hypocritically however, they say that there is one hypostasis (person) for the Son and for Christ in the attributes, honor, gradation and worship. However, they do not confess compound union, that is, that the union of the Word of God was a hypostatic union of the person with the body of rational soul as our fathers the saints have taught.

¹³⁷⁹ See Evagrius, Book Four, Chapter 38, of the English translation (London, Henry G. Bohn, 1854), pp. 419-422.

Therefore, his hypostasis (person) is one compound person. He is the Lord Jesus Christ one person of the Trinity for the understanding of the union is different to different people. Some of them follow Apollinaris and Eutyches, who hold that the union fades away when it becomes compound and leads to confusion. Others espouse the belief of Theodore and Nestorius that maintains the duality (of natures) and splits the union and understands it as a mere reciprocal love. But the holy church of God rejects the hypocrisy of these two heresies, and confesses the hypostatic union of the incarnate and the compound Word of God, and preserves what has been united without change or confusion. It maintains an indivisible compound. However, he who maintains that it is probable that the hypostasis of the Lord Jesus Christ can be divided into several known hypostases (persons), he has, in fact, audaciously introduced into the mystery of Christ two persons and hypostases. In this sense, it is possible that there is one person to the two hypostases and it is subject to change, honor and adoration as was held ignominiously by Theodore and his companion. Indeed, they wronged the holy Council of Chalcedon saying that its attitude toward the one hypostasis was a blasphemy. Moreover, they do not confess that God the Word is hypostatically united with the body. This is what was professed by the holy Council of Chalcedon. Indeed, no hypostasis or person was added to the Holy Trinity when God the Word, one of its persons, was incarnated.

5. Anyone who says that the Virgin is Mother of God in a figurative and not in a real sense, or that she gave birth to a simple man, or thinks like the heretics that God the Word was an associate to man at his birth, and only in this sense the Virgin is called Mother of God, and wrongs the Council of Chalcedon, or says that the birth of the Virgin is considered in this manner as said by Theodore (of Mopsuestia), or that if one called her the Mother of Man or the Mother of Christ on the premise that Christ is not God, because the one who is born by the Father is everlasting, and was incarnated at the end of time. On this basis the Council of Chalcedon rightfully calls her Mary, Mother of God, let him be anathema.

6. Anyone who says the one Lord Jesus is known in two natures but does not confess the divinity and the humanity by which the one Lord Jesus is known, but indicates the changeability of natures from which the ineffable union was effected without confusion, whereas the Word did not change into the nature of the flesh neither the flesh into the nature of the Word, but they preserved their essences when the hypostatic union took place, and that he understands this expression concerning the mystery of Christ in its connotation before the union. Or, if someone maintains the multiplicity of natures because Jesus Christ is the incarnated God is one, and what was he compounded from did not change, vanish and differ by means of the union for he is one of two of them, and for this reason he is absolutely not subject to the multiplicity (of natures), considering that the natures are susceptible to division and the unity of the hypostases, let him be anathema.

7. Anyone who does not confess that the union was affected from two natures: the divinity and the humanity. Or he who says one nature of the incarnate God the Word is, in fact, does not understand the holy Fathers who taught that Christ is one, and the outcome of the hypostatic union of the divinity and the humanity. However, he audaciously introduces the expression of "one nature" that is the essence of the divinity and the humanity, let him be anathema.

8. When we say that God the Word is hypostatically united, it does not mean that the natures are mixed or confused. It means that the two natures remained as they were, knowing that the Word was united with the flesh. Therefore, Christ is one God and man. He is equal to the father in the divinity and equal to us in the humanity. Our holy Church shuns, nay, it condemns those who divide and confuse the mystery of the dispensation of Christ and his divinity.

9. Anyone who says that Christ is adored in two natures, that is, he offers two adorations: one to God the Word, the other to man; or says that the body vanished in the union; or that the divinity and the humanity were mixed because it was not possible for both to from one nature, and on this basis Christ is to be adored, but rather he should offer adoration to the incarnate God the Word as the Church has learned from the beginning, let him be anathema.

10. He who does not condemn the impious Arius, Eunomius, Macedonius and Apollinaris and their polluted teachings, and the entire heretics who were judged and condemned by the holy catholic church and

by the mentioned four councils and all of those who espoused their ideas and leaned toward them, and they still adhere to their impious standing, let him be anathema.

11. He who defends the impious Theodore, bishop of Mopsuestia, who said that God the Word is one and Christ is another. He also said that Christ sensed, in one way or another, the suffering of the soul and the lusts of the body, but he got rid of them gradually until he achieved the highest degree of virtue. As a man, he was fulfilled by his deportment and was baptized in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. He received the Spirit of grace by his baptism and thus deserved to be a Son. He is adored in the person of God the Word as an image of the king. After his resurrection, he became perfect and unchangeable in his mind, free from sin, let him be anathema.

12. The impious Theodore said that the union of God the Word with Christ was, as the apostle says, the union of man and woman and the two become one flesh.¹³⁸⁰ He added to his blasphemies his words, "The Lord's breathing into his disciples after the resurrection when he said 'Receive the Holy Spirit,' was a formality. In this sense was the confession of Thomas who said 'My Lord and my God,' after he felt the hands and the side of the Lord after the resurrection. It was recognition by Thomas that Christ was God. Thomas only expressed the glory of God and was astonished by his raising Christ from the dead."¹³⁸¹ Worse still is that in his commentary of the Acts of the Apostles, Theodore likened Christ to Plato, Mani, Marcian and Hypocrates (Epicure). As each of these men influenced his own disciples and came to be known as Platonists, Manicheans, Hypocratics and Marcianists, so did the disciples of Christ, who produced a new teaching, were called Christians. Those who defend the writing of Theodore, or accept him or espouse his ideas, let them be anathema. Also, those who defend the polluted writings of the impious Theodoret, (bishop of Cyrus), against the First Council of Ephesus and against St. Cyril and his Twelve Anathemas which he wrote in refutation of Theodore and the like, or he who describes the teachers of the Church as impious because they confessed the hypostatic union of God the Word with his body and shunned the condemnation of the mentioned teachings of Theodore, Theodoret, Nestorius and their like who wrote and criticized the Twelve anathemas of St. Cyril and divided in their error, let him be anathema.

13. He who defends the imbecile Hiba (Ibas), bishop of Edessa, and his letter to the heretic Mari the Persian, fraught with impiety, and does not condemn it, or says that it is entirely or partially correct, or attributes it to the holy Fathers of the Council of Chalcedon and insist on this, let him be anathema.

These matters were determined and endorsed. In addition, if anyone dares to contradict what we have defined uprightly, is alien from the episcopate and the rank of the clergy. Let him be anathema if he is a monk or a layman.

The heresies that appeared in the time of Justinian II are as follows:

The Barborians, whom we call *Mallonye* in our language, are a part of the sect of Marcionists and the Manicheans. When the Manicheans were expelled from Persia and came to Armenia, they were dressed in the monastic habit. Their women were also dressed in black to appear to the people that they were righteous. However, when the Barborians came to Syria, they seized the monasteries that were deserted because of the persecution, and practiced in them their rituals. When their impiety was exposed, the people began to avoid them.

During their defiled festivals, they were accustomed to taking a child one year old, pricking his body with needles as did the Manicheans, and kneading their unclean lump with the blood that flowed from his body. In addition, they mixed with human blood the blood of a white hen. If it happened that a believer ate from it, he would become insane and follow them until death. They assembled in houses and put out the lights, the men would extend their hands to the women without uttering a word. Each man would then grab any woman even if she were his sister and cohabit with her until the morning. By this disgraceful custom,

¹³⁸⁰ See Ephesians 5:25-33.

¹³⁸¹ John 20:22 and 27-28.

this heresy is different from that of Mani. In the morning, they go out wearing black and roam around claiming that they were Christians.¹³⁸²

In this period, appeared in Edessa a writer called Stephen bar Sudayli, who interpreted (the Scriptures) as he wished. He pretended to be pious. He would leave his monastery and go to see Philoxenus of Mabug (the distinguished Syriac learned man and commentator. d. 523), to deceive him and sway him to believe as he does that torment (in hell) has an end. He held that man is tormented according to the enormity of the sin committed, whether in one year, or more or less. He also said that the righteous enjoy reward only for a certain period and then mingle with the wicked. He was under the wrong impression regarding what Paul wrote, "That God may be all in all."¹³⁸³ He eliminated the expressions "eternal life" and "eternal torture." When Philoxenus of Mabug drew his attention to the fact that this was Origen's heresy for which he was condemned, Bar Sudayli gathered his books and fled at night to Palestine. When he did not desist from his teaching, despite being admonished, he was excommunicated.¹³⁸⁴

At this time, appeared another heresy by a solitary named John bar (son of) Euphemia. He went to Alexandria and associated himself with men of profane knowledge and medicine, and was deceived by them. He said that God is everlasting with no beginning but after sometime he begat seven sons, who likewise begat a multiple number of children. He also said that every rational power, which belongs to God and to those whom he has begotten, produces living souls. When this John went out to the desert, he wrote down books on virtues, to which he stealthily introduced a heresy known as, "The writings of the solitary John." He was opposed by Philoxenus of Mabug who destroyed his monastery and his books. Soon, however, this heresy became extinct.

In this same period, Julian bishop of Halicarnassus in Caria, produced a heresy. He said that while he was still in the womb of the Virgin, our Lord rendered his body not subject to passion, death and corruption. He further profanely said that the passions and death after the birth (of the Lord) were nothing but phantasy. He was rebuked (refuted) by the holy Severus (of Antioch) in writings based on testimonies from the Scriptures. His heresy, however, affected the minds of some in the countries of Persia, India, Ethiopia, Himyar, and Armenia. His partisans spread the idea that Severus has perverted the word saying that the body of the Lord was corrupted and rot in the grave.¹³⁸⁵

In this same period, appeared the heresy of the Tritheists by John Askusnages, meaning "bottom of the goatskin, or wine skin." These heretics maintained the multiplicity of the Trinity in regard to natures, essences and divinities. Samuel, surnamed Peter from Rish 'Ayna in Mesopotamia, followed this John. He was well versed in Syriac sciences and distinguished with commentaries and good conduct. At the age of twenty, he mastered Greek profane sciences. As he was highly learned, he fell into the heresy of the Arians. When Samuel reproached him, he retracted from this heresy. He succeeded Samuel in the capital (Constantinople) and pretended to be a philosopher. He appeared before the emperor who asked him about his faith. He said that he confessed the multiplicity of natures, essences and divinities and the multiplicity of hypostases (persons). The emperor became furious and said, "The Christ of this man is pagan. Remove him from my presence." He was ousted. John of Asia said, "We also mocked him and insulted him. As a consequence of his shame, he wrote a book called *Extracts* in which he claimed that the Fathers maintained the multiplicity of natures, essences and divinities. However, everyone who saw him rebuked him saying, "If the matter is as you say, then the Son is not eternal like the Father. In fact, you teach the alienation of the divinity of each of them." The impious said, "I do not place the Trinity in a narrow and contained perspective while it desires to become multiple." Patriarch Theodosius who was informed about John

¹³⁸² Some contemporary extremist Shiite and Yezidi sects in northern Iraq are accused of the same custom of sexual orgy, which they practice at night. See Matti Moosa, *Extremist Shiites: The Ghulat Sects* (Syracuse University Press, 1988), 1-2, 137, 177.

¹³⁸³ 1 Corinthians 15:28.

¹³⁸⁴ For Bar Sudayli, see A. L. Forthingham, *Stephen Bar Sudaili, the Syrian Mystic and the Book of Hierothoos* (Leiden, 1866).

¹³⁸⁵ For the heresy of Julian of Halicarnassus and the correspondence exchanged between him and Severus of Antioch and Severus' refutation of his heresy, see *The Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 232-244 and 285-260. The letters of Severus refuting Julian and also John Grammaticus were translated into Syriac by Paul (d. 528), bishop of al-Raqqah. See Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, translated by Matti Moosa (Gorgias Press, 2003), 271-272.

ejected him and condemned him. However, when John was severely reproached he feigned humility and claimed that he was wronged.¹³⁸⁶

Presbyter Photinus of Antioch wrote books in the capital containing the multiplicity of essences and divinities. When Pope Theodosius reproved him, he immediately desisted (from heresy). But like a dog, he later went back to his vomit.

The monk Theodosius of Cappadocia aberrated and blasphemed saying, "The divinity of the Son is not the divinity of the Father." For this reason, he was rejected and condemned by everyone.

Likewise, Athanasius, grandson (son of the daughter) of the Empress Theodora, was trusted to the charge of the monk Amonitus of Edessa. When Amonitus died, the presbyter Sargis (Sergius) of Tella, who later became patriarch of Antioch, took him into his care. Athanasius became involved in the Tritheists heresy. He considered John "bottom of the goatskin or wine skin" a holy man. Athanasius inherited the Patriarch Sergius of Tella. The emperor asked Theodosius to appoint Athanasius a presbyter for Alexandria. Theodosius swore that he would never ordain anyone outside the boundaries of his see. When Theodosius passed away, the emperor wanted to set up Athanasius in his place. However, God did not will this to happen, because the emperor stipulated that Athanasius' ordination should not be consummated without the approval and participation of the Alexandrians. When he asked the Alexandrians their opinion they said, "Remove Apollinaris and set up Athanasius in his place." The emperor refused to do so. When Apollinaris passed away, he was succeeded by a person other than Athanasius. Frustrated, Athanasius went on proclaiming the Tritheist heresy knowing that he was only a simple man, but he was followed by Conon, bishop of Tarsus in Cilicia and Eugene, bishop of Seleucia in Syria.

Before his death, Theodosius wrote a treatise against the Tritheists and advised all the believers to desist from controversy, but the opponents spread the rumor that the Patriarch (Theodosius) held the same belief as they did. Theodosius also wrote a treatise against the neo-Arians who confessed three divinities, and against the Sabellians who held that the Trinity is composed of one person in three names. They said that the entire Trinity was incarnate. When John "the bottom goatskin or wine skin" was summoned and remained persistent in his blasphemy, he was excommunicated (cut off from the church). He did not live long enough and died quickly. Theodosius did not permit his burial except after incessant appeal.

Then appeared Amphicos and others who said that, "Anyone who does not attribute to the persons of the Trinity a (separate) person, essence, nature and divinity, is wronging the Trinity. And anyone who does not confess one God and not three (Gods), is a Jew by faith." They produced testimonies from the Fathers. Finally, Amphicos and John "the bottom of the goatskin" accepted the Council of Chalcedon. Thus, they got out of one ditch to fall into another.

The testimonies gathered by John "bottom of the goatskin" reached the hand of Athanasius who delivered them to John the grammarian in Alexandria. John wrote a treatise concerning this creed and sent it to Athanasius in the capital. When the Alexandrians learned of what he did, they condemned him and his books because they taught three divinities like three men with different natures. They assembled several times to debate the issue with the opponents who agreed (to debate them), but soon returned to their vomit. They remained eating at Athanasius' table for thirteen years. Along with them were Abouy the tailor, Conon and Eugene. Athanasius went to the capital to complain to the emperor against the Alexandrian bishops, that they were trying to run away, but he was shown to be a liar. In addition, Athanasius disparaged John of Asia and accused him of embezzling seventy *qintars* (about hundred pounds) of gold from the public treasury.

Theodosius wrote a treatise saying, "Each one of the persons of the Trinity appears to have his own entity." Many who read what he wrote split into two groups. One group said that Theodosius confessed multiple natures and entities; others rejected his treatise but still accepted him as a patriarch. In addition, the Chalcedonians split into two groups, and we ourselves (the non-Chalcedonians) split into two groups with

¹³⁸⁶ For Tritheism and Tritheists, see W. Fulton, "Tritheism" in *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. James Hastings 12 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922), 462-464.

the result that there were four groups. Because of this division, many retracted and accepted the Council of Chalcedon saying that, "It is wiser to follow those who hold two natures than those who hold four natures."

Harith, king of the Tayoye (Arabs), went up to the emperor carrying letters from Jacob (Baradaeus) and the Easterners stating that, "The Trinity is one God, one nature, and one entity. Anyone who does not endorse this belief should be condemned." Conon and Eugene said, "We will not sign but only debate the letter." Harith said, "Now I know that you are heretics. As to us, we and our forces endorse what is in the letter and accept Jacob and the Easterners." Then, Jacob met Eugene in the village of 'Arbides in the province of Mar'ash and admonished him and his followers to renounce heresy, but Eugene would not obey. It was then that Jacob excommunicated him and his followers from the church's association. When the blessed Theodore, Jacob's companion, went to the capital (Constantinople), Conon and his followers went to see him. Jacob asked him about this confession, but he gave no answer. Theodore said, "If you do not anathematize anyone who holds the multiplicity of natures and essences of the Trinity, because multiplicity occurs only in the case of persons, names and properties, while essences and natures remain outside the scope of number, you are alien from the church. Thus, Theodore separated between Conon and Eugene, and both of them were deposed from the priesthood by the two archpriests, one at the village of 'Arbides, the other at the capital. In addition, by means of distributing gold, Polycarp, an adherent to their error, publicized the doctrine of the multiplicity of the divinities in the provinces of Asia and Caria.

Following the death of Theodosius (566 A.D.), Bishop Jacob entrusted John of Asia with the administration of the orthodox (non-Chalcedonians) in the capital. For this reason, Conon and Eugene envied him. They fabricated against him evil things and sent them to the East, but their falsehood was later exposed and the Lord hurled back their evil against them. They deleted the name of Jacob, who had ordained them bishops from the diptychs¹³⁸⁷ saying, "He has gone astray and lost his faculties." Finally, they had the temerity to depose him along with his companions at a time when they themselves were excommunicated and deposed. When the Tritheists sensed that everyone was displeased with them, they approached the emperor asking him to try their opponents who accused them, saying that Severus, Theodosius, and other prominent churchmen confessed the multiplicity of natures, essences and divinities. The emperor and the patriarch of the city of the sun forbade their names to be mentioned. They decreed that absolutely no name of the Fathers who were accepted by the church that held two natures should be mentioned. Only the names of Severus and Theodosius would be mentioned, which the church did.

In the years 881 of the Greeks/570 A.D., the Chalcedonian patriarch invited the *diacrinomie* (those who have been separated), the Orthodox (non-Chalcedonians), to a meeting, and crowds of them attended. The Chalcedonians showered us with reproach and mockery. Indeed, their patriarch Yuhanon (John) and bishops condemned us. After protracted deliberation, our group presented a defense concerning the faith. They triumphed and the followers of Conon were embarrassed. On another day, a second meeting convened. Our people refused to debate unless testimonies from all the fathers were presented. However, if they (Chalcedonians) presented only the testimonies of Severus and Theodosius, they would respond to them. The opponents presented the documents of Conon which contained testimonies from Severus, Theodosius and the 318 bishops (members of the Council of Nicaea) stating, "Light of Light, Very God of very God," and "The Lord sent fire from the presence of the Lord," and "The Lord says to my Lord: Sit at my right hand."¹³⁸⁸ At the end, they anathematized anyone who confessed three deities, but overlooked what concerns essences and natures. On the third day, crowds also met. They asked John of Asia and Paul if the entire Trinity was incarnated. They responded with reservation. Then the documents of their (the Chalcedonians) teacher Theodore (of Mopsuestia) were presented. They continued that, "The divinity of the Son is not that of the Father." They were followed by the recital of the proclamation of Theodosius anathematizing this statement. With this, the meeting ended. On the fourth day, they (Chalcedonians) produced a document containing injustice to Severus and Theodosius. It contained the claim that they

¹³⁸⁷ Diptychs are the tablet, which contains the name of the Fathers of the church. They were read at a point in the celebration of the Eucharist.

¹³⁸⁸ Psalm 110:1.

confess multiplicity of essences and natures. Our party, however, presented testimonies from the fathers. As they recited these testimonies, they reached the place where Paul had written, "Is it because there is no God in Israel that you are going off to consult Baal-Zebub, the god of Ekron?"¹³⁸⁹ The patriarch of the Chalcedonians believed that this statement was about him. He stopped the reader and ordered that they should not meet again, and the meeting was suspended. However, the bishops of the council (Chalcedonians) supported (the non-Chalcedonians) with the intention of winning them to their side, thus this heresy was extinguished.

John the Stylite said, "When these Tritheists studied the writings of the fathers and found in them that when each of the persons of the Holy Trinity appeared individually in a distinct manner, then it is logically confessed as God, nature and substance. Sometimes they say that (the persons of the Trinity) are a kind of God, nature or substance. Nevertheless, they believed and insisted that they are three Gods, three substances and three natures. They maintained that what is added is considered a kind of essence, that is a nature which indicates a specific nature and a specific essence, as the profane philosophers establish. Therefore, three natures and three substances should be recognized. In addition, whenever the terms substance and nature are found without addition, it could be said that it is a universal substance and a universal nature. This indicates an allusion to mental hallucination and to an impractical name, which could only be applied to the three persons of the Trinity in a generic sense as it is applied to all people. The reason is that it is predicated on the *qnume* (hypostasis, persons, and substances) and not on something personal. In this manner, they (the Tritheists) determined the divine substance and considered it a mere empty name. Such an idea was declared foolish by the fathers, who considered the divine substance of the persons of the Trinity real and practical. The Tritheists, however, considered the persons of the Trinity as three Gods, three natures and three substances in a pagan, not Christian, perspective. They added, for the sake of deception, the equality of genus and nature, and not of different genera or natures as maintained by Arius and Eunomius.

In this period appeared in Edessa a young man named Zakai, who was a teacher of children, and two presbyters, John and Zeno, who audaciously set up Zakai as bishop. In turn, Zakai ordained them bishops. Pretending to be zealous for the faith, they proclaimed that it was necessary to rebaptize and reordain those who rejected the Council of Chalcedon. However, they were rebuked by the Orthodox (non-Chalcedonians). The bishop of Dara divested Zakai, leader of this heresy, from the Episcopal habit, and then ordained him a sub-deacon.

In this period too, appeared the heresy of the *Catacephalites* (those who bow down their heads). A certain Egyptian appeared in the capital. He told his host if someone bowed down his head three hours a day and three hours at night for twenty days, he would be purified from evil. He would stand above lust and become impervious to it. Even if he indulged in eating, fornication, or satisfied the desires of his heart, his sensual desire would be spiritual and no sin would be counted against him. Thus, the Egyptian led many to error since he ate, drank and fornicated, saying, "The anti-Christ is coming soon, so let us eat and drink before gold is cast away like dross." With this pretext, he satisfied his lusts. He even ordered two or three to suspend their heads after dinner and have the rest stand in one row to pray for them in order that their mystery would be fulfilled without pain. Those who suspended their heads, motivated by demons, testified that they had attained a stage free from pain and that their souls had become purified. People crowded to this (Egyptian) and offered him what they possessed of gold. He selected from them messengers and sent them to deceive people. When the late Empress Theodora, still living at the time, heard of his case, she had him arrested and cast into prison. He confessed his error and was expelled from the city; he was not received in any other place. *End of this historical account.*

¹³⁸⁹ 2 Kings 1:3.

Chapter Thirty-One: On the time of Justinianus II (Justinian I) and the activity of the Phantasiasts¹³⁹⁰

In the year 28 of Justinianus II (Justinian I), the Jews and the Samaritans rebelled once more in Caesarea of Palestine, in the name of the Persians and the Nabateans. They killed the Christians, destroyed the churches and desecrated the mysteries. The king (emperor) dispatched an army force commanded by Amantius who captured a great number of rebels, crucified them, tortured them and set them on fire.

In this year, a violent earthquake took place in several regions including the capital. It occurred at the third hour during the recital of the Gospel in the Great Church. The reader of the Gospel fell down dead and the church collapsed. It was difficult to clean up what remained of it because a great portion of the ceiling fell in one side and became like a mound. Men could not climb to its top or pass beneath it. After a while, another earthquake took place and the beautiful dome collapsed, destroying the pillars, burying the altar and the balconies. In addition, half the city of Cyzicus and many other towns were destroyed. By order of the emperor, whatever remained of it was preserved after exerting incalculable efforts. It was then rebuilt; its location was raised about twenty feet in some parts and thirty feet in others. Immense amounts of money were expended in rebuilding it, and it became very stable. It became so secure that, according to my own opinion, no other building in the world matched its stability.

In the time of Justinian, there was in the city of Ba'lbak in Phoenicia between Lebanon and Sanir, a huge temple of idols believed to be one of the colossal temples built by Solomon. It was 150 cubits long and 75 cubits wide. It was built from huge chiseled stones, each 20 cubits long and 10 cubits wide in the foundation. Its columns and ceiling were made of the cedar of Lebanon. On top, it was overlaid with lead. Its gates were brass. In addition, brass heads of rams were fixed on top. Under each wooden plank of the ceiling, three cubits of wood protruded. It contained many other things, which were a kind of miracle. Because the pagans were dazzled by its magnitude and offered sacrifices to the demons, no one dared to demolish it. However, God dropped fire from heaven that consumed it and the pagans were ashamed. Indeed, the fire consumed all the wood, brass, lead and all the idols in it. Nothing was left except some stones, which, because of the fire, were eroded. Sorrow overwhelmed the pagans who lamented that paganism had been wiped out from the face of the earth.

In this period, controversy took place among the Orthodox (non-Chalcedonians) concerning those Chalcedonians who returned to orthodoxy. They were split into two groups: one said that the ordination of the partisans of the council (of Chalcedon) should not be accepted at all, others said that it is not appropriate to reordain them. This issue was seriously debated by those in charge of the church who said, "We do not accept the ordination of the Council (of Chalcedon), and will not ordain anyone who has accepted it because the 630 who assembled (at Chalcedon) were already bishops before the council had met, and did not accept the ordination from it. However, because of their inclination toward the council, they have alienated themselves from the priesthood, fell from the dignity of the orthodox archpriesthood, and are anathematized along with those who have abandoned the council. But, when some of them think of this defiance and deviation from the truth, and then revert to the truth once more to censure their transgression of the law, and have the orthodox pray over them, and refuse to accept the priesthood from the council, then they become worthy of accepting the dignity of the true priesthood from which they have fallen and join the true orthodox ranks of the priesthood. For the priesthood is a heavenly gift which was given to the holy apostles, and by them was given to others until it reached us, and will forever remain so. This dignity of the priesthood is exactly the same that we received and will receive. Therefore, we should admit those who transgressed the law and abandoned heresy."

As this resolution became a teaching, it was delivered from the capital to the Easterners through the blessed Jacob (Baradaeus) and Theodore. However, many opposed them, and the controversy remained between the two groups until the issue became clear to them by the exchange of ideas. It was only then that they accepted the discipline, and learned that the baptism and priesthood of the Synodites (Chalcedonians)

¹³⁹⁰ This chapter is not numbered in the Syriac text.

was not accepted. At the same time, their rebaptism should not be permitted, a matter which allowed the aforementioned heresies to appear. In addition, priesthood should not be granted to the Chalcedonians with the exception of the unlearned and the common people, especially those who are opposed by the public. This procedure, however, did not cover those who harbored malice and those whose souls were afflicted with satanic disorder.

The Orthodox resolution concerning those who return from the heresy of the “two natures” (Chalcedonians), be they bishops, presbyters or deacons, is that they should spend a period of two years in penance. At the end of the period, the bishop shall pray for them and confirm their priesthood.

In the council of Pope Theodosius was a presbyter named Julian. He was zealous toward the people who lived in the upper-northern part of Thebaid in Egypt. He levied taxes from the Romans in exchange for not taking them captive. Because he was concerned about these people, he appealed to the Empress Theodora, of good memory, who was concerned about establishing the faith, to ask the emperor to send him (Julian) to help these people. However, the emperor wanted to dispatch a Chalcedonian bishop. Immediately, he delivered a message to the prefect of Thebaid to send one of his bishops. When the empress learned of this matter, she sent a message to the prefect saying, “I have agreed with the emperor to dispatch a person, Julian, to Thebaid. I wish you let him enter first.” For this reason, the prefect had the envoys of the emperor delay until Julian arrived and then returned. When the emperor’s messenger learned of this matter, he rented his garments and entered (Thebaid). When Julian appeared before the king of Thebaid, he was delighted with him and the message of the empress was read. The emperor’s messenger and all the people believed and were baptized. Julian explained to them the controversy of Chalcedon. When the emperor’s envoys arrived, they told the people “Don’t follow those who were driven away (non-Chalcedonians).” They said, “We honor the emperor and send you our respect. But, we will not accept his corrupt faith. Now, if we are considered worthy to be Christians, we will follow Theodosius, who has abandoned his see to protect the true faith. God forbid that we shall fall into the trap of a corrupt faith after we have been freed from paganism.” In this manner, they dismissed the emperor’s envoys.

Julian remained (in Thebaid) about two years preaching from the third hour to the tenth hour. He was naked wearing only a loincloth. He stood up to the neck in ponds of water baptizing the king and all the people. He entrusted the affairs of the people to a bishop whom he had brought along from Thebaid. Then, he returned to the capital where he passed away.

While Theodosius was dying, he appointed Longina as a bishop for the people (of Thebaid), but the emperor would not let him go to them. Three years later, Longina managed to escape and joined these people. He built churches for them, taught them the rituals and the holy Christian mysteries. After spending six years there, the faithful appealed to him to come and set up a pope for Alexandria. He left and arrived at Maryut (in Egypt) whose congregation was subject to the See of Alexandria and holding the orthodox faith.

In the year 860 of the Greeks (550 A.D.), a bishop named Procopius joined the partisans of Julian, the Phantasiast, in Ephesus. When some believing people censured him, he repented, but he returned to his vomit once more. In his very old age, his congregation asked him to set up a bishop to replace him. Although he was in error, he still adhered to the canons. He said, “The canons do not permit me to ordain a bishop on my own.” When he died, seven priests summoned the monk Eutropius who stretched himself over Procopius’ body. The priests raised Procopius’ hand, placed it on Eutropius’ head and recited the prayers for the ordination of a bishop. Thus, they ordained Eutropius a bishop against the canons. Filling the cup of his iniquity even more, the wicked Eutropius ordained ten bishops and dispatched them to all quarters to defend the error of Phantiasism. One of them, Sergius, who was a solitary, had his hair tonsured, becoming like an empty vessel, and went to Hirat al-Nu’man (in present-day Iraq) and the land of the Himyarites (of Najran in south-west the Arabian Peninsula). He caused a lot of damage to these regions by ordaining priests. Having spent thirteen years in the land of the Himyarites, he set up a bishop named Musa to replace him. Eutropius died in that land. Others went to remote countries and led many to error. They publicized false rumors about the holy Severus (patriarch of Antioch) claiming that he said, “The body of the Lord was decomposed and corrupt in the grave. It had a stench and was eaten by worms.” However,

the majority knew that, in his writings, the holy Severus censured such ideas and condemned those who held or even thought that the Lord's body was subject to corruption or decomposed in the grave. He also renounced anyone who denied the incarnation of the Lord's body or maintained that in the incarnation, the Lord made his body impassible and immortal while he was still in the womb (of Mary) as taught by Julian (the Phantasiast). In fact, Severus had already written against Julian in this context. Now, if from the womb the body of our Lord was impassible and immortal, he who suffered passion and death came down from heaven, became incarnate as the apostle says, "He was like us in everything except sin,"¹³⁹¹ then the passion and death which took place later was a phantasy and not real, as Mani perceived. This is what we wish to proclaim to those who fell into the error of Phantiasism, and received from the Phantasiasts baptism and ordination, in order not to partake in the priestly baptismal rituals. For by the nature of the case, they have become dead in the error of heresy.

It was then that the Phantasiasts and the Gnostics were allied in Alexandria, and through a bishop, set up for them an unlawful patriarch. In turn, this bishop set up several bishops and sent them to all the regions of Egypt, Ethiopia and other remote places, to ensnare the people into the net of their heresy. Then, they became divided into groups. Some of them followed a certain Ammonius, who said that the body of the Lord was not created, not limited and also incomprehensible. He dwelt in the womb of the Virgin because she was likewise uncreated, unlimited and incomprehensible. While he was in her womb, he was simultaneously in the wombs of all women in an ineffable and incomprehensible manner. As the body (of the Lord) was in the womb, it was at the same time in heaven. When he was hung on the cross, he was likewise in heaven. Ammonius produced this and much more empty talk with similar and endless anecdotes.

Two of their (Phantasiasts) bishops were imprisoned in Nisibin. A delegate of the Roman emperor interceded on their behalf to Chosroes, who released them after seven years. One of them, called Yusuf (Joseph), who was released, went to a solitary place and thanked God who has rescued him. The other, named Dada, immensely captivated by the error of Julian the Phantasiast, was like a beast released from its tethers. He immediately proceeded to the north and reached Arzen and Armenia. He asked the bishops to condemn Severus (of Antioch) with the pretext that he was trying to ascribe corruption to the body of the Lord. The bishops became immensely annoyed with him and addressed letters to the Patriarch Theodosius in the capital inquiring about the veracity of Dada's claim. However, the arrival of the letters delayed, and Dada caused havoc to those regions. He attracted to his error seventy bishops. The letters did finally arrive, but after the death of Pope Theodosius. However, they became a subject of doubt and dissension, and yielded no benefit. *Here ends the account of the error of the accursed Julian.*

Chapter Thirty-Two: Concerning the scourge which afflicted Amid in the time of Justinianus (Justinian I), and other matters¹³⁹²

After many calamities afflicted the city of Amid in Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia), and after forty years of persecution by the heretics, after its wealth was pillaged and priests perished, it was further afflicted by famine for eight years. Then God had mercy on her and the famine ended. The fields began to grow abundantly.

In the year 871 of the Greeks (560 A.D.), Amid was tormented by a violent scourge of rage, dementia and madness. False rumors arrived stating that the Persian king had entered the city. The inhabitants left the city and wandered aimlessly in different directions saying, "The Persians have seized Amid, move out of this place." However, when they realized that it was a temptation by the demons, they began to bark like dogs, bleat like sheep, and crow like cocks and behave like different kinds of animals. Their young men and women held each other and rushed to the graveyards, biting each other and uttering obscene words. They climbed walls, suspended their heads downward and cried like children. They did not

¹³⁹¹ Hebrews 4:15.

¹³⁹² This Chapter is not numbered in the text.

even know where their homes were. When those who were still sober were taken to the churches, they foamed with rage and became contentious saying, "We are many thousands. If it were not for St. Thomas to stop us, and the apostles and martyrs who are in this city to prevent us from destroying it, we would have killed and pillaged the entire city." When some of them prostrated in prayer, others jumped over them three or four at a time. Many people stopped going to church lest they hear obscene words. Such madness lasted for one year.

In Edessa and Tella, such abandonment from God took place. The people were encouraged by demons to the extent that they excited them and had them defile each other inside the churches. They were prevented from receiving some kind of food, and were only given dry crusts and water. After the period of their temptation was over and they regained sobriety, they dressed in mourning to atone for what had happened to them. Crowds of them went to Jerusalem. Thus, the city of Amid was chastised by the rod of death. More than thirty thousand of its inhabitants died and it became desolate. *End of the narrative.*

Chapter Thirty-Three: Concerning the last days of Justinianus (Justinian I); the edifices he constructed; the relics of martyrs discovered in his time; and the remnant of the heretics who emerged at this time¹³⁹³

In his 29th year, Justinianus (Justinian I) constructed a royal mausoleum inside the Church of the Apostles. He also built the church in which the kings who descended from Constantine was buried. While men were digging a place for the altar in order to extend the church, they found in the foundation three lead coffins next to each other. On one of them was inscribed Andrew, on the other Luke and on the third, Timothy. Joy overwhelmed the city because the bodies were intact and a cross was laid on each one of them. The people realized that the church was named after the apostles because of these coffins. They left the bodies in the same place with great honor.

A right hand of a man from Sebastea in Samaria was sent (to the capital) as if it belonged to John the Baptist. However, it aroused the doubt of many people because its sender was Morinus of Harran, an antagonist pagan in word and deed. Despite all this, however, the hand was received with deference by the emperor and the entire city. They received blessing from it, and it was placed in a golden coffin.

Emperor Justinian (I) built many churches and monasteries, as testified by John of Amid who said, "We have seen them with our own eyes. We spent together thirty years from young age to old age. Justinian never relaxed in building churches, monasteries, and hospices for strangers. Through me, he built ninety-six churches, twelve monasteries and four bimaristans (hospitals) in the four countries of Asia, Caria, Phrygia and Lydia. He donated books and silver vessels for service." In his time, seven thousand people were converted and baptized. Many thousands more were converted and baptized in Ephesus, Magnesia, Nyssa, and Tralles by effort of John of Amid, known as John of Asia (John of Ephesus), because he later baptized in Asia 23,000 souls.

In the year 35 of Justinian, paganism and books of magic multiplied in the capital. Five pagan priests were arrested, one from Athens, two from Antioch and two from Ba'lbac. Their idols and books were gathered and burned. In Asia, John set to fire about two thousand books.

In the year 857 of the Greeks (546 A.D.), confusion took place regarding the beginning of the fast (Lent). Some observed it after one week, others after two weeks. In the capital, people began the fast after one week. However, when the emperor and the leaders were sure that the fast began after two weeks, the emperor ordered the butchers to sell their meat. When they refused, he ordered the sheep and oxen slaughtered. The inhabitants of the city (Constantinople), except the glutton among them, looked at the meat as if it were the meat of dead animals. Others threw dirt and lime on it. It began to reek and was never sold. Meanwhile, the emperor ordered the butchers to continue slaughtering animals, which he paid for from the public treasury.

¹³⁹³ This Chapter is not numbered in the Syriac text.

In the year 39 of Justinian, a strange meteor like a fiery lance was seen for the period of three months. It was also seen the second time at the death of the emperor.

In the 27th year of Justinian, Mundhir Shaiqo¹³⁹⁴ went up to the territory of the Romans and laid waste to many countries. Harith Bar (son of) Jabala¹³⁹⁵ overtook him, made war upon him and defeated him in the Ayn Udiyyin in the region of Qinnasrin. Jabala Bar Harith was killed in this war, and his father buried him in the Martyrium (House of the Martyrs) in the town.

After these things, the armies of the Huns and the Saqaliba (Slavs) came and encamped about the royal city. They broke down the outer wall, and plundered and burned all the colonnades. They took captive everyone they found there and then departed. They came again a second time after that, and a third time. When the Romans gained strength, they destroyed them in war. Only few of them managed to escape and could not be seen anywhere. The country heaved a sigh of relief.

In the province of Phrygia there was a village called Phaphura. It had a bishop and clergy of the followers of Montanus, which they called Jerusalem. They transgressed against the Christians and killed them. John of Asia went and burned their assembly by fire by the emperor's order. In the house, a big marble urn sealed with lead and tied by iron hooks was found. It was inscribed with following, "This urn belongs to Montanus and his two wives." When it was opened, Montanus and his two wives, Maxmilla and Priscilla, were found with bowls of gold placed upon their mouths. Montanus' followers were ashamed when they saw the unclean bones of those whom they called spirits. They were told, "Don't you feel ashamed following such an unclean person? You also claim that he is a spirit while a spirit has no body or bones." When the bones were burned by fire, the Montanists wept and wailed saying, "The world will soon be turned upside down." Some of their books were also found and burned. The house was sanctified and converted into a church.¹³⁹⁶

In this period and in the time of Justinian, some related to the emperor the will of Montanus to his relatives, instructing them to bury him fifty cubits underground because fire would descend and consume the face of the earth. His partisans publicized, through demons, that his bones have the power to expel demons. They hired some men, offering them only food to eat, to bear witness that he had healed them. The emperor ordered the bishop of that district to dig out the bones of Montanus and his wives to burn them. The partisans of Montanus offered the bishop five hundred dinars, and took his bones and exchanged them with other bones. In the morning, the bishop burned the bones supposedly of Montanus and his associate Critos, while no one knew the secret. However, the archdeacon exposed the bishop and he was banished.

In a letter, Apollos the associate of Paul, mentioned that this Montanus was the son of Simon Magus. He fled Rome when his father, influenced by Peter, had perished. He went out to disturb the world. By the power of the spirit, Apollos sought him, and found him sitting and deceiving people. He rebuked him saying, "May the Lord rebuke you O enemy of God." Contentious, Montanus said, "What have I to do with you, O Apollos? If you are truly a prophet, so am I. And if you are an apostle, so am I. If you are a teacher, so am I." Apollos said, "May your mouth be shut off by the order of the Lord." Immediately, he became mute and could not speak any more. The people believed in the Lord, were baptized and overturned the chair of Montanus. He fled to a safe place.

¹³⁹⁴ Mundhir III ibn Ma' al-Sama' of al-Hira (505-554). He was nicknamed Shaiqo al-A'raj, the lame, by Arab chroniclers. See Philip Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 10th ed. (Macmillan, St. Martin's Press, 1970), 79.

¹³⁹⁵ He is al-Harith II of Ghassan, 529-569. See Hitti, *Ibid.* 79 and 83.

¹³⁹⁶ Montanus was a native of Ardabau, a village in Phrygia. In the latter half of the second century, he originated a schism, which lasted for hundreds of years. He claimed that supernatural revelations did not come to an end with the apostles but continued throughout many generations by the dispensation of the Paraclete (the Holy Spirit). He personally claimed to be the Paraclete. See Rev. George Salmon, "Montanus," in *A Dictionary of Christian Biography*, ed. William Smith and Henry Wace, III (London, 1881), 935-945.

Chapter Thirty-Four: On the Heresy of the Phantasiasts; and the inclination of Justinianus (Justinian I) towards it before his death¹³⁹⁷

During his entire life, Justinianus (Justinian I), strove and forced everyone to accept the Council of Chalcedon. He condemned the letter of Hiba (Ibas), bishop of Edessa, and could not believe that the Council of Chalcedon had accepted it.¹³⁹⁸ He was furious when Vigilius, bishop of Rome, informed him that the council had in fact endorsed it. Three times he said, "Anathema is the council which accepted Hiba's letter." Since then, he overlooked the Council of Chalcedon but did not incline himself seriously toward orthodoxy.¹³⁹⁹ A foolish bishop from the village of Iphon (Joppa) in Palestine associated himself to him and corrupted his mind with the heresy of the Phantasiasts. He inculcated to him that the body of our Lord is not passible or corruptible. Justinian addressed letters to the patriarchs and bishops everywhere, ordering them to accept his idea. Apollinaris of Alexandria and his bishops refused to accept his order and were banished. Likewise, the bishop of Jerusalem and Eutyches, bishop of the capital, refused the order. However, Anastasius of Antioch and his bishops, when they read the emperor's letter, were shaken and weakened. The emperor ordered, and a council of 195 bishops was convened by Anastasius in Antioch. When the proclamation of the emperor was read at the council, Leontius, bishop of Haisarta, and Abraham, bishop of Rasafa, said that if this proclamation were accepted, the church would perish. The reason was that it condemned those who said that the body of Christ is passible and corruptible without specifying the kind of corruption. Leontius was asked, "What kind of corruption is meant by the fathers concerning the body of Christ?" He said that corruption is of twelve kinds based on what he had read in the letter addressed by Daniel, abbot of the Monastery of Beth Salah to the monks of the Monastery of Mor Basus, which he found in compiled collection. Then, they (members of the council) brought the writings of the great Mor Severus against Julian (the Phantasiast), written in Greek and Syriac. However, when controversy arose amongst them, Anastasius and the bishops said, "We are ready to step down from our sees but will never follow the doctrine of Phantiasm. This is the most honored crown of righteousness and Christianity that is more exalted than all kings. It perfectly shows the path in the fear of God and the preservation of the orthodox faith as a truthful witness."

"The divine St. Paul, who fought the good fight, stretched his right hand to receive the prize and bowed his head down to accept the crown. By his speech, he compared others to himself and urged them to struggle in the fear of God. He wrote to Timothy, 'I have finished the race, I have kept the faith. Now there is in store for me the crown of righteousness, which the Lord the righteous judge, will award to me on that day—and not only to me, but also to all who have longed for his appearing.'"¹⁴⁰⁰

Anastasius and the bishops¹⁴⁰¹ went on saying, "This crown of righteousness is placed over the crown which is on your head. Therefore, fear God, for we have a great hope in what has happened. You have so far walked like a mighty man in the path of the commandments from heaven down to your head. You have annunciated the commandment by which you became emperor. You have brought together the scattered children of God and established peace between those who are far and near. You have preserved the traits of the faith intact based on apostolic examples."

"Here we say to you, lover of God, that the forthcoming crown excels every other crown, even this which exists. It will remain with you forever. The reward is for your consummate endeavor for the sake of the upright faith. By the grace of Christ, you lover of God, will be rewarded for your indefatigable effort especially now, you who believes more than anyone else in this church institution which has been given to us. As we assembled, we read your proclamation called *Edictum* in the Italian language. We noticed in it

¹³⁹⁷ This Chapter is not numbered in the Syriac text.

¹³⁹⁸ For this letter, see *The Second Synod of Ephesus*, translated by Rev. S. G. F. Perry (Dartford, England: The Orient Press, 1881), 111-119.

¹³⁹⁹ In his *Ecclesiastical History*, Book Four, Chapter 39, 422 of the English translation, Evagrius says that Justinian had departed from orthodoxy.

¹⁴⁰⁰ 2 Timothy 4:7-8.

¹⁴⁰¹ Addressing the proclamation of Justinian.

many things that condemn the ancient heresies. We also learned that you were accustomed, O lover of God, not to be satisfied with glancing at things if they sprout out of bitter and defiled origin, especially the heresies which have come to an end for some time. However, you follow them up by word lest something of them escape your attention and begin to grow up again in the appropriate time. We have also heard about different new matters against the known tradition. We also learned that the sheep of God graze, by the grace of Christ, with simplicity of heart and by your own endeavor meek as that of lambs, in pastures and with spiritual joy. They are given the water of comfort to drink but not the water of apostasy. We have learned, as you have informed us, O lover of God, that rapacious wolves have attacked the entire flock and not only a portion of it."

"The Lord Jesus took unto himself a soul and a body. However, these people (the Phantasiasts), who want to destroy the mystery of the divine Incarnation, insist on maliciously contradicting and contravening these significant issues. Indeed, the (Fathers) had established that while he (Jesus) was still in the womb of our Lady the Virgin and Mother of God Mary, he was of same hypostatic union. He was the only Son of God and his Word. He was one person of the Trinity equal in substance and nature. Whether they knew it or not, they (Phantasiasts) disturbed violently the characteristics of the divine soul and confused, whether the noble body (of Christ) was corruptible or incorruptible. These matters frighten us, and your behavior disturbs the believing people who are scared of the introduction of another doctrine, and the destruction the ancient one that we still possess. We say as many others do that now they aspire for baptism, while they formerly recoiled from it. Quite often, they said that knowledge is not actually knowledge. However, according to our marvelous dispensation and the aforementioned tradition, our Lord and God in whom are hidden the treasures of wisdom, knows how to judged words and distribute human energies with knowledge. However, as human beings, 'it is not for us to know the times or dates the Father has set by his own authority.'¹⁴⁰² For when we say that the body of the Lord is incorruptible, this does not mean that he is impassible or immortal, but that his body is not corrupted by sin. Corruption is of different kinds of which the corruption of sin is but one, as said, 'They are corrupt, their deeds are vile,'¹⁴⁰³ and the total dissolution, as it is said, 'But you, will go down to the pit of corruption.'¹⁴⁰⁴ In the light of these statements, it should not be said about the body of the Lord Jesus Christ that it is corruptible, for he did not commit sin and his body did not see corruption. Indeed, the Word precedes the body.¹⁴⁰⁵ He resurrected without corruption, and corruption did not touch him. We have shown that the corruptibility of sin occurs at conception. We should not ascribe corruption and dissolution to the body because it was without the Word. We should consider it impassible and immortal before receiving the Word, as he was without corruption after the resurrection. For in the resurrection, he (Christ) received impassibility and immortality. So if we attribute to him all this, where are then the blameless passions? Furthermore, what do the cross and death mean to us? Indeed, we would lose the faith if there were no death or resurrection. 'If Christ has not been raised, our preaching is useless and so is your faith.'¹⁴⁰⁶ 'But Christ has indeed been raised from the dead, the first fruits of those who have fallen asleep.'¹⁴⁰⁷ The body is susceptible to passions and death before the resurrection. It accepted corruption in order not to suppose that it is fiction or mere appearance. In effect, the natural passion is two folds, one is corruptible, and the other is an essential component. The corruptible submits to corruption; the essential component maintains its essence as it is said, 'In order that they may grow to ripe old age and become able to withstand passion.'¹⁴⁰⁸ After all, it is inevitable for the animate that the death of the body is constituted by the passion that is susceptible to corruption. If this is not so, then there would be no death, especially this, which is death, the separation of the soul from the

¹⁴⁰² Acts 1:7.

¹⁴⁰³ Psalm 14:1.

¹⁴⁰⁴ The author is probably referring to Psalm 55:23, which says, "But you, O God, will bring down the wicked into the pit of corruption."

¹⁴⁰⁵ Cf. 2 Corinthians 5:21.

¹⁴⁰⁶ 1 Corinthians 15:14.

¹⁴⁰⁷ 1 Corinthians 15:20.

¹⁴⁰⁸ Cf. Psalm 91:15-16.

body. In this context, the divine Apostle Paul describes passion as being death.¹⁴⁰⁹ Furthermore, when the council of the 318 (the Council of Nicaea) wanted to describe passion and death, it said, 'He (Christ) came down and was incarnate. He suffered and the third day he rose again,' with regard to the fact that the property of passion points to death. For this reason we believe that the fathers, who are clothed with God, added in several places the expression 'passible' to the term 'dying' because they looked at death as being more acceptable to corruption."

"Cyril says in his second book entitled *Treasure* that, 'Because he (Christ) took a body susceptible to corruption and death, and was subject to passion, it was necessary that he made passion associated with the body while he was enduring passion. Since he endured passion, we say, 'He was crucified, and died, and that he, specifically the Word, was not tormented by pain.'"

"The Great Athanasius said in the third treatise on the Trinity against the Arians, 'It is not possible for what is body to be without body. If Christ did not take a passible body and susceptible to death, then Mary from whom he took the body is dead. Therefore, passion, crying and moaning should be ascribed to his (Christ) body because they are properties of the body.' In consideration of what has been said, he is not susceptible to passions, death and corruption. If he is passible and susceptible to death, it is necessary to associate with him the term of 'corruption, which is exactly Phantasiasm. Here the naturally hidden truth disappears.'"

"As we prostrate before your meekness, we hope not to say anything without discernment. For we have learned from the Holy Scriptures and from the holy fathers to say concerning the Lord's body, that it is passible and mortal before the resurrection. After the resurrection, it is impassible and immortal because corruptibility and incorruptibility apply to every expression and it evenly divides the two periods of passion and death. This what St. Paul said about passion and death, 'But the one whom God raised from the dead did not see decay.'¹⁴¹⁰ It does not succumb to decay in the resurrection; the same is so concerning passibility and impassibility. St Paul says, 'So from now on we regard no one from a worldly point of view. Though we once regarded Christ in this way, we no longer do so.'¹⁴¹¹

"In his commentary on Second Corinthians, John of Constantinople (John Chrysostom) in the twelfth treatise says that, 'The expression of 'Christ in the body' means that he is passible by nature. How? Because he hungers, thirsts, felt tired and slept. If he was not in the body, he is free from all these things but not from the body. He might come with this body to judge mankind, but he will be impassible and immortal.'"

Remarks of the teachers of the Church against the Phantasiasts

In his letter to the Ephesians, Ignatius wrote, "One is the corporeal and the spiritual essence, created and uncreated, God in man. He was formerly impassible but then passible, our Lord Jesus Christ."

In his third treatise against Eunomius, Gregory of Nyssa distinguished times by deeds. He says, "The passions of the body were real and they ended with the end of the passion period. The body was sublimated by means of the immortality of God. Thus, it was transferred from corruption to incorruption."

Epiphanius, bishop of Cyprus asks, "Why did he (Christ) enter (the Upper Room) while the doors were shut? He did this in order to explain the possibility of combining, simultaneously, between the thick and the thin, the mortal and the immortal, the corruptible and the incorruptible."

These same opposite terms (corruptible and incorruptible) are encountered in frequent places, where some (writers) discuss "corruptible," as if it is intertwined with "incorruptible." However, the Doctors of the Church not only put the incorruptible opposite of the corruptible, but they also place the incorruptible opposite of passion and death, knowing their natural relationship. However, in this way, by removing the word corruptible, we lay ourselves not only open to contradiction, but also to all kinds of dangers. We shall concisely show it to Your Piety.

¹⁴⁰⁹ Hebrews 2:9.

¹⁴¹⁰ Acts 13:37.

¹⁴¹¹ 2 Corinthians 5:16.

In his homily 82, John of Constantinople (John Chrysostom), comments on the Gospel of Matthew 26:29, "I tell you, I will not drink of this fruit of the vine from now on until that day when I drink it anew with you in my father's kingdom," saying, "What is this anew? It is an expression of estrangement. (What Jesus meant is that), "Not only I have a body not subject to passions, but it is also immortal and incorruptible." Here John puts "subject to passions" opposite of "incorruptible and immortal."

In his letter to Secundus, the sage Cyril mentions the expression "capable of corruption." He says, "After the Resurrection, Christ's body was the same body in which he suffered passions. But it became free from all human properties and thus incapable of corruption."

In his treatise on *Lights*, Gregory the Theologian (Gregory of Nazianzus) adds his voice to the voices of these men and places the expression "incapable of corruption" in a counter position. He says, "Therefore, the things which were incapable of mixture have become mixed. Not only when God was born or when he assumed flesh, and not in time because he is outside time, and not by measure for he is unlimited, but by his birth from a Virgin. He endured humiliation that surpasses all honor. He suffered passion who (Christ) is not subject to passion, and as to corruptibility, he is immortal (meaning incorruptible)."

The same John of Constantinople says in his commentary on Psalm 46:5 (more correctly Psalm 47:5), "God has ascended amid shouts of joy," that, "If he had ascended to heaven before the cross when he was still enveloped in a noble and passible body, no one would have raised a doubt."

This is obviously the specific preoccupation of Athanasius, in his "Letter to Epictetus," concerning those who say that it is the deity of the Son which has suffered, and not the body. He puts forwards the contrary and rejects the fiction of the Phantasiasts when he says the following: "Those things did not happen in fiction as some thought; not at all! But our Savior made himself really man, and salvation for the entire man was the result of it. If the Word was only in fiction in the flesh, as they claim, and if "in fiction" means "in appearance," one must say like Mânî, the worst of the evildoers, that the resurrection and the redemption of humanity were a fictional story. However, our redemption is not fiction; it should not be attributed to the body alone, but to the entire man, to the soul and to the body. In reality, the redemption was "human," as a consequence of the same nature as that of Mary, according to the Holy Scriptures, and the body of our Savior was real; it was real because it was the same as ours. Mary, indeed, is our sister; because we all come from Adam."¹⁴¹²

(Addressing the emperor, the bishops continued saying), "O king, who has more faith than many others, contemplate with discerning these matters which have been said. Consider that reason determines the consequence as Athanasius says, 'Our redemption is not a phantasy, not only for the body but for the entire man. In truth, salvation is the salvation of the souls and the body.' He adds, 'It is the salvation of the soul and the same nature from Mary according to the Scriptures. Consequently, it is against Phantiasm, which he ascribed to the body. Indeed, the body of the Savior is real.' Here, we observe the abundance of grace and the veracity of the Spirit that examines the depths of God. He does not confine himself to expressions, as it is noticed many times, in order that the body of Christ is understood as a phantasy, but as real. For his body is like our own body."

Basil the Great, in his conversation with the people of Sozopolis about the spirit with the same grace, considers the passions naturally contrary to those who make them a phantasy. Here it is clear that, in his incarnation, the Lord accepted natural and not imaginary passions. It is possible to consider everything natural as real, but not everything real as natural.

The aforementioned views are supported by the holy Cyril in his commentary on the Gospel of John. In Book Eight he says, "It was necessary that nature should have revealed that he (Christ) became man from a woman, and this is not a delusion or a fancy." Cyril ascribes to him human things except sin, like fear, anxiety, and natural passions free from sin.

¹⁴¹² See portions of the letter of Athanasius to Epictetus in *The Syriac Chronicle of Zachariah of Mitylene*, 85-86.

Similarly, Proclus, (Phromos in the manuscript) bishop of the capital (Constantinople), supported the same idea. In his letter to the Armenians, he says, "Let them choose one out of two: either they deny the natural passions and go the way of Mani and then will be counted among the hypocrites, or accept the benefits of the Incarnation if they confess passions commensurate with nature."

Still addressing the emperor, the bishops continued saying, "And what we ourselves your servants are supposed to do. We do have plenty to say to the wise king (emperor), not that he might know but what is in his ability to know. As to you, you have already learned from God as its clear from your letter. Therefore, our saying that, 'by nature is not same as saying by grace'. You have indeed acted wisely by declaring publicly that nature is the foundation. However, the case is not the same when saying by grace. For it is necessary that reason should comprehend the expression of nature as Gregory the theologian (Gregory of Nazianzus) testifies about Christ that he is of the nature of God the Father. In this case, the father is the nature."

Ambrosius, bishop of Milan says in the fifth treatise on faith that, "The body is passible but the divinity is far from death. The passion of the body falls within the boundary of the natural law." Basilus follows this in his treatise on faith. He says, "Since the Lord accepted hunger, it was necessary that he had (taken) real food. He felt tired when the dampness in his body ceased to exist. When he tired, the arteries and veins expanded because of the fatigue of the road. The divine nature is not subject to tiredness, but the body accepted the symptoms that come from nature. He (Christ) sweats, because he allowed the symptoms of the nature of the body to appear."

An example is the evidence, Basil and his brother Gregory, bishop of Nyssa, presented in the fourth treatise on the Beatitudes. They said, "That one (Christ) shared everything except sin, namely the pangs of hunger but without sin. He did not drive away from him the temptation of passion, but accepted the vigor of the growth of nature through food, as he remained forty days without food. Later, he hungered." This means that when he willed, he allowed the body to do its own acts.

Let us now come to the expression: "The natural and the voluntary passion." The blessed Athanasius says in his treatise on faith against Apollinaris, "This is how death came about because the body accepted it by nature. However, the Word was sublimated by will, allowed the body to receive passion in a natural way on our behalf, and then resurrect by divine power."

Now if we leave these and other matters within us, we would have raised you above all the believers. In order that delusion would not take the place of reality under the term 'incorruptible,' we allow passion the property of delusion. For he (Christ) is holy and the creator of life; he is not susceptible to decay. We know that the body was united with the Word hypostatically in the womb (of Mary) without sin, and with the mediation of the rational soul. We also know him to be of passible and dying nature, because this is how he assumed the body, that he would suffer passion with what suits passion. The Word, who is not subject to passion, took what is ours and paid the debt of death on our behalf, and made us not guilty. He will, then, be liberated from his body without corruption.

John of Constantinople (Chrysostom) summarizes all that has been said in his commentary on (St. Paul's) letter to the Romans. He says, "Christ did not have a sinful body; he had a body like our sinful body with the same nature of our body, but without sin. Here we learn that the nature of the body is not evil. Jesus did not take another body instead of the first. This did not change his essence. It prepared him to fight anew. It left him established in the nature in order to win the crown of victory against sin. After victory, it raised him and made him unsusceptible to death."

"Following in the footsteps of our holy fathers, we have mentioned to your piety everything in a complete manner. They say, 'He is passible and mortal before the resurrection but impassible and immortal after the resurrection.' They (Phantasiasts) use possibility and death in the name of corruption and impassibility and immortality in the name of incorruption. If we would display their proofs, we fear that we might scratch your piety's ears. However, as we cite these honorable fathers for supplication, we appeal to you in the honor you possess from God, and beseech with tears your holy blessing to reproach those who created strange and unusual spurs for the church of God. We also beseech you to refute the false and

nonsensical remarks in order to restore the hearers to their senses and protect in peace and with perfect heart the wondrous faith. What will you say in this regard, will be a subject of pride for you like Hezekiah who said, 'Remember, O Lord, how I have walked before you faithfully and with wholehearted devotion and have done what is good in your eyes.'"¹⁴¹³

"May the Chief Shepherd grant you the crown of righteousness instead of his sheep. May you live a life of righteousness and the ranks of priests shout Amen and Amen for a Christian monarch who is more righteous than all the people."

It is said that when the Emperor (Justinian) received this memorandum, he became furious against the bishops and had them banished. Others say that he felt remorse and repented. He overlooked both heresies (Chalcedon and Phantasm) and became established in orthodoxy, but his life drew near and he died by God's order after having ruled thirty-eight years.

At the death of Justinian, someone who is known for piety saw in a vision a vast wilderness and in its midst a furnace of fire whose flames rose up to heaven. He was frightened and asked about what he had seen and was told that, "This furnace is a sea into which Justinian will be cast because he, out of ignorance, corrupted the faith. But he is rescued because of the generous works of charity he did for the poor, and for building churches."

Here ends Book Nine, which covered a period of 118 years. During this period, six kings ruled over the Romans and five kings over the Persians. It is the year 6703 from Adam and the year 567 of the Christian Calendar.

The following is added in the Garshuni translation of the British Museum Or. 4402.

It is requested from each father or brother in every age who may read this book, to be gracious in offering a word of prayer for the sinful writer who is immersed in the mires (of sin). Amen.

¹⁴¹³ 2 Kings 20:3.

BOOK TEN

WITH THE HELP OF OUR LORD GOD JESUS, WHO SAW IT COMMENDABLE TO BE NAMED IN HIS INCARNATION WITH THE LETTER YUD, THE TENTH LETTER (OF THE SYRIAC ALPHABET THAT IS YESHU), I BEGIN BOOK TEN WHICH COVERS THE PERIOD FROM THE YEAR 568 OF THE BIRTH OF THE SAVIOR FROM THE VIRGIN MARY, AND THE YEAR 6703 FROM ADAM, AND THE YEAR 878 ACCORDING TO THE GREEK COMPUTATION (567 A.D.)

1414

Chapter One:¹⁴¹⁵

Justinian died in the year 878 of the Greeks¹⁴¹⁶ and was succeeded by his nephew (his sister's son) Justin II(565-578), who assumed power with his wife Sophia in the month of Teshrin (October). Justin II was from Thrace. He suffered pain in his legs. He was distinguished by being strict, and thus, criminals disappeared and no disturbance took place in the country of the Romans.

In this period, Chosroes ruled the Persians. At the beginning, people enjoyed a real peace. According to the usual custom when they rose to power, kings exchanged gifts. In the second year of his reign, Justin II dispatched John the Patrician of Callinicus, with gifts to the Persian king in order to disseminate peace and achieve unity among the churches. Later, however, the Persians began to tighten their grip on the Armenians who were under their control in order to force them to worship fire like the Magus (adherent of Mazdaism). The Armenians rebelled against the Persians and appealed to the Romans for help. The Romans responded by sending help to the Armenians who triumphed over the Persians. Chosroes sent a message to Justin asking him to restore the Armenians to his rule. He said to him, "It is inappropriate to extend your hand to rebellious people against their king. If you will not hand the people to me, at least restore the region which is subject to the tribute." Justin replied, "I will not hand to you a Christian people who have run away from the worship of demons and sought asylum with me." Chosroes wrote the second time saying, "If you will not restore the people to me and do not hand back the region, at least pay the amount of money which your kings are accustomed to pay on behalf of the Armenians, that peace may continue between us." Justin replied with vehemence, "I demand from you the money which you have exacted at one time. He who seeks peace should pay the tribute. How dare you demand the northern region while we want Nisibin, which was under the Romans and was given to the Persians under conditions as it is recorded in the books?"

In the first year of Justin II, which is the year 878 of the Greeks (567 A.D. while it should be 565 in which Justin II took office) in the month of July, there appeared in the northern part a tremendous fire which rose up to the sky like an awful flame.

In the same year, there appeared in the sky several times a fiery meteor. The people said about this phenomenon that it looked like the sign of a blood. The emperor ordered an object like a huge mangonel (bullista) made of hard wood to be brought from Zmorni (Smyrna). Some people held fire with their hands artfully and went up and down the mangonel before the crowds who came to see this frightful spectacle. On that night, fire kindled in the north and in the east of the sky. Finally, that game ended. On the next day, the people congregated and many suffered horrible death because of that phenomenon. The ropes used to pull the stones were cut off because of their heavy weight that rolled downward, and their bones were splashed by their blood.

That same fire appeared in September and October, and its flames were more dreadful. On September 5, an earthquake took place and shook the earth as a tree. This phenomenon was repeated after a few days. Also in September, soot fell down from heaven as if it was from a fire that resembled the soot of

¹⁴¹⁴ The entire Chapters of Book Ten are not numbered in the Syriac text. The numbering is mine.

¹⁴¹⁵ (There is no title of this Chapter in the Edessa-Aleppo Syriac Codex).

¹⁴¹⁶ Justinian I died in 565.

reeds or burning paper. The length of this soot was about three fingers. The people filled a number of baskets from it and kept them in their homes. Many repented because of this phenomenon.

As to the emperor, when he was on his way to the bath, he departed the city from fear and went to the church of the Mother of God, known as "She of the Horn." In all the churches, supplications were offered with weeping and sighing. In addition, children, pupils and righteous women offered supplications. When supplication was offered on Friday morning at the Great Church, a great cross suddenly appeared at the third hour. It looked like a luminous cloud encircled by flaming fire. The emperor, the patriarch and the people shouted, "Lord have mercy". The people wept and sighed until the fire lifted. On the next day, the patriarch went into the presence of the emperor and said to him, "The cross has appeared to you in the sky as it did to Constantine. You should obtain a piece of the cross which is in Apamea in Syria." Immediately, the emperor commanded one of his generals to go to Apamea. After trying hard, and with the help of the bishop, he took the wood of the cross by force from the man with whom it was hidden and brought it to Antioch. It was sawn lengthwise, and one of the halves was sealed and kept in Antioch with the intention of sending it back to Apamea. The other half was sent to the capital (Constantinople). The emperor and the entire city went out to receive it on December 10. For ten days, they kept parading it through the churches for the people to be blessed by it. The emperor had a golden chest made in which the wood of the cross was placed and adorned with different jewels. He had it deposited in the great church of the city.

When Justin II (565-578) reigned, he wanted to achieve peace of the churches. In fact, he was concerned about this matter since the time of his uncle. When Pope Theodosius wanted to have an audience with him, the emperor ordered that he should present himself in his patriarchal vestments. He welcomed him and promised to work for peace and restore him to his see. However, the holy Theodosius passed away in that year. The emperor ordered a solemn funeral for him. He was eulogized by the monk Athanasius from the royal line. The emperor openly condemned the Council of Chalcedon and ordered the bishops who were under forcible residence in Antioch to be released.

When the news of the emperor's gracious treatment of Theodosius and his promise of peace and unity became public, well-known leaders and personalities came to the capital. The emperor summoned the bishops in Constantinople, and ordered both groups to search for the truth. He asked them to unite. Both groups spent about one year in the patriarchal residence discussing and listening, but the church found no peace because of sins. The Orthodox (non-Chalcedonians) appealed to the emperor to work for peace. He said, "We are quite ready to send a patrician to the East for the sake of the church's peace. Go in peace and meet with him when he arrives in the East." However, they went ahead of the patrician to the East awaiting his arrival.

Bishop Jacob (Baradaeus. d. 578) arrived in the capital and met with the monks who were there. He went secretly to meet with the Empress Sophia and urged her to work for the peace of the churches. The empress welcomed him with great honor. She summoned Yuhanon (John the Patrician) and commanded him in the presence of the Metropolitan (Jacob Baradaeus) to work for the peace of the churches. She wanted Jacob to present himself to the emperor in order to hear from him (about the peace), but Jacob refused to do so. The emperor wanted to send John of Asia with John the patrician, but John of Asia could not go because he was busy baptizing the heathens.

In this time, another schism took place. The reason was that Paul who was residing with Pope Theodosius received the laying of hands from Jacob (Baradaeus) and Eugene for the See of Antioch. Consequently, he coveted the See of Alexandria. The Alexandrians wanted Athanasius, grandson of the Empress Theodora to be their bishop), and Paul wrote to the Alexandrians vilifying Athanasius. Upon learning this matter, Athanasius began to search through the life story of Paul. Then, the Alexandrians wrote a memorandum filled with calumnies against Paul, and confirmed its veracity because he was a native of their city. Athanasius informed the emperor of the memorandum. Paul, however, bribed the Alexandrians from the money he inherited from Theodosius. When this yielded no benefit, he went to Harith ibn Jabala. Harith ordered that the name of Paul be proclaimed in the Orthodox churches. The Alexandrians not only

suspected Paul, but also the Metropolitan Jacob who ordained him without the consent of the rest of the dioceses.

Chapter Two: On the consequence of the visit of John the Patrician to the East

The Emperor Justin (II) dispatched John the Patrician to Chosroes (king of Persia), carrying instructions concerning the peace of the churches. When John arrived in Callinicus (al-Raqqa), he met with crowds of the persecuted (non-Chalcedonians) and extended to them the good news of the peace the emperor was ready to achieve. They informed him, with eyes filled with tears, of the persecution and the hardships they suffered from the Chalcedonians. The patrician told Bishop Jacob (Baradaeus), "When I return from Persia, we will meet in the city of Dara."

Jacob made an effort to gather the bishops, the archimandrites and monks. When the patrician returned, they met with him in Dara. While they were engaged in discussing peace, letters of the emperor addressed to John (the patrician) arrived urging him to achieve peace of the churches before he left. Therefore, John urged Jacob and those in his company to go ahead of him to Callinicus while he visited the governors of the emperor. Meanwhile, the emperor sent Eugene, bishop of Cilicia, and the monk-priest Abouy from the capital. Many groups of people arrived in Callinicus because the meeting was for the sake of peace.

Here, another quarrel took place. Some opposed Eugene asking him to anathematize everyone who used the term "essences." He said to them, "The time is inappropriate for this." They did not desist because for a long time they were criticizing him in secret, but now in public. As a result, a controversy occurred among the believers and they were divided into two groups: one group sided with Conon, Eugene, Bishop Tauna, Athanasius, Abouy and the monk Phocas; the other group sided with Jacob (Baradaeus), Theodore, bishop of Arabia, Paul and John of Asia, Stephen, Longinus, Elisha, and Ptolomaeus. The two groups exchanged vilifications. The partisans of Jacob accused the partisans of Conon with polytheism, while the partisans of Conon accused the partisans of Jacob with "Sabellianism."¹⁴¹⁷

When the patrician John arrived, he summoned Palladius, archimandrite of the Monastery of Mor Basus, Antiochus, bishop of Arabia, John of Qartmin and other known dignitaries and clergymen. He said to them gracefully, "Our emperor, the lover of peace, desires unity. I hope you would receive his desire with good intention. We know from books that the fathers were not alone who surrendered many things despite their eloquent, but have established the dispensation for peace for the wellbeing of the people. Indeed, even the apostles did this as it is written in the Scriptures. For example, evangelize Timothy first according to the Jewish custom that by the circumcision, and then introduced him to the New Testament. He did this because Judaism was still in control and Christianity had not yet spread, but when it spread, he decreed the annulment of the circumcision. As to Titus, he was a heathen (Greek) and did not object to circumcision. And when Paul saw that the glad tidings of Christ were spreading more, he wrote to the Galatians, "I Paul tell you that if you let yourself be circumcised, Christ will be of no value to you at all."¹⁴¹⁸ Therefore, he who circumcised Timothy out of fear of the Jews, himself proclaimed that circumcision was of no value to people. For the same reason, St. Cyril accepted John of Antioch, who was implicated in Nestorianism for merely confessing that Mary is the Mother of God. He addressed to him a letter of acceptance and received him into his communion. Cyril did this not by the power of eloquence but by condescension for the benefit of people. Therefore, it is impossible to achieve whatever you want to be accomplished in the churches while you are outside your sees. However, when God permits, especially that our victorious emperor has ordered to be executed, all of you will accept it and thus become part of the family. In time, other matters will be solved. But since I know the will of the emperor, that he will never endeavor for the peace of the churches while the controversy stands, I have indicated to you to accept whatever good will he has (offered), lest the peace of the churches vanishes if you insist on your position. Finally, you will be sorry and

¹⁴¹⁷ They were named after the heretic Sabellius, who taught that the three persons of the Holy Trinity are one and the same person and being.

¹⁴¹⁸ Galatians 5:2.

be forced to engage in other issues. Whatever we beseech you to accept today, you will later search for it and it will never be given you.

Having discussed these and other matters with the people and the archimandrites, the patrician John was asked to inform them of the emperor's plan. He sent them the emperor's proclamation carried by Zachariah, the archdeacon and chief of physicians. They said to him, "We only accept the document of the definition of the faith established by the 318 members of the Council of Nicaea and confirmed by the Councils of Constantinople and Ephesus. We do not accept any other definition. We believe in one God, etc. We confess two births of the Word: one is the birth from the Father before all the worlds, the second from Mary at the end of time. We confess the one true Word of God who did not change in the Godhead, and it is he who suffered in the body and made miracles by his divinity. He is not another or some other. He is not Christ who is something and God who is something else. He is one from two natures, divine and human. He is one *qnumo* (hypostasis) and one person, and he is not two *qnume* (hypostases) or two persons. He is not two Sons but one person of the Incarnated Word. We anathematize all heresies especially those of Arius, Eunomius, Macedonius, and Nestorius who was condemned by the Fathers Celestine (bishop of Rome) and Cyril (bishop of Alexandria). We also anathematize Theodoret (bishop of Cyrus) and the letter of Hiba (Ibas) and the writings of Theodore (of Mopsuestia) and all the hypocrites who follow them. We accept the blessed Patriarch Mor Severus and absolve him of the condemnation imposed upon him. We also absolve verbally the condemnations imposed upon the holy Cyril whether they are first or last.

The Memorandum of the Bishops

Upon reading the proclamation, the bishops presented a memorandum saying, "We are quite confident that your serenity is concerned about the unity of the churches, that your will is pure and Christ-loving, and that you give spiritual matters a paramount place. We have great hope that the Lord shares your intention and makes your glorious endeavor easier. We hope that all this movement is for the good of the faith to which is connected the salvation of souls. We also hope that you will accept what we write with understanding and patience, and that every procedure should be taken after investigation and deliberation. Before anything else, we inform you that the proclamation of your eminence is good, but two terms should be added to it. We say, 'One nature from two *qnume* (hypostases).' This means one *qnumo* (hypostasis) of the Incarnate God the Word. It should not be said two Sons, two *qnume* and two natures as recorded in the proclamation. For the Twelve Chapters (Twelve Anathemas) of Cyril condemn anyone who reasons opposite of what they contained exactly as the anathemas mention, and condemn persons on both sides. It is self-evident that the name of the holy Severus (of Antioch) should be listed in the Diptychs¹⁴¹⁹ and the decision against him and against Anthimus, Peter and Zu'ra should be annulled because it is unjust. Therefore, if there is no difficulty in adding these two items to the proclamation, we will then accept the *Henoticon* of Zeno, which contains the anathematization of anyone who generates another definition or instruction to the faith in any council, in any place or time. Otherwise, it contradicts the definition of the 318 Fathers (of the Council of Nicaea). If the name of Severus is listed in the Diptychs and the mentioned unfair decision is annulled, and joy prevailed, then the names of the entire bishops who were martyred in the persecution should be added to the Diptychs. If Anastasius accepts the unity, he will remain in his see. Otherwise, someone else should replace him."

This memorandum was prepared at the Monastery of Mor Zakai with the unanimous vote of those assembled to be delivered to the patrician John. However, some monks were agitated and demanded to read it saying, "If what has been written is right, we will accept it or else we will not." The bishops intimated that the memorandum should be read, but the monks began to clamor. One of them, named Cosmas, nicknamed Bar Hraniata (son of the other ones?) from the Monastery of Mor Cyrus of Callinicus, had the audacity to tear up the memorandum in the midst of the assembly, and trouble began. When the patrician John learned of the matter, he became furious. He crossed the Euphrates leaving the meal that had been

¹⁴¹⁹ The Diptychs are two lists of the names of the living and the dead fathers of the church read out at the Eucharist.

prepared for him. The whole thing was the work of Satan. The people were distressed because the unity of the churches had not been accomplished. Immediately, some notables went to see John. They beseeched him to accept another memorandum, which the bishops would write instead of the torn up one, and he agreed. Jacob, Theodore, Eugene, Abouy and Phocas went up to John saying, "The peace of the church should not be destroyed by a controversy stirred up by some insolent men who hate peace," and John was calmed down. They wrote another memorandum. When Jacob and those in his company went back and told the monks that another memorandum was written and handed to John, they said to Jacob, "If you do not condemn that memorandum and vow not to accept it, we will condemn you and will not have you as our bishop." Thus, Jacob was forced to condemn the memorandum. Furious, the patrician John returned to the emperor and informed him of what had happened. The emperor overlooked the memorandum and began to persecute the believers. Those persecuted congregated and cursed the patrician John. On the same day, Satan entered him while he was in the presence of the emperor, and he collapsed. He opened his mouth like a goat and died. Fear gripped those present.

When the emperor learned that the monks were behind the trouble, he became once more concerned about peace. He addressed a letter to Sargona, governor of Dara¹⁴²⁰ as follows:

"By order of our majesty, let Jacob (Baradaeus) and Theodore come unto us for matters connected with church. Make effort to have our command executed. We, God is a witness, desire the church to be one. Therefore, you should not be slow in this matter for the salvation of souls. We do not like to persecute these orthodox, or such a thing will happen in our time; we cherish reconciliation. It is because of our sins that some wicked mediators destroyed the peace. Expose the bad behavior of Paul "the Lisper." He plundered the possessions of Pope Theodosius of Alexandria, of blessed memory, and fled to Alexandria claiming he was a bishop. He was rejected, returned to Antioch and was also rejected. I wonder, who would accept that demon if whatever was said about him is correct. He is the anti-Christ. May God put him to shame. We order that his name should not be mentioned in the churches. We instruct that his name be removed from the Diptychs. We have cast into prison Stephen and Longinus who defended Paul. They have guaranteed to have him appear before us, but he did not. So, we arrested both of them lest the partisans of Paul might claim that they were imprisoned on account of the faith."

"This is what we have found necessary to inform you. God forbid that we should arrest anyone or throw him into prison because of faith. Make a great effort to send Jacob and Theodore to us. We have written to Stephen to pay their expenses." Sargona delivered copies of the letter to all quarters, and joy prevailed. Theodore went up to the emperor and was welcomed with great honor. Jacob, succumbed to the rebellion of the monks and did not go, a matter which displeased the emperor who became extremely wrathful.

Chapter Three: On the controversy which took place among the bishops of Syria and the confusion regarding the observation of Lent

In the year 881 of the Greeks (570 A.D.), which is the fourth year of Justin II¹⁴²¹ and the end of the nineteenth year according to the calendar of Eusebius, which is the year (5032), a controversy, took place concerning Lent, and the Easterners addressed a letter in this regard to John, patriarch of Constantinople. The feasts were determined according to the afore-mentioned calendar. Accordingly, Christmas and Epiphany were fixed, but other feasts were not yet fixed. Lent was supposed to begin in that year on February 23, while some observed it on February 16. Still others observed it on February 29. Finally, it was decided to celebrate the Passover by all people at the same time. The Jewish Passover was observed on April 6, at the end of the period of 16 in order that another period of 16 would begin on March 25. This year terminated with the end of the year 19 on Sunday April 5/6. Concerning us, the end came with the year 13. Now, if the Jews celebrated their Passover on Sunday, we will celebrate ours on the following Sunday,

¹⁴²⁰ The text is not clear about this letter to Sargona. However, from the context of the letter, it must have been addressed to Sargona.

¹⁴²¹ As Justin II came to the throne in the year 565, the fourth year of his reign should be 569.

because our Passover should be observed after that of the Jews. This is also because after the Jewish Passover, Christ, who is our Passover, was slaughtered. Thus, the Jews celebrated their Passover on April 5 and we celebrated it on April 6. Such confusion occurred in the year 976 of the Greeks (665 A.D.), when the difference between this and that was five years in the year 209 of the cycle 532. After 190 years, a similar confusion about the commencement of the fast occurred in the year 1166 of the Greeks, which is the year 399 of the cycle of 532 years.

In this period, a severe earthquake took place between Samosata and Edessa and all the inhabitants were its victims. In addition, severe calamities occurred.

In this period, Anastasius, Chalcedonian patriarch of Antioch, was removed and a Nazirite¹⁴²² named Gregorius was set up in his place. Gregorius was meek and humble, and took care of the sick and the strangers. He was also greatly concerned with solving the problems of the people. He welcomed pious monks and also welcomed us, the Orthodox, with love. He desired to live in peace with everyone.

As to Paul and Eugene, they were enemies insulting each other unashamedly. They never received communion from each other. They traveled through the regions of Conon preaching the idea of "essences." They attempted to collect testimonies from the books of the fathers to prove their sick doctrine.

As to Jacob (Baradaeus), he roamed through Syria moving from one place to the other for fear of the emperor. He performed ordinations in secret. When he learned from letters what the partisans of Eugene, who never quit quarreling, were publicizing, he twice addressed to them letters but they did not obey. Finally, he summoned the bishops of Syria and signed the anathematization of Conon, Eugene and everyone who used the term "essences" for the Trinity. He gave them three days to think the matter over. When the partisans of Conon and Eugene learned of this, they in turn wrote an anathema of Jacob and his partisans and sent it to the East. The bishops who were with Jacob were more numerous than those with Conon and Eugene. As they anathematized each other, the partisans of Conon and Eugene took advantage of the situation and appealed to the emperor to investigate the reasons for which they were condemned by Jacob. They said that Jacob, like Sabellius, maintained one *qnumo* (hypostasis) of the Trinity. The emperor sent them to the Patriarch John to look into their case. When they presented themselves before John for discussion, they started vilifying each other, and John could not make them reconcile. Thus, they left humiliated because John did not exonerate either side. The partisans of Jacob and Paul accused the partisans of Conon and Eugene of being "Tritheists."¹⁴²³ Meanwhile, the partisans of Conon and Eugene accused the partisans of Jacob of being "Sabellians."¹⁴²⁴ The emperor rejected all of them. When they beseeched him to work for peace, he said, "How do you want me to endeavor for your peace while you are divided because of peace?" For this reason, the emperor oppressed us and persecuted us even more.

Finally, the partisans of Conon and Eugene repented saying, "The cause of the problem is the term "substances." What we ask for is to remove from us the anathematizations." Jacob and his partisans said, "If the anathematizations are lifted, the opportunity will become even greater for many to believe about the Trinity what they wish." Thus, controversy continued between the two sides. However, when the emperor saw that Paul, Stephen, John of Asia, Ptolomaeus, Longina and Elisha contended with Eugene, Conon and Theonas, and learned that the cause of the controversy was the love of occupying a patriarchal see and human pride, he became furious against them. He forced some of them, and promised others to work for the peace of the church through the effort of Patriarch John. He also obliged them to accept his proclamation and the Council of Chalcedon. They took communion at the Great Church in the presence of the congregation. He also wrote to all the cities to disdain the Orthodox.

¹⁴²² A Nazirite is a person consecrated to God by vow not to drink wine or cut his hair.

¹⁴²³ The Tritheists maintain that the persons of the Trinity are three distinct deities with distinct substances.

¹⁴²⁴ The Sabellians maintained that Father, Son and Holy Spirit are one and the same being, in the sense that three names are attached to one substance. See Henry Bettenson, *Documents of the Christian Church*, second edition Oxford University Press, First United States reprint 1981), 38.

At the beginning of the third part of his history, John of Asia, like the groaning and lamentation of Jeremiah over Jerusalem, lamented the church of God and the calamities that afflicted the believers.¹⁴²⁵

In the sixth year of Justin II, the Orthodox enjoyed peace for forty years. They assembled in the capital with great freedom. John of Sirmin, motivated by wickedness, stirred up the wrath of the emperor against them. He banned their assembling, destroyed their altars and cast the clergy and the chief priests into prison. Thus, a violent storm blew up against the ship of the holy and peaceful Orthodox Church. It was like the vapor of dense and dark clouds that rained hailstones. Some of them were imprisoned with murderers, some in the praetorium (the court's floor), some in the diaconates,¹⁴²⁶ some in the basements of hospices, some in prisons in exile, and still some in the houses that belonged to the churches. Many of them managed to escape and were scattered everywhere. Worse still, the persecutors reordained the chief priests (of the Orthodox or non-Chalcedonians), and demanded from them to submit their confession of faith. The tongue is incapable of describing what the Orthodox endured in the prisons. More harsh than this treatment, was that the Chalcedonians allowed no acquaintance of the bishops to visit them or even talk to them. The food provided them was barely enough to mitigate their hunger. The persecutors particularly tightened the grip against the prisoners in the monasteries, if they could be called monasteries. They eyed them with hatred and sprinkled them with the water of washed dishes. They were given vinegar instead of wine, or what was thought to be wine. They gave them to drink murky water soiled with mud with the intention of shortening their lives.¹⁴²⁷

Presbyter Stephen, an old man inflamed with divine zeal, was imprisoned. He publicly condemned the Chalcedonians, and they delivered him to the prefect. He told the prefect, "You, wicked hypocrite, and those who delivered me to you. Why do you pretend to be a Christian like those who sent me to you, but like a heathen, you condemn the Christians? You are not one of the living beings if you do not hasten to roast me, I the Christian old man, and eat me." The prefect became frightened and sent him to the bishop, who in turn, cast him into prison in Heraclea of Thrace, where he remained for two years. They never allowed any of his acquaintances to visit him, neither was he given a tunic to change his clothes. He was tormented by lice and fell sick, close to death. He warned not to be buried by the Synodites (Chalcedonians) and none of them to pray over him. However, God made ready some Orthodox Romans who buried him. *Here the manuscript is defective and there is a lacuna.*¹⁴²⁸

The storm of persecution extended to the monasteries and convents of men and women. Like wolves, the Chalcedonians attacked the convents and tore up the ewes of Christ. They offered them their Sacraments, but they fled from their presence like sparrows. Some of them were caught and communion was placed in their mouths by force. Some fell down with their faces to the ground crying and condemning anyone who tried to have them take communion by force. Some were handed over to the Roman soldiers to do with them what we prefer not to mention.¹⁴²⁹ *End of the account.*

Chapter Four: On the edict of Emperor Justin II, and the persecution of the believers by the heretics, and the affliction of the Orthodox in the capital

After the Orthodox enjoyed peace and tranquility for forty years in the capital as we said earlier, the storm of wrath was raged against them. The instigator of this evil was John of Sirmin, who was set up a patriarch for the Synodites (Chalcedonians) in the capital. When John saw that the emperor was diligently seeking peace and thinking of sending a delegation to Rome for this purpose, and that Paul, former

¹⁴²⁵ See *Part Three of the Ecclesiastical History of the holy Mor Yuhanon (John), Bishop of the City of Ephesus* (Oxford, 1853), Book One, Chapter Four pp. 3-5. The Syriac text was discovered and published by the Syriac scholar William Cureton, and the English translation of the same by R. Payne Smith under the title *The Third Part of the Ecclesiastical History of John Bishop of Ephesus* (Oxford at the University Press, 1860), 2-3. In many instances, Smith does not give a verbatim translation but a summary of events. This source shall be cited throughout as John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, and English.

¹⁴²⁶ Diaconates were a kind of hospice run by pious women for the care of the poor and afflicted people. See below p. 560

¹⁴²⁷ See John of Ephesus, Part III Syriac, 3-5, English, 3-4.

¹⁴²⁸ John of Ephesus, Part III Syriac, 6-7, English, 5-6.

¹⁴²⁹ John of Ephesus, Part III Syriac, 9-10, English 8-10.

patriarch of Antioch, John of Asia, Theodore, Longinus, Stephen, Elisha and Ptolomaeus, were ready to depart, he became furious because the emperor did not entrust him or his partisans with this task. He summoned his supporters and went to see the emperor. They told him, "If the Pope of Rome does not agree with the delegates you have dispatched, they will depose him and set up someone else in his place. This what Alexandria will confirm because the Patrician Narses is of their idea." The emperor believed this deception and stopped sending the delegation. In fact, he was inclined to persecute them. When they refused to submit, he was furious and handed them over to their enemy John of Sirmin. John went about visiting the churches and the monasteries. He also urged the emperor to do the same and to force the congregations to draw them into the abyss. This bishop (John of Sirmin) was possessed by the spirit of malice and controversy, which distorted his vision so that he could not see straight anymore. A great number of our clergy (non-Chalcedonians) submitted to him and served many times, each one in his own rank. Then, he contrived another terrible stratagem. He began to behave like an impetuous, reckless and arrogant young man drunk with his priestly authority. He ordered those who agreed with him to be reordained as priests. Thus, he declared their priesthood invalid although they had served with him and before him as priests thirty-six times since their first ordination. He also wrote to other quarters to do the same, lest he be blamed alone for this action.¹⁴³⁰

In those days, a vision appeared to a righteous man. He saw a huge mountain and on its southern part stood a row of splendid churches. Suddenly, John of Sirmin arrived and demolished all of them.¹⁴³¹

This same John summoned a simple, old bishop, named Paul, and bound him in iron chains. After forcing him to submit to him, he ordered that he should be reordained in Antioch, Syria. According to their (Chalcedonian) belief, he divested him of his first priesthood and then ordained him a second time. John became a subject of mockery even by his partisans, who nicknamed him "he of two characters," and he died from grief. When he tried to force Elisha, Elisha said to him, "I became a bishop without being worthy. You cannot reordain me. If you believe that the canons can divest me of the priesthood that you may reordain me, you should also divest me of my baptism." John told him deceptively, "I will only cover you with the cloak." However, when he did not obey, he was banished. Then John summoned Stephen from prison after having afflicted him with many torments. Stephen reproached him for the reordination, and John sent him back to prison. He ordered the jailors to torture him without mercy until blood flowed from his body. Afterwards, he summoned him again and coerced him to accept reordination. Stephen cried out saying, "You devil! I refuse absolutely to be divested from my priesthood unless you also deprive me of my baptism." Accordingly, a great sedition took place. Stephen managed to enter the presence of the emperor shouting, "Christianity has vanished and the canons and ordinances have been trampled on. I have been a bishop for twenty years and he (John of Sirmin) is trying to deprive me of the orthodox priesthood, especially that I have obeyed your command. He wants to reordain me according to his own method. Let him prove what canon has authorized him to do so. Either he does not know church canons or steps over them with arrogance with the result that your serenity will be blamed on his account. However, if he has taken this procedure by your intimation, then command that we become divested of our baptism and be rebaptized. Canon Nineteen instituted by the 318 Fathers (at Nicaea) indicates the rebaptism of the partisans of the heresy of Paul of Samosata and will then receive the priesthood." The emperor was astonished as if he had just woken from slumber. He rejected this procedure and had it stopped. Immediately, he issued an edict preventing the divestment of priesthood, with the exception of what applied to the heresies, as stated by the canons.

Then John of Sirmin summoned the Patriarch Paul, John, Stephen and Elisha, pretending that he called them to achieve unity. They rebuked him and challenged him concerning faith and the divestment of the priesthood. They said to him, "Whence did you learn to deprive from the priesthood priests older than

¹⁴³⁰ John of Ephesus, Part III Syriac, 10-12, English 8-12.

¹⁴³¹ John of Ephesus, Part III Syriac, 12-13, English, 12-13.

your father and reordain them? Worse still, you do this to those who have served with you thirty-six times.” Stumped, he began to utter foolish things.¹⁴³²

Chapter Five: On the edict of Emperor Justin (II), and the persecution of the believers who returned to Orthodoxy, by the heretics in the city of the kingdom (Constantinople)

The Edict of Emperor Justin (II)

“My Peace I give unto you, says the Lord Jesus, our very God, my peace I leave with you’¹⁴³³ this is what he proclaimed to all mankind. Now this is nothing else than those who believe on him should gather into one and the same church, being unanimous concerning the true belief of Christians and rejecting what contradicts it. For, before anything else, the salvation of men is associated with the true faith. Wherefore we also, following the evangelical precepts and the holy symbol of doctrine of the holy fathers, exhort all persons to unite in one and the same church and sentiment. This we do, believing in the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, holding the doctrine of consubstantial Trinity, one Godhead and one substance, both in terms and reality; one power, influence, and operation in three *qnume* or persons; into which doctrine we were baptized, in which we believe, and to which we have united ourselves. For we worship a Unity in trinity and a Trinity in unity, peculiar both in its division and in its union, being Unity in respect of substance Godhead, and Trinity with regard to it proprieties or persons. For it is divided indivisibly, so to speak, and is united divisibly. There is one thing in three, namely the Godhead and the three things are one, namely, those in which is the Godhead, or, to speak more accurately, which are the Godhead. We acknowledge the Father to be God, the Son God, and the Holy Spirit God. We hold the doctrine of consubstantial Trinity, one Godhead both in terms and reality, or nature and substance. Whenever each of these persons is regarded by itself, the thought in that case separating the things that are inseparable, the three persons, when viewed as being conjoined, are one God by sameness of motion and of nature. Therefore, we believe in one God and confess the three persons, subsistences) and their proprieties. We also confess the only begotten Son of God, the God-Word, who, before the ages and without time, was begotten of the Father, not made. Who in the last of the days, for our sakes and for our salvation, descended from heaven, was incarnate of the Holy Spirit and of our Lady, the holy glorious Mother of God and ever-virgin Mary, and was born of her. Who is our Lord Jesus Christ, one of the Holy Trinity united in glorification with the Father and the Holy Spirit. The Holy Trinity did not admit the addition of a fourth person, even when one of the Trinity, the God-Word, had become incarnate. But our Lord Jesus Christ is one and the same, being consubstantial with God the Father as respects the Godhead, and at the same time consubstantial with ourselves as respects the manhood, passible in the flesh, and at the same time impassible in the Godhead. For we do not admit that the Divine Word who wrought the miracles was one, and he who underwent the sufferings was another. However, we confess our Lord Jesus Christ to be one and the same, namely, the Word of God become incarnate and made perfectly man, and that both the miracles and the sufferings that he voluntarily underwent for our salvation belong to one and the same. Inasmuch as it was not a human being that gave himself on our behalf, but the God-Word himself, becoming man without undergoing change, submitted in the flesh to the voluntary passion and death on our behalf. Accordingly, while confessing him to be God, we do not contravene the circumstance of his being man. While confessing him to be man, we do not deny the fact of his being God. Therefore, while confessing our Lord Jesus Christ to be one and the same, composed of both natures, namely, the Godhead and the manhood, we do not super induce confusion upon the union, since he will not lose the circumstance of being God on becoming man like ourselves, nor yet in becoming by nature God, and in that respect incapable of likeness to us, will he also decline the circumstance of being man. However, as he continued God in manhood, in like manner, though possessed of Divine supremacy, he is no less man, being in both one, God and man at the same time, one Emmanuel. Further, while confessing him to be at the same time perfect in Godhead and perfect in manhood, of which

¹⁴³² John of Ephesus, Part III Syriac, 13-18, English, 13-22.

¹⁴³³ John 14:27.

two he was also composed, we do not attach to his one complex subsistence a division by parts or severance. Moreover, we signify that the difference of the natures is not annulled by the union, for neither was the Divine nature changed into the human, nor the human nature converted into the Divine. However, each being the more distinctly understood and existent in the limit and relation of its own nature, we say that the union took place according to subsistence. The union according to subsistence signifies, that the God-Word, that is to say one subsistence of the three subsistences of the Godhead, was not united with a previously existing human being, but in the womb of our Lady, the holy glorious Mother of God and ever virgin Mary, formed for himself of her, in his own subsistence, flesh (body) consubstantial with ourselves, having the same passions in all respects except sin, and animated with a reasonable and intelligent soul. He retained his subsistence in himself, became man, and is one and the same, our Lord Jesus Christ, united in glorification with the Father and the Holy Spirit. Further, while considering his ineffable union, we rightly confess one nature, that of the divine Word, to have become incarnate, by flesh animated with a reasonable and intelligent soul. On the other hand, while contemplating the difference of the natures, we affirm that they are two, without, however, introducing any division, for either nature is in him. We confess one and the same Christ, one Son, one person, one subsistence, both God and man together. In addition, all who have held or do hold opinions at variance with these, we anathematize, judging them to be alien from the Holy and Apostolic Church of God. Accordingly, while the right doctrines that have been delivered to us by the holy fathers are being thus proclaimed, we exhort you all to gather into one and the same Catholic and Apostolic Church, or rather we even entreat you. Though possessed of imperial supremacy, we do not decline the use of such a term on behalf of the unanimity and union of all Christians, in the universal offering of one doxology to our great God and Savior Jesus Christ, and in abstinence for the future on the part of all from unnecessary disputes about persons and word---since the words lead to one true belief and understanding---while the usage and form which has hitherto prevailed in the holy Catholic and Apostolic church of God, remains forever unshaken and unchanged.”¹⁴³⁴

This is the edict proclaimed by the Emperor Justin II. He ordered that no one should provoke the discussion of the faith at all, but that everyone should believe in what it contained. Those who do not accept it should be driven out wherever they were.

Chapter Six: On the persecution stirred up by the Emperor Justin II against the bishops who apostatized and then returned to Orthodoxy

The Emperor Justin II delivered his edict to the imprisoned bishops to see whether it needed revision.¹⁴³⁵ The bishops returned it after making some revisions. Patriarch John and his party read the revisions, became outraged and went to see the emperor. The emperor approved the revisions, while John and his party were even more riotous. The emperor realized that their ideas were similar to those of Nestorius. Outraged, he threatened Anastasius saying, “I will cut off your head if you did not bring me back this evening twenty copies of the revised edict.” The Nestorians were scared and differed with each other. They began dinning like wasps. They persisted imploring the emperor to give them a choice, and he did. When the edict reached the bishops and they did not see the revisions except for trivial corrections, they neglected it because it was distorted by the opponents. On the one hand, the edict opposed the Council of Chalcedon, and on the other, defended it. The bishops said, “If the Council of Chalcedon was removed from the church, union would have been achieved a long time ago. However, whenever you bring in the council, we cannot unite with you. Guilt is tormenting us because we said we would unite with you without putting aside the council.”¹⁴³⁶

¹⁴³⁴ The entire text of the edict is in Evagrius, *History of the Church*, Book Five, Chapter Four, the English translation, bound together with the history of Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1854), pp. 426-430. No name of the translator is mentioned.

¹⁴³⁵ The emperor sent the edict directly to the bishops imprisoned in the patriarchal palace by the hand of Zachariah, a learned man, literally a sophist. See John of Ephesus, Part III Syriac, 24-27, English 28-30.

¹⁴³⁶ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, pp. 27-28, English, 28-32.

A Special Narrative about John of Asia

When John of Asia, who had converted the heathens was in prison, the emperor and the patriarch sent him a message saying, "Come and join your brethren Paul and Elisha and you will free yourself from this misery." However, John anathematized the messengers. On the next day, the emperor and the patriarch sent messengers to him to come for the sake of the unity of the church, and he, likewise, cursed them.. He then went secretly to Stephen and informed him of the torture inflicted on him, but did not slacken his determination.¹⁴³⁷

During his imprisonment, John was inflicted by boils in his legs and hands so that he lay like one dead unable to turn from one side to the other. Lice and fleas filled his cell and the fetid smell of the hospital attracted infinite numbers of flies and gnats, which settled upon him. Bugs and ticks appeared at night and covered his bed and even his beard, until his face and eyes were inflamed and swollen, while the bugs stung him like fire. Likewise, mice made their nests under his pillow, and were scratching and squeaking all night. It may be that the record of these things will excite the laughter and ridicule of those who have never been tried. However, in the words of the Lord, they should rather watch and pray that they enter not into temptation.¹⁴³⁸

Amid these temptations, he saw a vision at midday. A youth of beautiful appearance, clad in a white tunic with fringes of spotless purity entered his cell while the door was shut. He said to him, "Peace be to you father. Why do you cry?" He was astonished when he saw him and thought that he was one of the twelve great attendants standing before the emperor. Then he said unto him in a sad voice coming from a man faint of heart who had lost every hope, "See in what great torture I am." The young man said unto him, "Cheer up, father, and let not your spirit be sad, but give thanks unto God. Be sure that I will convey to the ears of the emperor the torture which you are in." With these words, the young man encouraged him. Then he said to him, "Are you thirsty?" John said he was. The young man left and returned bearing a cup that held a wondrous mixture. He drank it with joy and delight, his spirit was refreshed and he thanked God. John said to him, "May God be merciful to you my son, in that you have done unto me this kindness, and have visited me, and comforted me." However, the young man continued to console him with many words and exhorted him not to be faint of spirit. He explained to him that the orthodox doctrine is true and well established and those who deviate from it will lose much. He supported his words with testimonies from the Scriptures. John was astonished and asked in his heart, "How a soldier and young man knows the Scriptures so much?" Thus, for eight days the young man came to see him once a day and said to him, "Be strong and cheer up for you will be compensated for all this torture." After the young man visited John eight times, the syncellus of the patriarch also visited him to see how he was doing, but John received him with curses and anathemas. He told him, "Even if your faith (the faith of Chalcedon) was true, we will never unite with you, for when you saw me in great misery, you did not grant me even one of my servants to wait upon me." The secretary said, "Curse us no more. We did not even know that you were sick." He then sent a servant to wait upon him. From the time he had a servant to wait upon him, the young man never showed up again. When John asked the jailor about the young man, he said that he has not seen him. They collected all the attendants who said that they had never seen a young man resembling the one he described. The keeper said, "Father, if a man has the power to appear secretly in the form you describe, half of the city would have been stirred up by his appearance. Be sure that either God sent one of his saints or angels to visit you." John remembered he words of the young man that he would leave the prison on that certain day. Exactly on that day, he was released from prison, having spent in it a year and nine days. They sent him to an island in the sea where he converted heathens for twenty-eight months. After this, they brought him back to the capital and he was placed under guard for three years, until the death of John of Sirmin.¹⁴³⁹

¹⁴³⁷ John of Ephesus, III, Syriac, 69-71, English, 90-92.

¹⁴³⁸ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 70-72, English, 92-93.

¹⁴³⁹ John of Ephesus, Part III Syriac 68-77, English, 93-99.

John swore that what he had written is the truth. He said, "I bear witness before God that these things have actually taken place and before people. They are not at all imaginary."

When the new definition in the (emperor's) edict was read, the bishops assented to the Council of Chalcedon. At the beginning, Paul of Antioch endorsed the council. However, when he realized that he could not obtain what he was aspiring for, he regretted what he did. After once having communion with the Chalcedonians, he reconsidered and anathematized the council. He fled and hid to escape capture.

As to Stephen, he endorsed the council and had communion with the Chalcedonians, and they appointed him a bishop for Cyprus. Shortly afterwards, he repented and fled Cyprus. The Chalcedonians appointed Ptolomaeus an administrator of a Martyrium. Elisha kept living in the capital. Longinus fled to the region of Logmin where he first was a bishop of people called Blemyes. John of Asia (John of Ephesus) communicated with the Synodites only once believing that the emperor would reject the council. However, when this did not happen, he repented and separated himself from them. The emperor threatened him and cast him into prison. When he did not yield, but rather declared that his communion with the Chalcedonians was attached to a condition of their promise, and was not simply his acceptance of the council, they banished him. Eugene and Thoenas escaped. Conon, bishop of Cilicia, suffered greatly from the Chalcedonians but did not yield. The emperor handed him over to Photius in Palestine who cast him into prison. Jacob (Baradaeus) alone remained in the East establishing churches. Theodore ended his life in the East.

In this manner ended these affairs in the fifth year of Justin II.

On the Persecuted Bishops in the Fifth Year of Justin II

The historian John of Asia mentions another episode concerning the persecuted bishops in the fifth year of Justin. He said that after thirty-three days of debating with each other, the Chalcedonians summoned the (non-Chalcedonian) bishops from prison and proposed to them to have union with them. They said to them, "Examine your conscience, for you do hinder the union." However, the bishops in grief and deep sorrow said, "Were matters justly tried, and by upright rulers, it is not we who hinder union, but you, while the very center of your heart is full of corruption, opposition and dissension introduced at Chalcedon, who wish to make it appear that we are the hinderers. What you fraudulently require is that we should unite ourselves to all the falseness of Chalcedon." But Patriarch John (of Sirmin) and those with him answered, "As we have often said before, both we and our king (emperor) give you our word, and our oath as in the presence of God, that upon your union with us, the synod shall immediately be put away, and whatever comes out of our mouths shall not be changed." When agreement was reached upon this basis, those who did not wish peace began to criticize the bishops on both sides. When the (non-Chalcedonian) bishops accepted communion with the Chalcedonians, they openly condemned the Council (of Chalcedon). However, upon pressing the question of ejecting the synod, (Chalcedon) the patriarch and his council began to twist their words and make excuses, saying, "We have written to the pope of Rome and if he assents, we will eject the council; for we cannot, just for your sake, separate ourselves from Rome." The non-Chalcedonian bishops sadly replied, "O Lord, is this not what I said when I was still at home, etc.?"¹⁴⁴⁰ Thus, it appeared that the (non-Chalcedonian) bishops were not an obstacle to union.

How can one suffer to write in detail the grief that came upon them after they had thus fallen into communion with the heretics? For the moment, their eyes were swollen and blinded from weeping. They could no longer even eat their usual food and despaired of life. Upon hearing about their state, the emperor summoned them and said, "Why have you lost hope as if you have sacrificed to idols? We trust God to please you." However, they argued with him for being untruthful to them. He finally said to them, "As we are preparing to go to the hot baths, wait for us for twenty or thirty days, and be assured that we will return at once for your sakes and content you." After one month, the emperor returned, but before he had reached the city, the Patriarch John accompanied by his partisans, went out to meet him. They brought fresh

¹⁴⁴⁰ Jonah 4:2.

accusations against the bishops. Thinking that they could deceive them for the second time, they sent to them messengers saying, "Your consent is of great importance to us. We have sent you a schedule of the most famous cities. Choose each one of you the city that pleases him." They said, "We did not sacrifice ourselves for the sake of being made bishops of cities, but in expectation that the promises of unity are fulfilled, and the synod (the Council of Chalcedon) is ejected. If the synod is not ejected, we will have no communion with you forever." Upon hearing the bishops' reply, the emperor became furious. On the morrow, they (non-Chalcedonian) bishops were summoned to trial, and required to continue in communion with the partisans of the synod. However, they stood up, and strove powerfully in contest with them. Without fear, they openly convicted them of all their deceitful promises and false oaths, and anathematized publically to the senate the Council of Chalcedon. Ablaze with wrath, the patriarch (John of Sirmin) commanded that they should be dragged by the throat, separated from one another, and sent into exile. No one of their acquaintances saw them again.¹⁴⁴¹

The author of this account is John of Asia who was one of these bishops. He wrote what he saw and heard from the emperor and the patriarch, not relying on hearsay. Whatever he wrote is only a small portion. The bishops swore an oath not to have communion with the Chalcedonians, and were banished for the third time.

When the monk Paul was confined in the Monastery of Mor Abraham, he wrote down the events of what John of Sirmin did to the church. Nonetheless, he was caught writing, and the book was taken from him before it was finished. They (Chalcedonians) carried it to John (of Sirmin), who took it and read it before the emperor. Upon hearing it, he found that his own acts against the Orthodox (non-Chalcedonians) were regarded with disapproval, he was greatly enraged and commanded that they should take the book to Paul and ask him whether he was the author. Paul confessed and did not deny that he was the author. The emperor decreed that he deserved death.

Stephen, however, bishop of Cyprus, ventured to offer a petition on Paul's behalf to the emperor, praying that he might be pardoned. The emperor accepted his intercession, and promised that if he would take communion in his company, all his offenses will be forgiven him. Stephen fraudulently induced Paul to accept the emperor's command, and he accepted it out of fear. John of Sirmin, then, assembled a large number of the inhabitants of Alexandria and made Paul receive the sacraments from his hands just for the sake of mocking him. From this time, Paul became very close to the emperor because he was a wise and intelligent man, and well-read in books. John was not a little alarmed of him and left him unguarded. Paul fled and no longer communicated with the Synodites (Chalcedonians).¹⁴⁴² *End of the narrative.*

Chapter Seven: On the soldiers and laymen who were persecuted in this period for their faith; and on the persecution stirred up against the Christians in Persia for the same reason; and on the Armenian catholicos who visited Constantinople because of the persecution

The Magians said to Khusro (Chosroes),¹⁴⁴³ King of Persia, "The Romans in your kingdom require from everyone to worship according to their own faith. Those who do not comply will receive the sentence of death. Why do not we do the same?" Khusro began to persecute the Christians. He seized three bishops and a congregation of believers and had them tortured. He ordered the bishops skinned, and they received the crown of martyrdom. He demolished the churches and the monasteries, and ordered that a temple for fire worship be built in Armenia. He forced the Armenians to worship him. The people, however, would not let him build a temple for the worship of fire in their country, and engaged in war with the Persians for six years.¹⁴⁴⁴

¹⁴⁴¹ Michael Rabo produces this rather lengthy account in brevity. For a full account, see John of Ephesus, Part III Syriac, 32-46, English, 32-49.

¹⁴⁴² John of Ephesus, Part III Syriac, 65-68 and 79-80, English, 18-28.

¹⁴⁴³ He is Khusro Nushirwan, or Anusharwan 531-579. See Philip Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, Tenth Edition, Macmillan, 1970, p. 308.

¹⁴⁴⁴ John of Ephesus, Part III Syriac, 96-98, English, 118-119.

The Armenian catholicos of the city of Dvin (Dowin), in the Persarmenia, together with a group of bishops, met without difficulty the patriarch of the city. They had not yet heard of the corruption of the synod (the Council of Chalcedon), which the Romans had adhered to. Then, when the news of the council became public in their county, the bishops threatened the catholicos and those with him saying, "If you communicate with the Synodites (Chalcedonians), we will never accept you, and will anathematize you." They separated themselves from the rest and assembled alone in one of the houses. Two years later, the Armenian catholicos died in Constantinople.

The persecution of the Christian under the rule of the Persians intensified in Khusro's lifetime. As much as the reports of the persecution reached the Romans, the more the Persians persecuted the Christians.¹⁴⁴⁵

In this period, a group of Alexandrian sophists and scholastics journeyed to the capital. They spent one year in discussion, and the Chalcedonians could not seize them because they (Alexandrians) exported wheat to them (Constantinople). For this reason, they departed in peace.¹⁴⁴⁶

In this period, Conon was at the head of the Tritheists who held the belief in the multiplicity of natures and substances and Godheads and Gods (in the holy and consubstantial Trinity). They (the Chalcedonians) wanted him to sign a document in which he admitted that he is a heretic, and swore that they would never accept him until he signed such document.¹⁴⁴⁷

Photius, son of the daughter of Belesarius,¹⁴⁴⁸ was a soldier. He had assumed the tonsure and became a monk. Shortly afterwards, he joined the emperor's service. He became a thief and a spoiler of possessions, which he delivered to the emperor. He exacted from each bishop a quantity of pounds of gold. The bishop, who refused to pay, was tortured without mercy either by having him tied to a rope fixed either behind his head, or to his elbows. Photius continued these reprehensible practices, especially with the Orthodox, for twelve years. Finally, he was afflicted by a severe blow and was greatly tormented and died. Then, when John of Sirmin saw that the persecutor of the Orthodox had perished, he went into the presence of the Caesar Tiberius to inflame him against the Orthodox. Caesar replied, "Tell me now the truth: who are these persons about whom you ask me, and whom you urge me to persecute? Are they heathens?" The patriarch said, "Heathens they are not." "What then," said he, "Are they heretics?" "No my lord," he replied, "neither is they heretics." "Well then," said Tiberias, "As you yourself bear witness, they are Christians." "They are so indeed Christians of the Christians," he replied. "If then, as you bear witness," said the Caesar, "they are Christians, why do you urge me to persecute Christians, as if I were Diocletian, or one of those old heathen kings? Go sit in your church and be quiet, and do not trouble me again with these things."¹⁴⁴⁹

The emperor (Justin II) forced Andrew, the queen's chamberlain and purse bearer, to accept the Council of Chalcedon, but he refused while others, under heavy threat, weakened and accepted the council.¹⁴⁵⁰ The emperor asked him to either take the communion from the Chalcedonians or get out of the palace. Andrew immediately divested himself of his robe of office, and laying it at the emperor's feet, said,

¹⁴⁴⁵ John of Ephesus, Part III Syriac, 95-98, English, 118-119.

¹⁴⁴⁶ This paragraph does not make much sense. It seems that Michael Rabo had a rather inadequate quotation of the original text of John of Ephesus. John, who was discussing the persecution, said that a message was sent (by the Chalcedonians in the capital) to Alexandria, then the center of orthodoxy. They asked them to send some of their learned men known then as sophists and scholastics, together with some of the ship-owners who were the richest and most powerful class in that city. The purpose of summoning them to the capital was allegedly to discuss the unity of the church. In truth, they wanted to compel them to accept the Council of Chalcedon. The Chalcedonians treated them mildly, but finally required them to endorse the Council of Chalcedon. However, they refused, and resisted for a whole year, and would not submit. Finally, they let them go. The reason is that those in authority thought that if they treated them with coercion, this might provoke unnecessary violence, which would interrupt the shipment of wheat from Alexandria on which Constantinople depended. See John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 49-50, English, 69-70.

¹⁴⁴⁷ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 46, English, 52. The case of Conon and the Tritheists extends to p. 66.

¹⁴⁴⁸ Actually, Phoitus was the son of Antonina, wife of Belesarius. See John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 47, English 66.

¹⁴⁴⁹ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 47-49 and 52-53, English, 65-69 and 72-74.

¹⁴⁵⁰ Most of these were lay commissioners who served in different capacities at the court.

“Never have you shown me a greater kindness by saving me from the bondage of men and making me serve my creator.” So saying, he left the emperor’s court and was confined in the palace of Hormizda.¹⁴⁵¹ After sometime, they (the Chalcedonians) sent him messengers to see whether he would yield and have communion with them. He resisted and they removed him and imprisoned him in the Monastery of Dalmatus, which was most distinguished of all the monasteries. His imprisonment lasted three years after which he was set free, but was not restored to his office at court.¹⁴⁵²

Three men of consular rank, named John, Peter and Eudaemon,¹⁴⁵³ had also endured torment with patience. After beating and scourging them, they were returned to their sees. In addition, Sergius the presbyter and historian, and another Sergius who was also a presbyter, endured severe beating and scourging by the Chalcedonians, but did not slacken. Finally, they were cast into prison.¹⁴⁵⁴

There was also a presbyter named Andrew.¹⁴⁵⁵ The Chalcedonians broke open his hiding place, pulled him out and dragged him out in the streets. He began to cry out, “Satan! I am a Christian.” Still, he was tormented. Some zealous men tried to kill the persecutors, but they fled into hiding. Andrew managed to escape.¹⁴⁵⁶

The Orthodox had two diaconates¹⁴⁵⁷ in the capital. One of them was founded by Paul of Antioch, and no Chalcedonians assembled in them. But, when the Orthodox were betrayed that they were assembling in them, Thallus, the superintendent, sent away the clergy and monks in order not to give an opportunity to those (the Chalcedonians) who were ready to find fault, and he resolutely continued to care for the sick.¹⁴⁵⁸

The superintendent of the other diaconate was a clergyman named Cometes, but was expelled for the faith sake with many others. However, one who admired his virtues bequeathed to him a large hall, capable of being turned into a diaconate. At the time, however, of the persecution, an accusation was brought against him of holding assemblies for the administration of the Holy Communion. Accordingly, the hall was confiscated and formally closed by an imperial brief suspended on the door. Cometes himself was banished to an island and all his fraternity, except few, dispersed. However, his fate did not deter those from continuing their labors. They retired to another place, and devoted themselves to ministering and tending the poor.¹⁴⁵⁹

Less unfortunate were the two women Antipatra, mother-in-law of the consul John, and her daughter Georgia, John’s wife, who was also of consular rank. After having been immensely tormented by the Synodites (Chalcedonians), they were placed in nunneries. They shaved off their hair and swept the convent.¹⁴⁶⁰

Sophia, the Orthodox empress, used to receive the communion from the presbyter Andrew, who celebrated the Eucharist in her house. When he was reserving the consecrated elements, she used to tell him to leave out one pearl, as the particle of the consecrated bread was called, and place it upon the paten under cover. Sophia thought Justin himself would take it, as he also had an aversion to the communion of the Chalcedonians. Finally, Sophia accepted the communion of the Chalcedonians.¹⁴⁶¹

Before she accepted communion with the Chalcedonians, Sophia saw a pleasant visions, as she said. Her thoughts were disturbed because of the increasing controversies in the capital concerning the Tritheists

¹⁴⁵¹ This palace is called after Hormizda who fled to Constantinople to escape the cruelty of his brother, King Sapor of Persia.

¹⁴⁵² John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 80-84, English, 100-105.

¹⁴⁵³ They were chief members of the Orthodox party at Constantinople.

¹⁴⁵⁴ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 86-87, English, 107-109.

¹⁴⁵⁵ He is not the Andrew mentioned above. He had shut himself up in one of the towers of the city walls.

¹⁴⁵⁶ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 91-92, English, 112-113.

¹⁴⁵⁷ The diaconates were a charitable institutions for the care of the sick and persons in distress. They were mostly run by pious women to help the suffering members of Christ’s flock.

¹⁴⁵⁸ John of Ephesus, Part III, 92-93, English, 113-115.

¹⁴⁵⁹ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 93-94, English, 115-117.

¹⁴⁶⁰ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 87-89, English, 109-110. The menial work which these women were ordered to perform is much more than what Michael Rabo recorded.

¹⁴⁶¹ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 106, English, 105-106.

and that the churches, the clergy and the congregations were in distress. In a vision, she saw the Mother of God saying to her, "Look daughter! Beware of the Tritheists who maintain three Gods and three substances." Sophia said God forbid my lady." She rejoined, "I believe in the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit: one God." The mother of God held her hand and said, "You have made a good confession." Sophia was astonished. She awakened the emperor and told him the vision.

Chapter Eight: Concerning the matters that took place between the Persians and the Romans in the eighth year of Justin; and on the chief priests

In the eighth year of his reign, Justin II made his aunt's son, Marcian, Caesar (Patrician), and dispatched him to Nisibin with Roman troops. Upon reaching the city of Dara, Marcian sent some of his force to the Persian territory. They destroyed and pillaged plenty of possessions and returned to Dara. The Persians, who became mightily fearful of the Romans, delegated the marzuban (provincial governor) of Nisibin to the borders to meet with Marcian.¹⁴⁶² He convinced him to postpone the war for four more months. During this period, the Persians informed their king of the happening and brought into Nisibin plenty of provisions. They also spoiled the orchards about a throw of an arrow's distance and drove out the Christians inside the city. The emperor ordered Marcian to proceed to Nisibin immediately. After observing Easter in Dara, Marcian advanced in mid-April to Nisibin, and encircled it from all quarters until it was thought that it would fall into his hands. However, just as they (Romans) were ready to storm the city, a violent rash man arrived, named Acacius, who, for no just reason, was sent by Emperor Justin to deprive Marcian of his command. Realizing that the man was wicked and had come without just reason, Marcian told him, "Wait for a while. You see how many high mounds, and towers and mangonels we have built. The city is in distress and it is about to surrender to us by God's grace. Just grant us a delay of two days and we will capture it, and then you may fulfill the emperor's order." Acacius became furious and in hot wrath, he laid hands upon Marcian, pulled him about and tore off his sash. When the soldiers saw this, they thought that the commander of the army had been relieved and the emperor had died. Thereupon, the whole army fled in every direction.¹⁴⁶³

At the beginning no one knew the reason the emperor was wrathful against Marcian. Later the reason became known. Apparently, following the death of Harith,¹⁴⁶⁴ king of the Tayoye (Arabs) and father of King Mundhir III (569-581), came and settled in Hirta (al-Hira). At that time, the Christian Tayoye (Arabs) were of two groups: one of them Christian Tayoye (Arabs), the other a Persian Tayoye (Arabs).¹⁴⁶⁵ It happened that the Christian Tayoye (Arabs) of Persia entered the domain of the Christian Tayoye (Arabs) under the Romans and pillaged their cattle and camels. Harith, the king of the Christian Tayoye (Arabs), marshaled his forces and attacked them and only few were saved. He kept pursuing them until he entered the domain of Qabus.¹⁴⁶⁶ Mundhir chased after them and camped in Qabus' territory. When Qabus's troops arrived and saw the camps, they thought that they were the men of their King Qabus. Mundhir captured them, killed them and pillaged their belongings. Shortly afterwards, however, he handed back the pillaged cattle, camels and baggage to Qabus. Meanwhile, Qabus marched to fight Mundhir but was defeated. He then went to the Persians asking them for help. When Mundhir learned of Qabus' action, he demanded gold from the emperor (Justin) to distribute to his army in case the Persians came back to fight him. However, Emperor Justin foolishly thought of putting Mundhir to death because he demanded gold from him. He addressed two letters, one to Mundhir saying, "We have written to the patrician Marcian, asking him to

¹⁴⁶² Marzuban is a Persian title equivalent to the German Markgraf and the English Marquis. It signifies the Lord of the marches or the borderlands.

¹⁴⁶³ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 341-344. English, 367-369

¹⁴⁶⁴ Al-Harith II ibn Jabala of Ghassan (529-569).

¹⁴⁶⁵ These two Christian Arabs were the Lakhmids or Manadhira under Persian rule, and the Ghassanids the allies of the Romans. The Lakhmids had a small state in al Hira in southern Iraq, while the Hassanids had a established a small kingdom in Hawran between Damascus and Palmyra.

¹⁴⁶⁶ He is al-Nu'man III Abu Qabus (580-602) who was converted to Christianity and became the first and only Christian Lakhmid king of al-Hira. He was under Persian rule.

discuss with you important matters which cannot be discussed in this letter. Therefore, upon reading this letter, proceed to meet him in the military camp surrounding Nisibin." The second letter was addressed to Marcian saying, "We have written to Mundhir to proceed to meet you. As soon as he arrives, cut off his head and write to us."

As this was apparently a wicked deception, it was reversed whether by mistake, or by a strange effect, or by the permission of God. What happened is that the name of Mundhir was inscribed on the letter addressed to Marcian, and the letter intended for Mundhir was inscribed with the name of Marcian. The messenger took the two letters and departed. He first came to Mundhir and opened the letter and read it to him. Mundhir was alarmed. He said, "Is it for my activity of helping the Roman country I am rewarded by having my head cut off?" Filled with anger, he ordered that the Roman soldiers in his army be expelled.

When the Persians and the Tayoye (Arabs) under Persian rule heard the news, and realized that they had nothing to fear from Mundhir, and that he would not pose a threat to them, they invaded the Roman territory and laid it waste with fire and sword as far as Antioch. The emperor was furious against Marcian thinking that he was the one who told Mundhir of the case. He issued an order for his arrest and dispatched him to Dara. When the troops saw that Marcian's tent was lifted, they thought that he fled before the Persians. They deserted their camp and fled. The Persians came out of Nisibin and plundered the Roman camp, and the Roman's end was disgraceful.¹⁴⁶⁷

In the 8th year of Justin, in the month of June, a severe earthquake took place. The earth swung as a tree sways in the wind. Nevertheless, no report of destruction was known in any quarter. This was because of God's providence who administered everything by a motion of his hand. It was likewise a warning to those of little faith to realize that God disciplines, in one way or another, whenever he wills and wherever he wills. He gives command to destructive blows. Also, since this earthquake at this time did not create fear in the people who experienced it, as if it were a transient dream, or that it has never happened, God in his wrath repeated his blow and chastised the people with the plague which was about to afflict the whole earth. From Constantinople alone, three thousand corpses left the city daily.

In Rome, the 57th bishop was Pelagius.

In Jerusalem, the 59th bishop was Eustathius.

In Antioch, Anastasius was the 59th bishop

In Constantinople, the 55th bishop was John of Sirmin. He was the one who afflicted the Orthodox with woes. Upon his death, Eutychius returned to the see. As a monk, he seemed to be chaste, but when he occupied the (patriarchal) throne for twelve years, he was ejected when he was exposed and John of Sirmin held the episcopate for thirteen years. Upon John's death, Eutychius returned once more and was received with honor by the people who heaved a sigh of relief from the wickedness of the arrogant and savage John.¹⁴⁶⁸

The Archdeacon of Rome wrote as follows, "If Eutychius is really received (as a patriarch), then John would have definitely been dropped from the priesthood. If John was still considered a priest, then Eutychius was not a priest at all, for they mutually anathematized and deposed each other from the priesthood. Therefore, both cannot be called patriarchs. It is necessary that one of them be deposed from the priesthood. In fact, according to the canons they cannot be considered chief priests." The king rebuked the archdeacon saying, "Don't trouble yourself about the exact letter of the canons." Thus, they (the Chalcedonians) trampled underfoot the rules of the canons.¹⁴⁶⁹

When Eutychius was in his monastery in northern Amasea,¹⁴⁷⁰ he penned a foolish book containing the teaching of quaternity instead of the Trinity. Then, on his arrival at the capital, he published his book that created great tumult. Then, he was scared and withdrew the book, although he still maintained his

¹⁴⁶⁷ John of Ephesus, Part III, 342-353, English, 367-379.

¹⁴⁶⁸ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 118, English, 85-89. The author's main concern is to show the antagonism of John of Sirmin against his own part, the Orthodox.

¹⁴⁶⁹ John of Ephesus, III, Book Two, Chapter 32, pp. 119-120.

¹⁴⁷⁰ Amasea was in the province of Pontus.

belief. He became drawn to the heresy of the partisans of John Grammaticus of Alexandria who maintained the numbering of substances and natures in the Trinity. Originally, he belonged to the heresy of the Samosatians (partisans of Paul of Samosata), but not long afterwards, he fell into the heresy of those who denied the resurrection of the body. He maintained that it is not these same bodies that arise from the dead, but they are changed into other bodies, which come in their stead to the resurrection.¹⁴⁷¹ On this account, the whole city was excited, and expressions of scorn and ridicule were heard against him. Frightened, he attempted no longer to teach his opinion while he thought that the orthodox alone had insulted him, and therefore he decided to destroy them.¹⁴⁷² He let loose upon them on the celebration of the Eucharist, the more violent members of his party. They attacked them not like Christians, but like murderers and barbarians, plundering their possessions and dragging them with violence to prison, overturning their altars, throwing down their oblations, and pouring out the consecrated wine. However, these actions brought general disgrace upon them (Eutychius and his party), because, like heathens, they had thrown down and trampled the consecrated bread, and even cast it into the fire and burned it.¹⁴⁷³ Eutychius had almost obliterated the orthodox, if it were not for the Emperor Tiberius, who stopped him. He had an audience with Tiberius and spoke much against the whole party of the believers. However, Tiberius gave him the following for answer, "We have enough to do with the wars against the barbarians, who surround us on every side. We cannot stir up another war against Christians. Go and sit quiet. If however, by words and admonition, you can persuade them, do so. But if not, let them alone, and do not persecute them, nor trouble me, who am exposed to the attacks of war from every quarter." He was rebuffed and kept quiet.¹⁴⁷⁴ *End of the narrative. Pray for me by the love of God.*

Chapter Nine: On the blows which afflicted John of Sirmin; and on Justinian II and all those who persecuted the believers; and on the calamities which afflicted the entire empire

As the Synodites (Chalcedonians) destroyed the churches and the meeting places of the Orthodox in the capital, the Lord stirred up against them barbarian people of unshorn hair¹⁴⁷⁵ who reached the walls of the city. They razed it to the ground and plundered the churches (of the Chalcedonians) throughout Thrace. They set them on fire and desolated the country. Thus, God punished them many folds more for their wicked deeds.

When in the year 881 of the Greeks (571 A.D.) which is the 9th year of Justin II, the Persian King Khusro (Chosroes), was informed that the Roman army had departed Nisibin, he came to the city and found the engines, mangonels and other war materials that were left by the Romans shamelessly. He seized them and then marched to Dara. He commanded the stonecutters to make a cutting through a mountain that lay on the east of the city outside the aqueduct in order to divert the water. When they found that it was hard, they lit fire and poured on it hot vinegar, and so made it soft. Khusro fought against Dara for six months. He had two towers erected and surrounded by walls of bricks. When he could not invest the city, he demanded from its citizens five talents (of gold) as a ransom so he could withdraw. However, the messenger did not convey the king's order to the inhabitants of the city. Then, when the king did not receive the ransom, he became angrier and attacked the city again. The Romans, thinking that he would never be able to capture it, came down from the walls and engaged in eating and drinking. When the Persians saw that the wall was no longer guarded, they set planks (ladders) until they reached the wall and took the Romans by surprise. When the Romans saw that the wall was seized by the Persians, they rushed to the gates to escape, but they could not find the keys because the generals had hidden them. The Romans

¹⁴⁷¹ For more on John Grammaticus or Philoponus, see Uwe Lang, *John Philoponus and the Controversies over Chalcedon in the Sixth Century* (Leuven, 2001).

¹⁴⁷² John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 123, English, 147-151 and 313, English, 56-57.

¹⁴⁷³ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 124-125, English, 150-151.

¹⁴⁷⁴ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 181-182, English, 200-203.

¹⁴⁷⁵ In his English translation of the history of John of Ephesus, R. Payne Smith calls these barbarians Avars. See *The Third Part of the Ecclesiastical History of John, Bishop of Ephesus* (Oxford: at the University Press, 1860), 142.

were compelled to fight seven days more until the city was full of corpses. When they saw that they could not defeat the Persians, they climbed the wall and proposed peace. The foolish Romans believed them, laid down their arms and the two sides mingled with each other. However, the pagan Persians reneged on their vow, captured the Romans, took the people captive and collected five qintars of gold.¹⁴⁷⁶ Khusro called for the chief men of the city and said to them, "May God require from your hands the blood of all the people who have perished because you did not pay the gold we demanded as ransom." They swore that the messenger (Cometes) did not tell them about the payment of gold. Khusro became furious against the messenger and gouged his eyes. The number of those taken captive amounted to 90,000, and those killed amounted to 150, 000. Even so, Persian casualties exceeded those of the Romans.¹⁴⁷⁷

Khusro sent the Marzuban (provincial governor) Ardamon (Adarmon, Adormahun) and he invested Beth Balash, Qinnesrin, Beth Dama, Gaboloye, the environs of Qinnesrin, the Jazira and the mountain and the province of Antioch. On a previous occasion, the Persian king had once before laid siege to Apamea, and the people went out to welcome him. He entered the city to watch the equestrian horserace in the Hippodrome, and did not do the city any harm. For this reason, the citizens went out also to receive the marzuban dressed up in white garments, but he dealt with them treacherously. He stealthily entered the city, blocked the doors and took the men captive. He plundered the affluent city and set it on fire. Those taken captive numbered 292,000 all of whom were carried to Persia. Then, he (Ardamon) returned to Khusro. Khusro's army was made up of 123,000 horsemen and 104,000 foot soldiers.¹⁴⁷⁸

The number of years from the founding of Dara by Anastasius until its destruction is seventy-two years. Upon taking the people captive and plundering the city, Khusro left in it five garrisons and departed. When Emperor Justin II learned that Dara had been captured, he was immensely grieved. He ordered the shops closed, and selling and buying stopped. He tried to journey to the East, but he became demented. For this reason, Zachariah sent a messenger to Khusro asking for peace. The messenger carried with him 650 talents of gold, just for Khusro not to attack Dara again for a period of fifteen months. Khusro agreed.

The severe persecution and exile of the Christians by the Synodites (Chalcedonians), and the numberless evils they committed, were soon met by the wrathful chastisement of God falling upon John of Sirmin and Justin, who acted in sheer cruelty and knew not how to heed the fear of God. Both men were possessed by evil spirits.

In addition to his misery, John of Sirmin was further punished by ailment of the bowels and boils, so that all the care of his physicians was in vain. He realized that this blow was from God. With sighs and tears, he said to his physicians, "Why weary yourselves, my children, about me? For you cannot cure my maladies. They are inflicted upon me by the just sentence of heaven. As I without mercy smote many, so am I now scourged without mercy by the hand of God?" Finally, his bowels came away piecemeal. His torment protracted for two years, he stabbed himself with a knife and died.¹⁴⁷⁹

While John (of Sirmin) was intoxicated with power, he took down all the pictures of the Orthodox fathers, and fixed his own pictures everywhere in their place. Thus, Abimelech was punished for the wickedness he had done in slaying his brethren.¹⁴⁸⁰

Theodolus¹⁴⁸¹ was a deacon who appeared to be pious and virtuous, which caused Emperor Justin to appoint him his almoner, and entrusted him with large sums of money to distribute to the poor. However, like John (of Sirmin), he acted wickedly. He felt pleasure torturing the believers (Orthodox). God severely scourged him, for soon his wife and sons drowned in the sea. He remained tormented for three years while confessing with bitter tears and saying, "Woe to me! For the curses of those whom I oppressed have

¹⁴⁷⁶ A *qintar* is about 100-pound weight. See Hans Weir, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* (Cornell University Press, 1961), 793.

¹⁴⁷⁷ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 353-360, English, 381-385.

¹⁴⁷⁸ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 360-363, English, 385-387, and Evagrius, Book Five, Chapter 10, pp. 435-436 of the English translation.

¹⁴⁷⁹ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 108-110, English, 132-134.

¹⁴⁸⁰ See Judges entire Chapter 9: especially 56-57; John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 110-112, English, 134-136.

¹⁴⁸¹ A satellite of Patriarch John of Sirmin.

overtaken me." Besides this, he offended his vestryman, who was in charge of his possessions. The vestryman went to the emperor and informed him about the gold his master had collected. The emperor demanded three talents of gold from Theodulus. However, he swore that he has not even one talent of gold. Shortly afterwards, he died and more than hundred talents of gold were found in his possession. Theodulus was buried followed by curses.¹⁴⁸²

Another chief persecutor of the believers (Orthodox) was Anastasius, the quaester¹⁴⁸³ of the emperor. While he was worshipping at the festival of the Invention of the Cross, a demon entered him. It was then discovered that he was not truly worshipping the Cross, because he was a Samaritan. He had become the disciple of John of Sirmin and persecuted the believers in order to curry favor of John. When the demon entered into him, the people began to shout, "*Kyrie eleison*," and terror fell upon the entire city.¹⁴⁸⁴

In this period, a miracle appeared in the capital. The Magians gave elephants to the Christians by the intimation of God. Whenever these elephants passed a church, the foremost elephant turned around towards the east, bowed down his head and trunk, and made obeisance. Then, raising up his trunk, he waved it round and made the sign of the cross. He was followed by the rest of the forty elephants that did the same. The historian (John of Ephesus) says, "We have seen this with our own eyes, while we wondered and praised God."¹⁴⁸⁵

There was another similar practice of these animals equally wonderful and astonishing. Whenever the customary horseraces were held in the Hippodrome, these elephants were brought in, each with his conductor on his neck. Standing in the Hippodrome opposite the emperor, they bowed down and made their obeisance to him. Then each one made the sign of the cross with his trunk, and signed himself before the emperor. All of this was done for the glory of God, while people, especially church leaders and kings, denied it.¹⁴⁸⁶

When Justin lost his mind and committed excessive crimes, God visited him with severe chastisement. He had priests killed and altars leveled by the hand of John (of Sirmin). God sent upon him "Indignation, and wrath and tribulation"¹⁴⁸⁷ by means of an evil angel who entered into him. For suddenly, it destroyed his reason and his mind was agitated and darkened. He even began to utter the cries of various animals. He barked like a dog, bleated like a goat, mewed like a cat and crowed like a cock. As the evil spirit filled him with terror, he rushed about from place to place, or crept under the bed or hid himself among the pillows. When the horror came upon him, he would rush out with violent speed to the windows to throw himself down. His attendants ran after him saying, "The Bogle is coming for you," and he would be scared and still for a moment.¹⁴⁸⁸ He remained in this condition for five years.¹⁴⁸⁹

In this disordered state, those about him devised some kinds of amusement to divert his attention. One of these was a little wagon with a throne upon it for him to sit; another one was an organ or guitar, which they played near his chamber. One day, the patriarch paid him a visit. He drew near to him to sign him with the cross, but Justin said to him, "An evil end is yours. Go and sign yourself that your devils may get out of you." He jumped at the patriarch and took from his shoulders his miter (probably stole) and wrapped it around his neck. Another time, standing at the window, he began to cry like those who go about hawking crockery, "Who'll buy my pans," and other absurdities.¹⁴⁹⁰

¹⁴⁸² John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 112-114, English, 136-139.

¹⁴⁸³ An official who handled finances.

¹⁴⁸⁴ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 114-116, English, 139-141.

¹⁴⁸⁵ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 138-139, English, 161-163.

¹⁴⁸⁶ John of Ephesus, *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸⁷ See Romans 2:8.

¹⁴⁸⁸ The Bogle is Gabolo that is Harith son of Jabala, king of al-Hira.

¹⁴⁸⁹ On the insanity of Justin, see Evagrius, Book Five, Chapter 11, p. 436.

¹⁴⁹⁰ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 149-155, English, 166-170.

Chapter Ten: On the messenger Justin delegated to the Turks; and on the Christian virgins whom the Persian king offered as a gift to the king of the Turks and who threw themselves into the river

Khusro (Chosroes), the Persian king, being intoxicated by the spoils he gained by capturing Dara and other Roman territories, gave orders that 2000 virgins should be selected from the captives. He commanded that the virgins should be adorned like brides in splendid and royal, costly, gilded garments, and sent as a present to the barbarian Turks who dwelt in the heart of Persia, in order to hire them to fight the Romans. He instructed that they should not be hurried on their journey, but travel quietly at their leisure lest they grow thin and lose beauty. However, these chaste virgins were in deep grief because they were removed from Christian teaching, and their bodies would soon be defiled by the barbarians. All of them with one consent prayed for death instead of life with tears and lamentation. When they had traveled within five leagues of the barbarous people, they came to a very wide and rapid river, and they encamped upon its bank. They took counsel with one another and all decided to despise death. They unanimously resolved to die rather than have their bodies defiled by the barbarians. They asked their keepers to stand at a little distance that they may wash themselves. The keepers left them and withdrew. Then, the virgins gained strength, signed themselves with the cross of the Savior, cried with one voice, "Lord Christ! Have mercy on us and receive us." Then they threw themselves into the river and drowned. When the keepers heard their cries, they rushed to them but found them drowned.¹⁴⁹¹

The primary cause for the continuation of war and broken peace between the Romans and the Persians was the Armenians. The second cause, was because in the seventh year of his reign, Justin sent an embassy to the king of the Turks,¹⁴⁹² at the head of which was a prince named Zemarchus, to hire them to fight the Persians. These Turks had at that time nine kings (chiefs). When he met the first king and told him about his mission, the king began to weep bitterly. When he calmed down, the ambassador and his soldiers asked him the reason for his weeping. He said, "We have received a tradition from our forefathers, that whenever we see an ambassador of the Romans in the west enter these lands of the Turks, the whole world will pass away, and people kill each other. And when I saw you, I remembered the words of our forefathers, and lamented and wept for the destruction to come." Then he asked the ambassador, "Is it true what the Persians say, that the king of the Romans is their slave, and pays yearly tribute as a slave?" The ambassador said, "They speak falsely. For many Roman kings invaded their land, devastated them, and took their people captive. And when Trajan, a Roman emperor,¹⁴⁹³ invaded them, and erected a statue of him in their country, no one of them to this day, ventured to pass before it on horseback." The king of the Turks summoned a group of Persians and they debated the Romans in front of him, and the Persians were defeated by the Romans. The king became furious and dismissed them in anger, and honored the Romans.¹⁴⁹⁴

...lacuna of two and quarter folios...

their kingdom came to an end. Eighteen Greek kings (emperors) rose to power in the first kingdom, which ceased to be since Kronos the Macedonian, ending with the Persians in the year 288. It has since disappeared in the year 886 of the Greeks (575 A.D.), when Tiberias began to reign.

Chapter Eleven: On the reign of Tiberius as joint emperor.¹⁴⁹⁵

...lacuna... some Egyptian bishops did not anathematize the blasphemies of John Grammaticus (the Grammarian), but ridiculed his impure teachings. They also included presbyters and deacons. If you

¹⁴⁹¹ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 360-363, English, 387-391.

¹⁴⁹² Actually, John of Ephesus says that the ambassador was sent to the barbarous tribes who live in the interior of the Persian dominion, and whom they call Turks. See footnote below.

¹⁴⁹³ 98-117.

¹⁴⁹⁴ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 395-398, English, 424-428.

¹⁴⁹⁵ This whole Chapter, except the following passage, is missing. The reader may consult *The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus*, English translation of Ernest A. Wallis Budge (1932), 81.

know this, beloved, you should adhere without hesitation to your holy church wearing the loincloth of the orthodox faith. Doing so, you will then protect the faith and attain to the heavenly kingdom by grace, mercy and the affection of Christ, our God.

Chapter Twelve: On the events which took place during the illness of Justin; and when Tiberius Caesar was in charge of the Roman Court

Khusro (Chosroes), King of the Persians, intoxicated by his vanity at the successful conquest of the city of Dara and having no war to fear in Syria, boldly invaded Armenia with the intention of penetrating the rest of the Roman's land. The Roman army met him in the field and defeated him, so he marched to another city. The Romans chased after him and drove him away. When he saw that matters were not advancing according to his wishes, he marched to the mountains on the northern frontier towards Cappadocia with the intention of attacking Caesarea. The Roman armies marched towards those mountains and repelled him, and he could not stand against them in war. However, by means of a trick, he managed to escape and return to his own land. Leaving Cappadocia, he attacked Sebastea and burned it with fire, but could not take captives because the inhabitants had fled before him. In any event, the Romans went after him. It was then that he was compelled to flee in haste to the mountains leaving behind his camp and members of his family. The Romans hastened and seized his camp, and looted it including the moveable fire-temple in which the Persians worshipped with awe and sanctity. Had it not been for the dissension that existed among the Roman (generals), they might have destroyed all the Magians (Persians) and their king. However, their dissension, as usual, devoured them, and Khusro fled to Melitene and set it on fire. The Romans (actually the generals) sent him a message as he was crossing the Euphrates, saying, "It is inappropriate for a king to burn cities or roam around behaving like a robber. We are mere servants of the king (emperor), and we reject such deeds. How much more, you as a king should reject them? It is the custom of a king to stand up in battle. If he conquers, he will be glorified, but he should not enter cities like a robber and burn them down."

When Khusro heard these things, he gave orders for battle the next day on a plain to the east of the city, at some little distance from it. In the morning, the two sides approached one another in battle array. They stood in their ranks facing one another until the ninth hour, but did not engage in battle, and not a man moved from his place. However, during the night, before the day dawned, Khusro and his army fled and made for the Euphrates, which is six miles distance from Melitene. However, the Romans were upon his track (intending to drive him into the river). At the sight of the Romans, the Persians hurried (on horseback) into the river, and more than half of them sank there, and were drowned. Only few were able to cross with their horses (Khusro among them) to make it to the other side and eventually to the lofty northern mountains through which they traversed with utmost hardship. Khusro finally arrived in his country in great distress. There he published an ordinance, and made a law that the king henceforth should not go out in person to war, except against another king.¹⁴⁹⁶

After their triumph, the Romans subdued the northern tribes and carried their devastations into the enemy's territory, spoiling everything, and especially carrying off their elephants. When, however, the Persian king withdrew to his dominions (in the year 577 A.D.), the Romans thought that the war had ended. They put off their arms, and sent their horses away to pasture. Suddenly, their outposts came in, and said, "Be on guard! The Persians are coming." They paid no attention nor troubled themselves to get ready, and the Persian army was upon them. When they saw the Persians approaching, they were terror-stricken. They dropped their arms, and began to flee at full speed for they had not brought in their horses. The Persians followed them at their leisure, jesting and ridiculing. They gathered up their arms, coats of mail, their breastplates, shields and other equipage. The cause of their defeat was that the Romans had made God angry. When they entered the northern territories (of the Persian realm, where the people are all Christians), the people and the priests went out to meet them, carrying the Gospel and bearing crosses, but they paid

¹⁴⁹⁶ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 363-370, English, 391-398.

them not the slightest reverence. They killed the monks and tormented the people, and mutilated them saying, "Bring us gold and silver." They even violated the nuns without shame. Finally, for impious sport, they went so far as to seize hold of little children, one by one leg and another by the other, threw them as high up in the air as they could, and then caught them as they fell on their spears and swords, and running them through, cast them to their dogs. It was because of these atrocities, God broke them before their enemies and they could not stand up against them.¹⁴⁹⁷

In this time, fear of the Persians gripped the Roman northern territories. The artisans labored day and night, even on Sundays and festivals, to build the walls of the city and its towers. They were in utter distress.

In this period too,¹⁴⁹⁸ the heathens of Heliopolis (Ba'albak), were plotting to kill the Christians by the sword. When the news reached Tiberius Caesar, he sent Theophilus with a great number of troops. He captured many, crucified some and slaughtered others by the sword. The people also informed him of those heathens who were scattered everywhere but not known. Among them was Rufinus of Antioch, and Antipharcus, the deputy procurator. Theophilus (dispatched his secretary, Theodore) to summon the heathen Rufinus, but it was found that he was in Edessa celebrating a feast of Zeus. The heathens were alarmed and fled, but Rufinus, realizing that he had no place of refuge to escape to, drew his knife, and smote it into his heart. Then he split his abdomen and died.

When Theodore (Theophilus' syncellus, notary) arrived, he was detained by Anatolius, procurator and governor of Edessa, and thus stirred up turbulence, and all the heathens were exposed. It is said that Anatolius did this together with Gregorius, patriarch of Antioch, and Eulogius who later became a patriarch of Alexandria. He claimed that he was with them when they slaughtered a child at Daphne, and that the entire city trembled for his slaughter. When this incident became known, the people (of Antioch) presented a report to Caesar (Tiberias), while others claimed that they kept the matter secret in order to honor the priestly offices and present the priesthood from being disgraced.

As for Anatolius, he set up a picture of the Lord in his house in the hope that people would believe that he was a Christian. He invited a number of Christians to come and see it, but as he was showing it, the picture turned around with its face to the wall. Anatolius, however, turned it back again, to put it right. But suddenly, a second time it turned round, and again a third time. Upon this, they examined it closely, and found skillfully introduced into the back a likeness of Apollo, so carefully done as not to be visible. Horrified at the sight, they killed him, and killed Theodore lest he expose the bishop.¹⁴⁹⁹

The heathens were also searched for in the capital. Inflamed by zeal, the people set up an incinerator to burn down the entire city and the heathens. They burned by fire a heathen man and his wife. They ran to the prison and broke open the locks and the doors, and set the prisoners free, shouting, "You let the heathens go. Why do you keep Christians in prison?" When the emperor entered the city, he ordered that the heathens should be burned by fire.

The heathens connived against Eutychius, bishop of Jerusalem, because he stood against them, and was iniquitously deprived of his bishopric.

In the mountain near Tralles was a monastery that had been built by John, the historian (John of Ephesus), in the time of Justinian. On the site, there were 1500 idols. They were leveled to the ground by the grace of God, and on their site, John built the monastery of Derira. However, from the start the devils who used to dwell there settled in swarms like flies upon putrid ulcers, openly showing up and contending with the builders. They even went so far as to lay hold upon one of the masons who was in holy orders. They lifted him up in the air, and threw him down on a rock below from which he was dashed to one even more precipitous cliff still further down. He fell foremost on his face, and rolled down from cliff to cliff less than a thousand cubits below. As they watched his descent, they thought that his limbs had shattered, but

¹⁴⁹⁷ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 370-373, English, 398-402.

¹⁴⁹⁸ The second year of Tiberius, which is 579 A.D.

¹⁴⁹⁹ See John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 188-193, English, 209-215, and Evagrius, *History of the Church*, Book Five, Chapter 18, pp. 441-443 of the English translation with variance.

they ran to him and found him whole, and thanked Almighty God who had saved him from the devils. As long as the monastery of Derira was in the hands of the orthodox, wondrous miracles never ceased to take place in it.¹⁵⁰⁰

Inasmuch as during this period warfare multiplied among nations, the warfare among the churches quieted down.

Jacob (Baradaeus) was in Syria when Paul, allegedly patriarch of Antioch, who had communion with the Chalcedonian for the pretext of unity (of the churches), arrived also in the same country. When he came to Syria and presented his repentance in writing, the old man Jacob received him after three years through the mediation of Mundhir, son of Harith, after he anathematized the Council of Chalcedon. In fact, he professed two natures of Christ after their union (in the Incarnation). Upon hearing that Paul was received by the council of the Easterners, the Egyptians (Alexandrians) intended to split, which caused the Syrians to depose Paul. The Alexandrians wrote to Jacob while he was moving from one place to another, saying, "If you received Paul, we will separate ourselves from you, and will never have you as our bishop." Jacob was now in a difficult situation because the monks of the province of Antioch wanted Paul. He wrote the Alexandrians saying, "We are proceeding to you and will do what is in the interest of the people." With this, the two sides quieted down.

The reason the Alexandrians were so suspicious of Paul, is that the Eastern Council had sent John, bishop of Mor Bas (the Monastery of Mor Basus), and George Urtoyo, to Longinus and to Theodore, bishop of Philae, to consult them respecting the reception of Paul. When they came to Longinus in a place called Mareotis, he received them with joy, for he was ready to ordain a patriarch for Alexandria. He told them that he and they have the same wish of setting up a patriarch for Alexandria. However, they said, "How can we make a patriarch without the command of our own patriarch of Antioch?" Thereupon he sent them to bring Paul. While they were assembling, Longinus ordained Theodore as patriarch for Alexandria, but he was not accepted by the Alexandrians. As for Paul, he swore that he never participated in the ordination of Theodore. He was not yet exonerated of his offense, and the Alexandrians suspected him because he ordained a patriarch without their knowledge. When Longinus' letter was received by the Alexandrians, and they learned that Theodore was made a patriarch and that he did not dare enter the city for fear of the men in authority, they all the more rebelled against Paul. They brought an old man named Peter and made him a patriarch as we explained earlier. Because of this confusion and the foolishness of the ignorant people, evil fell upon both sides for fifty-eight years.¹⁵⁰¹

John (of Ephesus) the historian says, "Just as the man who is weak and diseased in the eyes cannot easily see with accuracy, and as one who is burning with fever cannot do anything like a healthy man, so also those who are carried away by passion, and controlled by anger, can neither discern nor judge what is fitting, nor can they execute anything in a firm and steadfast manner. This is exactly what happened to the wise clergy of Alexandria who were by no means short of knowledge, had not the gall of anger agitated them and wrath made them stumble. They live to be an example of the Scripture that says of those tossed by waves and winds and tempests, and 'They reeled and staggered like drunken men, and all their wisdom perished.'¹⁵⁰² Indeed, in their hasty and uncanonical proceedings, and because they did not know that he (Paul) had been consecrated as a bishop for them, they took a violent course and consecrated another (Peter) as their second bishop. However, it was an inappropriate time to have another patriarch consecrated. What they ought to have done was that during the whole ten years that had elapsed since the death of Theodosius, they should have set up a patriarch for themselves, not after learning that Theodore had become a patriarch. It was then that they made Peter a patriarch in the heat of their anger. For Peter, whom they elected, was immediately regarded by many as an adulterer who had committed adultery with his friend's wife. He was ordained by the personal endeavor of two bishops, contrary to church laws and

¹⁵⁰⁰ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 206-210, English, 146-151.

¹⁵⁰¹ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 229-234, English, 259-269, and Ignatius Jacob III, *Al-Mujahid al-Rasuli al-Akbar Mar Yaqub al-Baradi'i* (The Great Apostolic Combatant Mar Jacob Baradaeus (Damascus, 1978).

¹⁵⁰² Psalm 107:27.

canonical order. To strengthen his position, he ordained no less than seventy bishops, as it was said. Although he was seeking laborers to till his field, he would have found it not so an easy matter to bring together at one time so many men fit for his purpose. What then shall we say about those, who with much care and examination, they should have selected and appointed to the priesthood? However, as the beginning of the matter was troubled and confused, and contrary to established precedents, so was the end. They hurried Peter into malignant proceedings that caused a schism between the churches of Syria and Alexandria. For he ventured unjustly and uncanonically to depose Paul who was consecrated patriarch of Antioch. Furthermore, he brought accusations against Jacob, to the effect that Paul and his party had communicated with the Synodites (Chalcedonians). But those who he calumniated solemnly abjured the charge, and they anathematized the authors of the scandal and themselves, if ever knowingly and consciously, either in secret or in public, they had been guilty of that of which they were accused.¹⁵⁰³

Chapter Thirteen: On the state of uncertainty left by Peter of Alexandria which caused schism between Jacob and Paul

Although the Chalcedonians' persecution of the Orthodox abated because of the warfare among nations, Satan stirred up another division between the party of Jacob and the party of Paul the Black. Some bishops, clergy and monasteries, great and small, joined either Jacob or Paul. Each faction set itself to injure, revile and speak evil of the other. Both sides were filled with the spirit of contention, in contempt of order, judgment and the fear of God. They rent the people asunder, produced schism in the churches and tore the congregations into pieces. This course of hatred and rancor was stirred up among them by one (Satan) who asked to "sift men as wheat."¹⁵⁰⁴ Indeed, with all his savagery and brutality, Satan ventured to speak so reproachfully as believers did to one another, at the very time when in matters of faith there was no difference or dispute between them. When this savage and violent state of things prevailed, Paul wrote to Jacob, by the hands of numerous messengers, saying, "Why is there this entire disturbance in the church of God? Let us hold a conference with one another, and examine canonically and legally the matters in dispute between us, and if I am guilty according to the canons, instead of one sentence and one canon, I am ready to be chastised three-fold more than I deserve. But if, on the contrary, the fault rests with you, even so for your sake I will submit to it." However, those who were with Jacob would not let him give way, or consent to see or reconcile with him. Jacob therefore said, "I have come to terms with and received the Alexandrians, and drawn up writings of agreement with them. I cannot turn away from them, and without their consent neither shall he (Paul) see me nor I him." The believer Mundhir, son of Harith, (king of the Tayoye (Arabs), urged and supplicated both sides to cease from their wrath and make peace, but the party of Jacob would not consent while Paul was wanted, truth revealed. Since the intercession of Mundhir was not heeded, the Tayoye (Arab) tribes were split. Some of them joined Paul while others took the side of Jacob.¹⁵⁰⁵

John (of Ephesus), the historian, says, "We do not intend to exonerate one side and throw blame against the other." Forty years ago, this John of Amid was ordained a bishop by the venerable Jacob at Ephesus.¹⁵⁰⁶ After the death of Pope Theodosius (of Alexandria), he was entrusted with the care of the Orthodox in the capital, which was his seat, and other quarters. Upon observing that the grudges harbored by the party of Jacob against Paul were insignificant, John shunned neither side, but rather counseled both of them.¹⁵⁰⁷ Both sides, however, attempted to sway him in their direction. He said to them that the servant of Christ is not supposed to fight against the truth. The venerable old man Jacob was known for his simplicity and innocence. He was, however, too much under the influence of the crafty and designing men

¹⁵⁰³ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 235-238, English, 268-272.

¹⁵⁰⁴ Luke 22:31.

¹⁵⁰⁵ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 245-252, English, 282-285.

¹⁵⁰⁶ He was ordained a bishop for the Orthodox of Ephesus in the year 588, and for this reason, he was called John of Ephesus or John of Asia.

¹⁵⁰⁷ John of Ephesus, Part III, Book Four, Syriac, 238-239, English, 271-273.

around him, who turned him every way they chose like a child. After exposing Peter, patriarch of Alexandria, for having been ordained uncanonically, and that in his letter he called him a new Gaianus and vainglorious, Jacob changed his mind and wanted to have communion with him, and abandoned Paul.¹⁵⁰⁸ Therefore, his partisans, and those who loved confusion, prevailed upon the old man to visit Alexandria, persuading him that he would thus establish unity between Alexandria and Syria, for they were well aware of the old grudge and unappeasable unity against Paul, of which the sole root was envy. However, many advised him that he should not go there alone, and should not become involved in this dispute without consideration. Still, those around him were deaf to persuasion, and took him to Alexandria, where he fell among "barbarous" people.¹⁵⁰⁹ Next, they induced him by trickery to submit to communion with Peter, and he consented to the deposition of Paul. Indeed, this act delighted them and gratified their feeling of enmity. They hoped that the yoke of their patriarch Paul would be taken from their necks, and they, therefore, wrote and gave their assent to that. The old man Jacob, however, persuaded them that the deposition (of Paul) should not be accomplished by an act of excommunication.¹⁵¹⁰

On the completion of this turbulent business, they (Peter and his partisans) asked Jacob to allow three of his bishops to accompany them to Syria to publicize the excommunication of Paul. Thus, schism took place in the church. Many of those who supported the old man Jacob and tenaciously adhered to him were now called "Jacobites."¹⁵¹¹

Because of dissention and disturbance everywhere, Longinus and Theodore went to the lands of the East. Theodore remained with the adherents of Paul in Tyre with the view of entering into a judicial examination of the matter with the partisans of Jacob. Longinus went to Hira, founded by Gabala (Jabala), son of Harith, to find Mundhir, the son of Harith. After he had conversed with him and told him the whole truth, Mundhir was the more anxious to get them together and reconcile them, but the partisans of Jacob rejected his mediation. Finally, however, the partisans of Jacob and himself assembled in the Monastery of Hananya (Za'faran Monastery)¹⁵¹² in the wilderness. One of them, a bishop named John, was sent with a fraudulent purpose to Longinus and his companions, saying, "Inasmuch as the old man, my lord Jacob, has come to this place, and wishes to converse with you, come to him quickly for there will be present only us three, myself, and you, and Jacob, and we will talk the matter over." Longinus believed him. He started accompanied by the rest of his party, and arrived there. However, no sooner had they come, than they conducted him and his company into a place where there was sitting no small crowd of monks, laymen, jurists and lawyers. They presented to him a written document and asked him to read it. He said, "I have been invited here by fraud and falsehood, and I will not read it." Upon looking round for a means of escape, they laid hands upon him and seized him. When they began to read, he put his fingers into his ears that he might not hear. Thereupon, they began to pull him this way and that, and he cried out, "Woe, woe, what have I done? Why then am I to be treacherously murdered while I have a king?" Strife arose, but he (Longinus) managed to free himself from among them and flee away without seeing Jacob.¹⁵¹³

¹⁵⁰⁸ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 241-243, English, 273-275.

¹⁵⁰⁹ John of Ephesus, copied by Michael Rabo, says that Jacob fell among *lou'zo* people. According to *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary*, of R. Payne Smith, ed. J. Payne Smith (Mrs. Morgoliouth), p. 243, *lou'zo* means "of distant or strange speech, of a foreign tongue." R. Payne Smith, in his translation of the *Third Part of the Ecclesiastical History of John Bishop of Ephesus*, p. 279, translates this term as "barbarous." In a footnote, he says that, "Plainly, John intends by it 'savage' or 'barbarous.'" He further says that John must have taken from Psalm 114:1, which says, "When Israel came out of Egypt, the house of Jacob from a people of foreign tongue." He is followed in this matter by J. B. Chabot in his *Chronique de Michel Le Syrien*, Vol. 2, p. 324. However, Chabot gives Psalm 113 as a reference.

¹⁵¹⁰ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 245-246, English, 278-279.

¹⁵¹¹ John of Ephesus, III, Book Four, Chapters 18-20, Syriac, 247-250, English, 282-284. In this last page of the English translation the term Jacobites first appear. The split into two parties of Jacobites and Paulists appears on p. 288.

¹⁵¹² This monastery is known today as the Za'faran Monastery near Mardin in Turkey. It is still active and has a metropolitan and a small seminary. This translator, his wife and sister visited it in October 2010.

¹⁵¹³ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 252-254, English, 284-287. Unfortunately, the rest of this Chapter and the next eight are lost.

After passing a year in Syria with no benefit, Longinus returned to Egypt (Alexandria). As for Peter, he died three years after he became a patriarch.

The Alexandrians, who passionately hated Theodore, refused to set him up as their patriarch, but chose an old man named Damian of Syrian origin. Damian approved what Peter had done and sent a document concerning this matter to Jacob. Concerning Damian, the Chronicler Qura (Cyrus), said, "Damian was a decorous man and preoccupied with monastic living."

In the year 889 (of the Greeks,¹⁵¹⁴ the armies of the Persians and the Romans met on the side of the ruined Dara to discuss the reasons the two countries were in the state of war with each other. They remained for a whole year exchanging accusations without reaching a conclusion. After prolonged discussion, the Persians demanded from the Romans a payment of gold, which the Caesar Tiberius rejected. However, in the course of the discussion for peace, Tiberius demanded that Dara should be handed over to him, while the Persians demanded that Armenia should be handed over to them. Caesar (Tiberius) was much grieved because he did not want to surrender the Christians of Armenia. Thus, they separated from each other and both realms prepared for war. When the Persians returned to Persia and the Romans to their country, the Marzuban Adormahun (Adormanes), the army general of Khusro, the king of Persia, collected his troops. He began to pillage and waste the towns of Dara, Tella,¹⁵¹⁵ Rish 'Ayna and Tell Bsam, and returned with much booty. Tiberius summoned the Count Maurice and appointed him as commander-in-chief of all his forces, to put the troops in order. Upon hearing the news, the Persians were scared (to meet the Romans in battle), and so contrived a stratagem. They pretended that they were marching to Armenia, while they sent the inhabitants of Theodosiopolis¹⁵¹⁶ a message that after thirty days they should be ready to meet them in battle. When the Romans received this message, they prepared for war, but the Persians immediately gathered their forces and crossed over secretly to a place near Miyapharqat¹⁵¹⁷ in the Roman territory. They began to devastate and burn all the land of Sophene, and especially the churches and monasteries. In the same manner they treated the district of Amid. On approaching the town itself, they burned all its suburbs, up to its very walls. They besieged it for three days. However, when they saw that they could not take it, and were afraid that Maurice should come upon them with his army, they raised the siege, went on devastating and burning the whole land of Mesopotamia, and returned to their own country.¹⁵¹⁸ On hearing this inroad, Count Maurice gathered his whole force and marched into Arzen, a province of Persia. They wasted the region as far as the Tigris. As for the Christians who were there, he moved them safely to the Roman land.¹⁵¹⁹

At a subsequent time, Maurice and Mundhir¹⁵²⁰ marched into the Persian territories. However, on arriving at the bridge, they found it cut away, and could do nothing but return. Maurice thought that Mundhir had sent information to the Persians to break down the bridge, a suspicion that was false.¹⁵²¹

When the Persians saw that the Romans and the Tayoye (Arabs) with Maurice and Mundhir had penetrated their territory, Adormahun (their Marzuban), with a large force crossed into the Roman provinces, and entered the districts of Tella and Rish 'Ayna destroying and spoiling. Then, the Persians marched into the fertile district of Edessa and ravaged the whole province of Osrhoene. Meanwhile, the Tayoye (Arabs) under their rule gathered all their forces and set out to fight Mundhir. When Mundhir learned of their intention, he fell upon them suddenly, and destroyed them. Only few of them escaped. Then, Maurice regrouped his Roman force, joined by Mundhir and his Tayoye (Arab) troops, and entered

¹⁵¹⁴ According to John of Ephesus, it is the year 887 (A.D. 576). See footnote below.

¹⁵¹⁵ Also called Tell Mawzalt and Constantina.

¹⁵¹⁶ Rish 'Ayna.

¹⁵¹⁷ Martyropolis near Diyarbakir.

¹⁵¹⁸ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac 375-38, 403-411.

¹⁵¹⁹ According to John of Ephesus, Maurice sent these Christians to the island of Cyprus, and they had lands allotted to them, and dwelt there. John of Ephesus, Syriac, 381-382, English, 411-412.

¹⁵²⁰ Son of Harith king of the Arab tribes.

¹⁵²¹ John of Ephesus, *Ibid.* Syriac, 383, English, 413.

the Persian territories burning, ravaging and taking captives and enormous booty, and then returned to their own land. All these events took place in the year 889 of the Greeks (A.D. 578).¹⁵²² *End of this narrative.*

Chapter Fourteen: Regarding the Council of Damian, Pope of Alexandria, extracted from his letter (below)

To the believers and holy everywhere, our true brethren Jacob and those in his company, the bishops, presbyters, deacons, archimandrites and pious monks, and the entire congregation of the East, Damian, by the love of God, bishop of Alexandria.

It is fitting and proper to iterate with admiration and conviction the words of the divine Prophet David, "Who is like the Lord our God, the one who sits enthroned on high, who stoops down to look on the heavens and the earth? He raises the poor from the dust and lifts the needy from the dunghill; he seats them with princes, with the princes of their people."¹⁵²³ This is also true of me, I, the mean and the last. From the beginning, I loved the life of solitude without mingling with others. I cherished the life of tranquility and strove for it with all the power I was given in order to seek virtues. I endeavored day in and day out to cleanse myself from the stains of sin by the tears of repentance. I was ready to leave this world and stand before the awesome throne, which no one can lie to or revile. For I sighed and wept with bitterness how I was called, from the highest place of the beloved city of tranquility which is beloved to me, by the fighter and chief priest, our Father Peter. He handed me to the clergy of this holy and great city among the cities of the Alexandrians. He granted me the dignity of the priesthood, not by the laying of hands by means of coercion, but by love and by the laying on of his blessed hand. After he was transported to God, God enrobed me with his incomprehensible mercy; the very God who administers our affairs with wisdom and without our knowledge by the laying of hands, and by the election of the holy chief priests, lovers of God, and by the archimandrites, the pious servants of God, and other great men and jurists who are a segment of the pious and believing congregation, and by the consent of the not so small number of bishops who are found in this time, made me worthy to occupy the throne of St. Mark the Apostle, and the theologian and the blessed. Thus, I had to contemplate the greatness of his evangelical see and the service rendered by the chief priest, and to discern what is needed of sophistication and virtues for he who would undertake such a service. As much as I ponder the apostolic law, and the perfection it demands, I tremble and begin to dig the ground with my finger and contemplate my weakness and unworthiness. Likewise, when I muse over the church of God, the schism, and the controversy of the heretics, and the division that envelops it, I ask support for my weakness by him who is patient with the lowly in spirit, as it is written, "To revive the spirit of the lowly and to revive the heart of the contrite."¹⁵²⁴ I seek refuge in your righteous supplications and intercessory prayers, which are offered in a true and constant manner to God on behalf of your people in order to gain victory, you who glorify God, and the reverent bishops in your company. Therefore, as I derive encouragement from you, I do encourage myself and rely on the good hope; and after God, I receive strength from you and your prayers as I have said, and the prayers of the rest of the spiritual disciples among whom are the chief priests who lived with you and have adorned themselves with virtues. Their strife is like that wonderful strife of the Apostles. You have all striven for a long time for the love of God, a strife that is not wanting compared to the contention of the holy fathers. Here I can say even more that all of them everywhere were raised in the bosom of the church, and all of them exclaim with one voice.

Therefore, I find it very necessary, as I adhere to the teachings of the fathers, to write this brotherly letter of peace: first, to present myself to your God loving holiness, and second, for the sake of the orthodox faith, declaring that my opinion is the same as yours. I follow the faith defined by the Council of the 318 at Nicaea, and the Council of the 150, which assembled at Constantinople, and the fathers who assembled at Ephesus.

¹⁵²² John of Ephesus, Syriac, 383-385, English, 413-415. According to John of Ephesus, the year is 887 of the Greeks/A.D. 576. See previous footnote.

¹⁵²³ Psalm 113:6-8.

¹⁵²⁴ Isaiah 57:15.

I believe that the holy Trinity is one God consubstantial in essence and uncreated. It is of one substance, by word and deed, according to the apostolic Athanasius who said, "Three epiphanic and perfect *qnumi* (hypostases, substances, persons) ever-existing without confusion, but of distinct characteristics. For the Father is not the Son, or the Son is the Father; or the Holy Spirit is the Father or the Son. Each hypostasis maintains its attributes in a perpetual manner without being interjoined or confused with each other. The property of the Father is Fatherhood, for he is not born from anything else, and thus, he is unborn. The property of the Son is Sonship that is before all the worlds. He is everlasting and was born by the Father without a medium. The eternal and incomprehensible property of the Holy Spirit is the Procession from the Father in constant and ineffable manner. Neither the Father changes to become the Son or the Spirit, nor the Son changes to become the Father or the Spirit, nor the Holy Spirit transforms into the properties of the Father and the Son. The properties of the hypostases are everlasting and not confused or changeable. For the Holy Trinity is consubstantial and uncreated. However, the essence of the Godhead is one and not subject to plurality. Thus, it forms three *qnume* (hypostases, persons): the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit without confusion, and are distinct from each other by their properties when we say, "one everlasting Godhead of the three persons." We do confess this, by word and deed, following the path of the apostolic Athanasius who wrote in his *Treatise on Faith* saying, "We believe that the Son is equal to the Father and the Holy Spirit. In addition, we anathematize he who does not confess the unity of the essence of the Holy Trinity by word and deed. Likewise, we anathematize that Grammarian (John), who proclaimed the plurality of essences and natures in the Holy Trinity. In fact, he divided the *qnume* (substances), and the essence that is indivisible. That impudent says, "equal essences" and heeds no concern to the fathers.

We do not want those, who are used to slander, to think that we have accused him falsely, or that we stealthily threw the blame upon him who is blameless. We will ask them first if they have examined, even superficially, the insanity of his writings and then we will establish his blasphemies. Indeed, not all of these men want him to be condemned, but it is sufficient for us to be spared the blame of those who think wisely.

Indeed, who would not enwrap with anathemas the one who had the audacity to speak with such profanity and to contend in such a way against the Fathers who pronounce the mysteries of the Church, by saying in his comments, that "the divinity and the essence who is in the adorable Trinity is in actuality not one, but only in reasoning and expression. Therefore, one conceives one single God, but there are three essences of God. The essences and the natures divide themselves depending upon the persons. Therefore, God the Father is different, God the Son is different, and different is God the Holy Spirit. In the same way, as with the general sense of the word "essence," we conceive that all of us have one single essence, even though we understand that we are, in reality and in fact, several men. In the same way also, there is one single God only with the generalization of the essence, and it is solely in our mind. In reality, however, and in fact, there are three of them. The divinity divides itself into persons; it is itself just a generalization".

At least, these are the only blasphemies he (John Grammarian) made. However, did he go further against the theologians who speak the mysteries of the Church? No! On the contrary, he formulated against them multiple accusations. In his *Second Treatise on the Trinity*, he writes that, "Gregorius says he does not deny three consubstantial essences, because such is the common belief of everybody. In effect, however, essences are not consubstantial and are of different natures." One sees the clever invention of those who vainly make us object to the consubstantiality of the essences. In fact, the words "We must not talk about essences," exclude the essences which are not consubstantial and which are of different natures.

John does not talk differently in the first chapter entitled, *On the Trinity*. He says, "Because the plural number of the persons corresponds to one of the natures and the essences, and that the doctors call them such, we have sufficiently proven it." He also says, "If what one calls the three hypostases of the Trinity, or of the Godhead, are not accidents, they are absolutely considered essences and natures. Therefore, it was within my right to talk everywhere employing the plural number, and to call the persons "natures," in the plural. Indeed, he who removes the number of the persons destroys the entire true faith of the Christians, and what is like unto them also." John goes on to vomit more bitter venom regarding similar things. He says

in the same book, "That it is not a property, that is to say of this one being Father, the other being Son, and the other being the Holy Spirit, because these things differ specifically and are distinct one from the other. It is neither a common thing to say of the Father being God, the Son being God, the Holy Spirit being God, and they are consubstantial. The reason is that when, to the expression 'God,' is added the property of a person respectively to the other, it constitutes it in a different species in relation to the other one. In the same way as animality is in general attributed to all of those who differ specifically by the addition of 'reasonable' or 'non-reasonable.' By the same token, in the Godhead, the addition of 'Father,' of 'Son,' of 'Holy Spirit,' constitutes a God Father, a God Son, and a God Holy Spirit."

We drew those few words among many others, like a glass from the sea, in order to show with their bitter taste, at those who think like him, all the bitterness of his belief and how much it differs from the sweetness of the fountains of the Father's. However, where does he reject the holy Basil who says, "In common is the divinity which is the property of the Fatherhood?" What does he do with the words of the apostolic Athanasius who censures those insane words by saying, "One is the essence, that is to say the divinity of the three persons of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Spirit: consubstantial hypostases. Unique is the essence, because the divinity is unique?" Indeed, the teachers of the Arian heresy always showed the signs of their impiety, up and down, in what they call the hypostases "essences," in order to introduce the diversity of essence, when they want to establish their impiety and tear into pieces the preaching of the orthodox faith. Severus, about whom the Fathers talk, in the first book against John of Caesarea teaches those things, saying, "Also in the holy Trinity, the unique essence contains the whole divinity of the three hypostases of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Spirit: each of the hypostases participates equally to the essence, and is perfect God. Concerning the consubstantial hypostases, there is no difference. With the particular notion of the Fatherhood, the filiation, the procession, they distinguish themselves, each property remaining incommunicable." He continues, "From those, we learned that there is no mutual convertibility of the hypostases in the holy Trinity. However, each of the hypostases exists in the essence of the Godhead because of its own concept. It exists relatively to the other consubstantial persons because it possesses the community of essence. It is immutable, similar, and it is one single and the same. It is without confusion, because of the property."

For us, who are in agreement with the theologians who speak the mysteries of the Church, we confess that the hypostases of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Spirit are one single Godhead and not three essences of the same or different nature. They are not three natures or three kinds of nature, either equal, or different, or similar, or dissimilar. They are neither three gods nor three kinds of gods, neither are they three divinities nor three kinds of divinity, according to the miserable Grammarian, who liked to speak not theological things but fiction, neither common nor particular, neither absolutely essences or natures. He liked to divide the unique essence of the holy Trinity into essences, natures and divinities.

If some of them, in their impiety, invert the expressions of the Fathers on the premise that they do not understand, and if they contend to deduce, in their insanity, divinities or the plurality of essences or natures, we do follow Theodosius who, like the apostles, labored like no one else, and who knew the opinions of the Fathers. We reject the numbers of natures or essences, of gods or divinities, and maintain that the Trinity is equal in essence and in glory.

That is why we place under the anathema of the great Athanasius those who do not profess the same. In this we agree with him, because he taught us to profess that one is the essence and nature of the Trinity, one is the principality, the majesty, the glory, the virtue, the operation, the power, the dignity, the will, the advice, the notion and any other possible attributes of the holy and consubstantial Godhead: Father, Son and Holy Spirit, unique Godhead and unique God. Even though it is unapproachable, each (person) can be considered in itself, when the mind separates the things that are inseparable, as says Gregory the Theologian. We profess one God, essence, nature, life, truth, or any other statement used by the theologians of the Church for the holy and not created Trinity.

We anathematize also those who say that the holy Trinity embodied itself through one of its hypostases. We also anathematize those who do not profess that one of the three hypostases, God the

Word, was incarnated and became man, and that the Father and the Holy Spirit were not under corporeal composition, and that they were not incarnated and became flesh.

We say, as we have often repeated, that the holy and consubstantial Trinity is one single God, one single essence, in word and in reality. We call it at the same time Unity, because the unique essence is the indivisible divinity. We call it Trinity because of the distinction of the hypostases without confusion. Indeed, the distinction of the persons does not destroy the consubstantiality. Moreover, the equality of essence does not remove the distinction of the hypostases. One cannot say in words their communication or their distinction. Gregory the Theologian says in his Treatise called *Ex Agrou* (From the Country), "How is it that you considered the same essence as one, and yet found it triple? How is it that, the one who is not engendered, and the one who is engendered (and the one who proceeds) is one single nature, and three properties of one single God above everything, in everything and in all of us?"

Since we agree on theological matters with Egypt (Alexandrians), we find it imperative to discuss succinctly with your piety the Incarnation of God the Word, who is a person of the Trinity. He is of the essence of the Father before time, and has shined before all the worlds. He is the creator of all things visible and invisible. He has everything that is the Father's except the Fatherhood. When he saw that we had fallen from the image of God in which he created us, and forfeited the bliss of Paradise and immortality which God offered us by grace, and imposed on us just death, he restored to us, as a gift, the joy of Paradise and that image which we had before. He willed to lift us up to heaven and translated his desire to action. He came down from heaven to earth but never left heaven or the bosom of his Father from which he takes the fullness of everything. He is in everything and above everything. He is the infinite that was contained by the womb of the Virgin and was born from her and the Holy Spirit in a body like ours and under suffering as we are save sin, change or confusion. His body is endowed with a rational soul. Thus, God was born, was incarnated, and became flesh as the Virgin perceived after giving birth to him. Therefore, we believe that she is truly and canonically the Mother of God. After all, Christ was not born a mere simple man, as those who envy us for our salvation and deny his Incarnation say. It is wondrous how she who gave birth to him remained virgin.

We confess two births of the only son: one from the Father before all the worlds done without a mother, and the second, at the end of time from the Virgin Mary without a father or human medium, and he is what he is. We do not say two Christs, two Sons, two natures or two operations, but one Son, and one nature of the Incarnated Word, one hypostasis, one person and one operation. He was and still is the one who was born, and took the semblance of a servant, and consented to by like unto us and for our sake. He who is above all the creation became flesh without being transformed to the nature of the body, but remained in his own nature while assuming a nature that was not his. He is one of a perfect two. He is a compound of the divinity which existed before all the worlds, and which he brought into existence from nothing, and of the humanity which was inherent in the Word itself from the beginning, and in whom it had a beginning, as the apostolic Athanasius said in his letter to Jovian Augustus, "In an instant, the body of God the Word was (existed). And in an instant was a rational soul. And in an instant the body of God the Word was of soul and reason in which he existed. Therefore, we confess that he is of two perfect natures, as said earlier. We believe that he is one Son, one nature, and one hypostasis (person), to him belong miracles and passions.

We would like to ask those who divide Christ into two natures after their union, (this is an allusion to the *Tome* of Leo), or determine for him two natures as a final form after the union, and say, "Which one of the two natures was raised on the wood (the Cross)?" We count these people among the Jews, the murderers of God, those who said to him, "We are not stoning you for good works, but for blasphemy, because you, a mere man, make yourself God."¹⁵²⁵ They should stop engaging in the subject of duality, get rid of the natures, and confess that he who was born of the Virgin is a true God. If they do not drop the duality, they should deny the hypostatic union and never call the Virgin the Mother of God. For it is not

¹⁵²⁵ John 10:33.

possible that either of them can transform into the other. In fact, they only deceive themselves and no one else, and project false union to disturb the conscience of simple people. It is because of this deception regarding the faith, we anathematize the impious Council of Chalcedon and all those who proclaim two natures after the union. This council had become the cause for assembling a council to renounce the impious Eutyches. It confirmed the false claims of Nestorius and invalidated the sayings of our Father, the Archpriest Cyril. If anyone says that these sayings are the constitution of the orthodox faith, he would not be far off the truth. They renounced the expressions of "from two natures" and "one nature of the Incarnate Word of God," which were the subject of controversy between the great Father (Cyril) and the impious Nestorius, and replaced them with other expressions. Instead of "one nature," they introduced "two natures." Instead of "from two natures" they said, "Reason reveals that it should be in two natures."

The expression of "from two natures" indicates the combination of the difference between the operation and the complete union. It is not permissible that union should take place for the mere difference of expressions like this absurd expression, which they reiterate. Indeed, we anathematize those who approve this evil trick like Deodore, Theodore, Nestorius, Theodoret, Hiba (Ibas), Andrew, and Irenaeus who was notorious for having a second marriage, and the impious *Tome* of Leo and those who follow them. In the meantime, we confirm the acts established by the holy Archpriest Dioscorus, which were affirmed by his orthodox successors, the pillars of the councils of the church, of these are the distinguished Timothy of Alexandria, Theodosius and Peter. We likewise anathematize the schismatics and the impious who contrived the idea of "Phantasiasm" and those in the vanguard who proclaimed it, namely Marcion, Valentinus, Mani and Eutyches, who drank from this filthy vessel. These men say that the body of the Lord is impassible and immortal after the union. They do not believe that his passions are natural, voluntary and acceptable like hunger, thirst, sleep, fatigue, sorrow, disturbance and the voluntary crucifixion. Thus, the creator of life suffered in a body capable of suffering and death. They maintain that he did away with our sufferings by an impassible and immortal body. This is sheer insanity and deficiency of reason. In fact, he took upon himself our sins lawfully, and not by compulsion, in order to enter the combat. He took our body, which had become feeble, save sin and corruptibility, in order that by the weak body he would triumph over what had been lording over us, and to grant us impassibility and immortality with what is passible and mortal. It is not an extraordinary thing or strange that death is annulled through an impassible and immortal body. Otherwise, it would have not been possible to conquer death by such passion, if it had run away from an immortal body. For the body of the Word of God, who was incarnated for our sake, is holy and the maker of life. Before the resurrection, he was capable of suffering, death, corruption and other properties such as feeling tired from traveling. However, he changed after the resurrection, and was rendered incorruptible, immortal and impassible. He was no more in need of food and drink. Although, after the resurrection, he was seen eating, he did this not because he was in need of food, but to confirm the evidence of the resurrection. So when he resurrected from the dead, he was freed from all the qualities of corruptibility, as the theologian Cyril had said. However, if someone based on these particulars, attributes to him lack of knowledge and wisdom, and does not believe that the body of the Lord which is of rational soul had been enriched by its union with the divine glory and with every act, like knowledge and wisdom, appropriate to the Holy Spirit, we reject them as we reject other heretics, and anathematize them, especially Arius, Eunomius, Eutyches, Sabillius the Libyan and his treatises. We accept our chief priests Theodosius and his successor Peter, who are an example of the ordination, which is consummated by the flowing of the faith and the grace of God. I, for one, accept the anathema that was issued by you, O pious ones, and by the Egyptian bishops against those who declined to anathematize John the Grammarian and Paul, who brought upon the true faith and the church a great damage. We ourselves do not encumber the clergy with any burden.

We have been greatly delighted by your reply. We have sent so-and-so, which is enough. They will inform your holiness with the living word of our love and desire. We, today, are quite sure of your love that your faces might always be cheerful, and that you may apprise us of your health for which we pray. We also pray for the establishing of your peace and the peace of the entire world in order to submit to you if it

becomes one body. We ask you to supplicate God that through his Christ fill your hearts with love, and fill the church with peace and concord, in order that we may live the life of piety, goodness, peace and tranquility which we desire.

Signature. Damian, by the mercy of God, bishop of Alexandria, has signed. I sent greetings to your lordship in the unity of the Trinity that is may our God preserve the indivisible union. Amen.

Damian sent this letter to Jacob (Baradaeus) as Qura of Batnan says. John of Asia says, "Jacob sent a reply to Damian confirming the same truth and union. But the letter of Jacob is not in our possession; it is preserved with the Egyptians." *End of the narrative.*

Chapter Fifteen: On the sickness of Justin(II) which lasted five years, his crowning of Tiberias, and the intensification of disturbance in the church of the Orthodox between Jacob and Paul Ukomo (the Black)

As the sickness of Emperor Justin (II) worsened, and he suffered immensely from strangury (urine retention), he came to his senses and wept bitterly saying, "God will take revenge of those who deceived me and made me persecute the holy believers."

In the year 886 of the Greeks (Friday, December 7, A.D. 574), he called Tiberius Caesar and began to speak unto him in words of wonder and astonishment. He said that an angel whispered these words in his ear. He went on weeping bitterly and saying, "O son Tiberius, come and take the kingdom of the wretched Justin, who has made God angry, so that he has cast him out of the royal estate while still living. Come, my son, and displace him who has set his creator at naught, that creator who gave him the kingdom, from which his own eyes now see him rejected and fallen." When he had spoken thus, he sat weeping, and those present wept too. He turned around and said to the soldiers posted there, "Open, my children, your ranks, and let whoever will come in, and see the wretched Justin stripped and fallen from his kingdom, because he has provoked to anger and wrath that true and eternal king who has bestowed upon him, unworthy as he was, the kingdom. Now, O Tiberius let my fate be to you an alarm and trembling. Fear the Lord the eternal king and stir him not up to anger by the evil deeds of mine, which have brought upon me this terrible chastisement. While I still live, I am stripped and ejected from my kingdom, because I have acted iniquitously. Beware, lest this apparel and royal dress lead you astray, as it has led me, and fill you with pride, and bring upon you the wrath of God, as it has upon me. You will be stripped, and fall from your kingdom, as I this day. Look at him who stands by me and whispers to me in my ear. Be sure and aware within yourself that, what is now spoken to you by me is not of me, but from this angel of God. Look therefore on me and take an example of alarm for your own heart. Beware lest you give way to wicked men, who will counsel you unto evil. See, my son Tiberius, and learn that this blessing is from God and not from me. So, honor it that it may honor you. Honor your mother who was your mistress. Do not take pleasure in the shedding of blood, and have no association in murder. Do not repay evil with evil, and imitate my iniquities. I have fallen in many wicked deeds, foremost of which was my persecution of believers. My judgment and the judgment of those who counseled me and led me astray will be before the tribunal of Christ. Honor the creature that the Creator may honor you. Consider what you were, and what you are now. So do not be ever carried by pride. For you know what I had been, what I am now, and what I had become afterwards. If you consider these things, you will not commit great iniquities. All who are standing by here are your children. When you look at them, you would have in fact looked at your entire people. Do you know that I have magnified you more than any of my immediate family? Take care of the army, and accept no slander. Pay no attention to those who tell you to act like those who preceded you. I say this in consideration to what has happened to me."¹⁵²⁶

Meanwhile, Tiberius fell on his face weeping and plucking his hair. Justin ordered that he be raised up. He invested him with the royal insignia and the crown, and called him Constantine. Turning toward the people, Justin addressed them saying, "If you are pleased with this emperor, whom God has given you, let

¹⁵²⁶ See *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, 368-369.

us go up to the circus and you and I will celebrate in a royal spectacle. We will also pray for the success of Constantine Tiberius Caesar, the son who God has given us in order to make him triumph over his enemies, and to be gracious to those under his authority.” Meanwhile, the notaries were recording everything said. However, we only wrote down some of the spoken words, and omitted many others because of their great length.¹⁵²⁷

After this, Justin lived only nine days. His strangury (urine retention) was aggravated and he wailed from pain. He even called out to those around him to bring a sword to kill him. For death, he would say, is better for him. They brought him physicians who asked his permission to cut off his penis. He took a razor by hand and gave it to them, begging them to show him no mercy, but to let him depart from life. When he was mutilated, he went on wailing and saying, “Just are your judgments, O God, for all the sins which I committed with my body openly requited in your anger upon the members whereby I wrought them.”¹⁵²⁸

During the illness of Justin and the end of his life, Paul the Black, who had been patriarch of Antioch, when realizing that he was rejected in the East and the West, I mean in Syria and Egypt, he traveled from one place to other creating mischief. In the meantime, Sergius, the Syncellus (the right-hand man) of Jacob (Baradaeus) and Bishop Julian, went up to the capital and began to criticize and slander the party of Paul. As a result, some of the devout adherents of Paul left him and joined the party of Jacob. Both parties continued slandering and cursing each other for a whole year. The Alexandrians, who went up to the capital, held meetings and cursed Paul. Some of these met in the name of Jacob, others in the name of Paul; still others exploited the name of Peter. Thus, controversy took place in the capital, and we, the disputants, became a disgrace to our Chalcedonian enemies. They took advantage of the conflict and stirred up persecution against us. They had Bishop John thrown into prison in chains for a whole year. The antagonists themselves admitted that he was a predictor of future events. They coerced him to join their communion promising to release him from his chains, but he said, “Do not be over concerned to have me unchained, for I, on a certain day, will be free against your desire.” He died on the very day he had mentioned, and was buried with great celebration. Both parties participated in his funeral, and both Orthodox and Chalcedonians received blessing from his body.

The principal monasteries, both in the east and west, were engaged in mischief that often ended in bloodshed. Many monks were dragged in chains and cast into prison and courts. Aged monks with flowing beards reaching the hems of their garments, stood before the judges to answer to the crime of bloodshed. Who would not tremble and lament over deeds so horrible? Who would not mourn as the jackal, over salt that had not only lost its savor, but itself became foul and rotten, and therefore was cast out and trodden under foot?

During this period of conflict, (the author means the conflict between the parties of Jacob and Paul.) the abbots of monasteries appointed three of their active partisans to make a patriarch for them (in Paul’s stead). In the meeting which was held at Mor Hananya, (today, the Za’faran Monastery), several of the bishops would not consent to create a patriarch while Paul was alive, and not canonically condemned.¹⁵²⁹

Soon, however, the blessed Jacob, urged by zeal, suddenly decided to go to Alexandria for the second time. Some of them thought that he was intending to set up a patriarch of Antioch there. Others thought that he went to make peace with the partisans of Paul. However, his views were not really known. When the bishops in Jacob’s company reached the great Monastery of Cassianus on the borders of Egypt, immediately, John, the pious bishop of Qartmin (today known as the Monastery of Mor Gabriel.), died. He had reconciled the schismatic people of Edessa concerning the expression of “substances.” Three days later, the aged Jacob (Baradaeus) died. He was followed by his deacon who also died. Before this, his syncellus Sergius also died. These three men died within twelve days. The old man Jacob died on July 30, 889 of the

¹⁵²⁷ The entire above account of Justin II and Tiberius is in John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 155-159, English, 171-175.

¹⁵²⁸ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 159-161, English, 176-178. It should be noted that the original Syriac does not say that the physicians intended to cut off Justin’s male organ, but to remove the stones, which obstructed his bladder. A deep incision was then made in both his groins, and the whole operation was barbarously performed.

¹⁵²⁹ The assembled bishops could not agree on selecting a patriarch, and the meeting dispersed without accomplishing anything.

Greeks (A.D. 578). He served thirty-three years as a chief priest, ordained 100,000 bishops, presbyters, and deacons, as mentioned in his memoirs. Damian and the clergy hastened to Cassianus, but arrived after the old man had died. He wanted to carry his holy remains to Alexandria, but the inhabitants of the monastery would not consent, and he was buried in the Monastery of Cassianus. Damian addressed a letter of consolation to the people of Syria about the death of great Jacob.¹⁵³⁰

After Jacob's death, the disturbance within the church did not end but rather intensified. Some of Paul's party claimed that God took him because he was intending to set up a patriarch instead of Paul. The followers of Jacob claimed the contrary. They said that God took him because he was intending to restore Paul to his see lest he becomes part in his condemnation, and the soul of this man of God would perish.¹⁵³¹
End of the account. I implore every noble brother who reads this to pray for me with love.

Chapter Sixteen: The commencement of the reign of Tiberius, the first emperor of the Greeks, who is the 51st of the Romans; the death of Khusro (Chosroes), king of Persia; and the beginning of the reign of his son, Hormizd; and the events of the Church in this time

Tiberius administered the kingdom of the Romans for five years, but did not proclaim himself an emperor since Justin was still living, as we said earlier. After the death of Justin, Tiberius (II) received the crown on September 26, 890 of the Greeks (A.D. 578).¹⁵³²

In this period, the desire of Khusro, king of Persia, was not to destroy the peace between the two kingdoms. It was even said that when he was marching against Dara, the parchments on which were inscribed the terms of peace, were tied up to a lance and suspended towards heaven, while he himself said, "O great God, who dwells in the heavens, I am not the reason for the destruction of peace, or the wars which take place on earth. Neither have I entered the lands of the Romans by my own will, but they (the Romans) have forced me to do so." When Tiberius sent him a message saying, "We have not given a single talent of gold which the Romans gave the Persians in order that there may be no peace," Khusro was not a little alarmed. Then Tiberius threw upon him a second slight, saying, "If you will not give us back Dara, we will never make peace with you." At this, the Persians were irritated and the peace ceased as they prepared for combat. Just then at that very time, Khusro died after a reign of forty-eight years.¹⁵³³

Among the Persians, Hormizd was famous for his many good deeds. However, the reports of him show that he was a ferocious and savage youth, and only slightly endowed with understanding. At the commencement of his reign, being proud and deficient in sense, he was arrogant as to not even send to the emperor of the Romans the usual symbols of having succeeded to the throne, according to the custom of kings. For when Tiberius was appointed Caesar, although the two kingdoms were at feud and war, he sent to his father Khusro the customary gifts, as Khusro presented Justin with gifts upon his ascending the throne. However, this man, in his senselessness, did not send gifts. Moreover, he sent back the ambassadors of the Roman emperor to him with insults. He would not even permit them to travel by the direct road, but sent them with guides to take them over lofty mountains in order to die. They said to the guides, "Why did you not openly slay us, instead of bringing us here to die of fatigue among these mountains?"¹⁵³⁴

Shortly afterwards, Hormizd foolishly stirred up war in the region of Persarmenia. This led Qouris, the general commander of the Roman army to gather troops in the evening and attack the Persians in the morning, like fire that kindles in the forest and the flames that consume the mountains, as it is written.¹⁵³⁵ He destroyed them completely, and only few were saved. The Persians returned to their country with shame. Qouris returned to his country with captured mighty Persian notables. For the Lord brings down the

¹⁵³⁰ The above episode is in John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 255-258, English, 288-292.

¹⁵³¹ John of Ephesus, *Ibid.*

¹⁵³² *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 139. See footnote 7 on the different dates of Tiberius' assumption of power.

¹⁵³³ Khusro died in the year 890 of the Greeks (A.D. 579) and was succeeded by his son Hormizd. John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 391-393, English, 420-423.

¹⁵³⁴ John of Ephesus, *Ibid.* English, 423-424.

¹⁵³⁵ Psalm 83:14.

haughty, shames the proud and breaks down the horn of their haughtiness. There was great joy and consolation of the Roman army, and indeed, of all the people and tongues under Roman rule.

Prior to the death of old man Jacob (Baradaeus), Khusro, king of the Persians, read the books of philosophers and examined all faiths. He praised immensely the teachings of Christianity. Therefore, he brought together the Nestorians and the Orthodox in an assembly. The Nestorian catholicos spoke at length, and was answered by Bishop Ahudemeh, leader of the Orthodox. Khusro appreciated his words tremendously and said, "This is the truth." Nestorius was disdained. The holy Jacob went to Persia and visited Khusro. There he set up a catholicos for the Orthodox and established many churches in Persia.

After the death of the holy Jacob at the Cassianus Monastery, as said earlier, Damian, bishop of Alexandria, addressed a letter of consolation to Syria containing the following:

To the God-loving and pious bishops, presbyters, archimandrites and the entire clergy under the jurisdiction of the East, Damian,

The tongue trembles and the word startles as they try to convey to the believers in all quarters the news of comprehensive sorrow. This time needs the Prophet Jeremiah or one like him, to lament sufficiently. You may have heard about this mishap through vision, or tremor, or some calamity, or through distress that rests upon the souls, and through whatever similar means. We have been accustomed to take the initiative in proclaiming such enormous calamities, but not with the role of a harbinger of evil. Today, however, I will assume the role of a harbinger by conveying the tragic news concerning the sweet name of the holy Jacob (Baradaeus), the crown of the priests, the ascetic from childhood, not by wearing rough hair but by the spirit. Jacob is the foundation of the believers and the confirmer of churches. He is mighty in enduring persecution and courageous in oppression. He was more concerned about what belongs to Christ than to himself, and lived not for himself but for the one who suffered on our behalf. He forgot what is behind and heeded what is ahead. Like Paul, he directed the deficient (in faith) until Christ was manifested in them. This man, Jacob, has departed us and soared high to be transported to Jesus. How then can we find that priestly expression, "the captain of the host of Israel," who had everything under his control by the power of love? That man felt sick with the sick, and burned like Paul in order not to make anyone stumble even in the slightest matter. He looked upon constant recurring distress as an orchard filled with flowers—all this for the service that Christ had trusted to him. Without grumbling, he endured the persecutions that forced him to move from one place to the other and roam through the mountains and the caves. No hunger or thirst, no dry land or sea, and no different dangers could separate him from the love of Christ. What shall I say? I lament with the prophet and cry out, "My bowels, my bowels! Oh, the agony of my heart! My heart pounds within me."¹⁵³⁶ I cannot keep quiet for my tents have fallen down by the death of the steward of the mysteries of God. The roads of Sion are desolate, as the prophet says, for God has taken the dear one from their midst. Time has called me and deprived me from a helper, for this I lament and my tears flow heavily like water because the comforter and the helper of my soul is distant from me. Sion stretched its hands, and no one comforts her except the Lord, the God of Israel. He has drawn unto himself the blessed one and left us our lords the Bishops John Mor Sergius, Mor Jirjis (George), and the rest whom we know of the dear brothers. With them my soul is satisfied as was satisfied the soul of Elijah with Elisha.¹⁵³⁷ These are the ones who direct you and assist you. Be steadfast, dear brothers, and never be shaken. It is not proper that your sacerdotal community constantly remembers death and hastens to the heavenly chambers to disturb the faith of that upright man who has been transferred to eternal rest, far away from the leaven of heretics and schismatic men. He has preserved the bond of the unity of the Eastern churches, and of our churches in Egypt during his earthly life, leaving us himself as an example. God shows that when he was among us, not only did he adhere to the unity of the churches like a firm anchor, but even after his transportation from this world, he kept holding on to the same will. He did not want to see division within the churches. Indeed, when he was with us or when he tarried among you, he cemented the bonds of affection. So, do not grieve

¹⁵³⁶ Jeremiah 4:19.

¹⁵³⁷ 2 Kings 11-15.

BOOK TEN

that righteous soul which has risen to heaven. Neither waver to the right or left, nor step beyond the eternal boundaries set by our Fathers. After all, what is the law of boundaries? It is first and foremost, to run away, declare as foolish, and anathematize all past and present heresies, especially the impious Council of Chalcedon, the *Tome* of Leo and everyone who proclaims two natures after the ineffable and incomprehensible union, and divides the great mystery of godliness.¹⁵³⁸

In addition, Julian of Halicarnassus should be anathematized because he was entangled in the heresy of Phantasiasm, considering the passions of the Incarnated Word a fantasy and not real. He also considered the body of the Incarnated Word a fantasy. By means of deception, he tried to revive the ideas of the impious Mani and those who dare attribute lack of knowledge, in any shape or form, to Christ our true God, and the entire heresy of the Tritheists, who claim that because of their number, the essences (of the Trinity) are three Gods.

As to Paul the Black, there is no need to write to you about him. For we know that you do not pay him much attention. You do not count him among the clergy, or as a member of your communion or ours. He was not short in fighting the holy church, as you well know. Since you have the mind of Christ, you are able to teach others.

These are the things we beseech you, to keep precisely that peace between you and us so it may remain firm. Moreover, may the soul of him who is of good memory be refreshed among the righteous. That man, who until the last breath never quit supplicating God to avenge me against Paul. Even those present were mightily astonished how he always attached his supplications with sighs, saying, "Lord, judge between me and Paul." Brethren! Endeavor not to build on the same foundation. But what is it to build? It is that you request our brethren and fellow-minsters, the bishops everywhere who found the departure of our holy brother very dear, to set up a believing chief priest who, as it is said, would know how to behave in the house of the Lord, which is the church,¹⁵³⁹ that the enemy may not scorn you. I have intimated to the brethren and fellow-ministers, the Bishops John and Sergius, something in secret that I found improper to write down here. They will convey it to you verbally, for they are competent to relay it you with haste that it may be a consolation for the loss of that righteous man of God. Although we weep for him being physically separated from us, we rejoice that he is interceding for us in heaven. As he never slowed down to pray for all the believers when he was still living, so he is all the more interceding on our behalf and seeks to gain the mercy of him who is merciful in his nature. Some forceful circumstances, and the problems which engulf me, detain me from coming to you to console you and console myself. The grief is deep and comprehensive. Please do not consider my fellow-ministers the Bishops John and George less important than me.

The divine apostles said, "Brothers, we do not want you to be ignorant about those who fall asleep, or to grieve like the rest of men who have no hope."¹⁵⁴⁰ If this was such for the entire believers, how it should be, I wonder, for that soul which was raised unto heaven and which every hour longed for it. That soul constantly desired to rid itself of the burden of the body and hasten to the heavenly chambers. It had no permanent abode here, and therefore, longed for the heavenly Jerusalem that God had prepared.

May God deliver you from all temptations and from the demons. May he keep your endeavors blameless and your abodes without confusion by the prayers of all the saints? Amen.

I beseech you to pray for my unworthiness, and for all the clergymen among us, who because of the Orthodox faith, were taken to the capital, that God may endow them with patience and truth in order to build and confirm the Orthodox Church in all quarters.

Damian, by the mercy of God, Bishop of Alexandria, and this letter is signed by my hand. *The End.*

¹⁵³⁸ 1 Timothy 3:15.

¹⁵³⁹ 1 Timothy, entire Chapter 3.

¹⁵⁴⁰ 1 Thessalonians 4:13.

Chapter Seventeen: On the events which took Place between the kings and the priests in the second year of Tiberius

In this period, an infraction of the law took place in the Roman kingdom as follows:

Queen Sophia, wife of Emperor Justin II, would not permit the wife of Tiberius to enter the capital for the period of five years,¹⁵⁴¹ during which Tiberius administered the affairs of the empire when Justin was sick. Then, when Justin gained his senses, he reproved her saying, "You have done wrong by not permitting the wife of Tiberius to come and dwell with him. For he is a young man, and the flesh is hard to rule." However, she answered, "I have not lost my mind as you did and given my kingdom to another as long as I am alive." Tiberius' wife remained dwelling in Hormizda palace.¹⁵⁴²

Upon the death of Justin, Tiberius requested Sophia to send for his wife, but she refused. The foolish patriarch, who had no faith or respect for the canons, made proposals to him that he should put away his wife and marry either Sophia herself or her daughter. Thus, it became obvious that the Chalcedonian clerics had no concern for canons, laws or faith, they only cared for mundane and vain, worldly concerns. Tiberius, however, was very sad and indignant for the proposal of the so-called patriarch. He said to him, "Don't you fear God? You want me to leave my legal wife, by whom I have had three children, and who took me before the throne of the church of God to share all she had when I had nothing? Now that God has raised me to power, am I to leave her and take another? God forbid if I do such a thing. It appears to me, O patriarch that you have no concern for the dignity of the canons, and you have no orthodox faith." The patriarch who was very stunned, said, "The responsible men of the kingdom forced me to make such a proposal for the safety of the empire." Tiberius said, "I would rather give up the kingdom than trample upon the canons." The patriarch left embarrassed.¹⁵⁴³ Upon hearing what has been said, Queen Sophia was scared and sent after Tiberius's wife to bring her to the capital. Accordingly, Tiberius's wife entered the capital with great pomp and was greatly honored by the people who hailed her as Helena. In the meantime, Tiberius treated Queen Sophia and her daughter with great deference, and added by allowing them to reside in their palace.¹⁵⁴⁴

When Tiberius was Caesar, he distributed presents lavishly, saying, "What good is all this gold hoarded up here, while the whole world is choked with hunger?" Thus, he spent and squandered without restraint. When, however, he became emperor, he opened the great treasury and spent no less than 7200 pounds weight of gold, besides silver and dresses of silk and other things. He confined his benefits, however, to the rich, and did nothing to benefit the poor. In the next year, he tightened his hand and did not offer assistance to anyone, and permitted no one to have access to him for help.¹⁵⁴⁵ Tiberius did well by changing the coinage. Justin had introduced in the coinage a female figure, which was generally compared to Venus. However, Tiberius had a cross struck on the reverse side of his coin. This act, as he himself said, was dictated to him in a vision.¹⁵⁴⁶

In this time, Mundhir, son of Harith, upon hearing of the death of Justin and Tiberius had become emperor, went up to the capital and had an audience with Tiberius. The emperor blamed him for failing to attack the Persians to retrieve the spoils from Apamea. As he went on blaming Mundhir of other matters, Mundhir said to him, "Everything you said is true. But you ought to know the reason for my reluctance." He then showed him the letters that Justin had written, as we have explained in the former chapters. Justin had written two letters, one addressed to Mundhir; the other to Marcian when had laid siege against Nisibin. Now, if the contents of these two letters were carried out, the Christians would have suffered the worst calamities. However, God who felt compassion for mankind, made the copier change, inadvertently and unknowingly, the names of the addressees. He put the name of Mundhir to the letter addressed to Marcian,

¹⁵⁴¹ According to the Syriac text of John of Ephesus, this period was four years. See footnote below.

¹⁵⁴² John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 161-163, English, 178-179.

¹⁵⁴³ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 161-163, English, 171-181.

¹⁵⁴⁴ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 164-166, English, 181-183.

¹⁵⁴⁵ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 168-169, English, 185-187 and Syriac, 172-173, English, 189-191.

¹⁵⁴⁶ *Ibid.* Syriac, 173, English, 192.

and the name Marcian to the letter addressed to Mundhir. Mundhir showed the letter to Marcian which was addressed to him, to Tiberius. In it, Justin said, "I have written to Mundhir to come to you. See, directly that he comes and take off his head." In the other letter, Justin wrote, "I have written to Marcian, go therefore to him."¹⁵⁴⁷ Tiberius was astonished, and glorified God who exposed Justin's deception. He honored Mundhir immensely and lavished on him gifts. Mundhir pledged to fight the Persians ferociously.¹⁵⁴⁸ Mundhir requested the emperor to address letters to all quarters, which he did. One of these letters was addressed to Gregory, the Chalcedonian patriarch of Antioch concerning the peace of the churches. The emperor decreed that people could assemble as they wished and wherever they wished. He immensely assisted the Orthodox because he was one of them. Gregory of Antioch, however, would not consent to the peace of the churches, or to the reading of the emperor's letter. However, Mundhir was very much concerned that the letter should be read everywhere. The ambassadors sent by his sons informed him that the Persians were intending to enter his own territory. Mundhir hastily departed, leaving behind the case of the peace of the churches. Thus, the heretics (Chalcedonians) impeded the emperor's decree and began to do the believers more harm.

In this period, Damian, patriarch of Alexandria, arrived in Syria and went around visiting the monasteries. The bishops crowded to greet him. He went to Edessa to visit his brother, the prefect of the city. Upon returning to Antioch, he entertained the foolish idea of ordaining a patriarch for Antioch in the place of Paul while he was still alive. He thought of this in imitation, as it seemed, of his own appointment and that of Peter while Theodore was still alive. He summoned the Syrians to join him in appointing a patriarch of Antioch, but they refused saying, "Unless Paul is not condemned and canonically deposed, we cannot consent to appoint another in addition to him." However, others agreed with Damian. They summoned one, two and three persons to be ordained, but Damian rejected them. At length, however, they found a silly man named Severus, and Damian with two other bishops, took him with him, and entered Antioch by night. He sent secretly to the sexton of the church Cassian, and promised to give him eighteen darics if he would leave the church open at night, that he might ordain Severus as patriarch. When this stratagem was discovered by the Chalcedonian patriarch of the city, he immediately sent men to arrest them. They seized three monks, but Damian, his bishops and some others managed to descend to the basement. Pressed by fear, they descended to the latrina and scrambled out by a window, and so made their escape, but both their persons and their dress were covered with filth and excrement. They were ashamed at having had to encounter this uncleanness than at the failure of their subtle plan.¹⁵⁴⁹

Having escaped, Damian journeyed to Constantinople.¹⁵⁵⁰ At the capital was Mundhir, son of Harith, on a visit to Tiberius who had recently become emperor. Mundhir summoned the clergy of both parties (The Chalcedonians and the Orthodox), and advised them to quit their schism and reconcile with each other. They did reconcile during their presence at the capital. Damian vowed to Mundhir to remove whatever doubts the Alexandrians had against Paul. Mundhir, who had been honored by the emperor, interceded before him for the Alexandrian clergy who were at Constantinople under arrest, and he let them go. Moreover, Mundhir begged the emperor to stop the persecution, and the emperor did. However, no sooner had Damian and his clergy returned to Alexandria, than they turned around and were faithless like their fathers, and went on vilifying Paul.¹⁵⁵¹ When Mundhir learned their perfidy, he was sorrowful that they changed from truth to falsehood. He wrote to each one of them by name reproving them for their falsehood against God, himself and the whole church. However, being ashamed of what they had done, they did not receive his letters or even write an answer.¹⁵⁵²

¹⁵⁴⁷ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 347, English, 372-375.

¹⁵⁴⁸ See above Chapter Eight: Concerning the Affairs between the Persians and the Romans in the Eighth Year of Justin, and John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 342-353, English 367-379.

¹⁵⁴⁹ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 268-272, English, 300-304.

¹⁵⁵⁰ He made it to the capital in disguise.

¹⁵⁵¹ Their fathers here is a reference to Damian.

¹⁵⁵² I have here followed the original Syriac because Michael Rabo offered rather a mutilated and hard to understand account of Mundhir and Damian and his clergy. See John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 273-275, especially p. 274, English, 306-312.

At the capital was a group of wicked troublemakers who desired no peace. They assembled and addressed letters to Syria and Egypt, which caused more disturbance and schism among the believers, whose endeavors took a turn backward because of factious conflict.

Meanwhile, the Syrian monks assembled at the Monastery of Mor Hananya¹⁵⁵³ in the wilderness, and made a young man named Peter, son of Paul of Callinicus, a patriarch of the See of Antioch. Twice, Jacob (Baradaeus) in his lifetime wanted to ordain him a patriarch, but he refused saying, "I will not accept this position while there is another one (Paul the Black) who has not been condemned canonically." Now, he yielded, and Damian ordained him while Paul was still alive. After his ordination, the chief priests addressed a letter to John, bishop of Ephesus, who was dwelling in Constantinople to accept the ordained patriarch. Nevertheless, John rebuked them strongly and told them that they behaved outside the boundaries of the canons. He said, "I am mightily grieved over the conflict going on among us. God, who examines the innermost secrets of man, is my witness that I found no charge against Paul. Thus, neither have I abandoned him, nor Jacob."¹⁵⁵⁴ *The narrative is ended by the help of our Lord and God.*

Chapter Eighteen: On the time of Tiberius, and what took place between the kings (emperors) and the church

In the days of Justinian I (527- 565), people of long hair (called Avars), made their first appearance in the Roman territory. Justinian gave them rich presents of gold and silver, but often on various pretexts, they sent embassies, and received gold and returned home. This continued until the senate and the people began complaining that the emperor was stripping the whole kingdom and giving it to the barbarians.¹⁵⁵⁵ On one occasion when they came to receive gold, Justinian told them, "We will no longer give you a thing." They were displeased, and Justinian imprisoned them for six months in Chalcedon. He later released them and sent them away. Afterwards, they sent him ambassadors who cunningly asked him to provide them with artificers and masons to build a palace and a bath for their king. The emperor fulfilled their request gladly thinking that, this way, he would win their loyalty. On the arrival of the artificers and masons, they (the Avars) drew their swords saying, "Unless you build a bridge by your art over the Danube, there shall not one of you alive." They said, "Who could possibly build a bridge over a river as wide as a sea?" Upon this answer, two of them were immediately beheaded. The rest were terrified and began to work. They asked for as many large timber-trees as possible to be brought, and they build a strong bridge. When Tiberius became sole emperor, and learned that a bridge had been built over the River Danube, he decided to cut it away. At the time, he was not able because of engagement in war with the Persians, a war that protracted for twenty years. The Romans, however, were greatly distressed because of these longhaired barbarians, the Avars, also the Slovanians and others, called the Lonbards, who were under the dominion of Khagan, king of the Avars, who built another bridge on the Danube.¹⁵⁵⁶

In the third year of Tiberius, the accursed people, called the Slavonians, overran the whole of Hellada (Greece), Thessalonia and Thrace. They devastated, burned, and made themselves masters of the whole country. They captured the emperor's horses and they learned how to fight, although they were rude savages who did not venture to show themselves outside the woods and the coverts of the trees. As for arms, they did not even know what they were, with the exception of two or three javelins or darts.¹⁵⁵⁷ They made themselves masters of the whole country for a long time. Moreover, the Avars sent a message to Tiberius demanding he should surrender to them the city of Sirmium and ransom its inhabitants by money, or else they would take it by sword and exterminate its inhabitants. The emperor began to procrastinate with words and various promises, hoping to have the Lombards attack them in the rear. When the Lombards did

¹⁵⁵³ Present day Za'faran Monastery.

¹⁵⁵⁴ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 275-280, English, 308-310.

¹⁵⁵⁵ Up to this point, Michael Rabo is correctly using the account of John of Ephesus about the Avars in the days of Justinian. What follows until the end of the story of the Avars, took place under Justin II, who succeeded Justinian. See footnote below.

¹⁵⁵⁶ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 398-402, English, 428-433.

¹⁵⁵⁷ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 402, English, 432-433.

not appear, he was compelled to surrender the city to the Avars after two years of starvation. Because of the extremity of famine, the people ate their cattle and finally were compelled to feed upon cats and other animals. They suffered privation no less bitter than that of Samaria. Then, the barbarians entered the city, and seeing the misery of the people, they showed compassion upon those who were tormented by hunger. They condemned the Christians who did not care for them. They gave them bread to eat and wine to drink, but after the emptiness of hunger had endured for a period of two years, they seized upon the food and ate it greedily, and many immediately fell down dead. Finally, the survivors had to depart from the city, and the barbarians dwelt in it. After about a year, however, a fire broke out in the city, and it became desolate.¹⁵⁵⁸ When the Romans saw what has happened to Sirmium, they retracted a little from their evils.

In the year 892 of the Greeks (A.D. 581), a certain Marzuban of the Persians, who being blinded in one eye, and was carried by pride, told the Persian king, "I will immediately enter their (the Romans) territory and destroy it." However, the Lord, who humbles the proud, disdained him. When he reached the town of Tell Mawzalt, he was met by the Roman troops. A courageous captain named Constantine, had captured a spy and learned from him the appearance of the Marzuban Tam Khusro. When he spotted him in the center of the Persian army, he charged vigorously and smote him with his lance. He threw him off his horse, smote him once more, and killed him, but the mighty man was himself slain. Upon seeing this, the Persians fled, but the Romans pursued them and killed thousands of them.¹⁵⁵⁹

When Paul (The Black), the patriarch of evil days, found that the bellows of enmity had roared because of him, he disappeared. Some thought that he dwelt in the mountain of Isauria. Finally, the facts proved that he was concealed in the mountains near the capital for four years. When he became sick, he entered the capital in secret and died there. He was buried in a certain convent. Some of his partisans swore that it was not he. With such haste, these two wondrous men, Jacob and Paul, departed this life.¹⁵⁶⁰

As to Peter, he had been against his will made a patriarch of Syria, in Paul's place when Paul still lived. Because he was an eloquent, intelligent, well versed in two languages (Greek and Syriac), and well known for his good conduct, he was reproved by his own conscience for having uncanonically occupied the patriarchal throne. He entered Alexandria and began to say, "Let there be no quarrel on my account. I will withdraw and live in confinement." However, the Alexandrians opposed him, and he departed in sorrow. At that time, however, a report of Paul's death was known, and Peter was confirmed in his see. However, some Alexandrians thought that Peter had knowledge of Paul's death, had cunningly entered Alexandria and deceitfully said that he would withdraw, and that Paul should be confirmed in his see.¹⁵⁶¹

At this time, when the people called Alodaei, in the interior of Ethiopia, learned that the people called Nabodae (Nubians) were converted to the Christian faith, they requested the king of the Nubians to send them the bishop who converted them, to come and convert them in like manner. When the Alexandrians learned of this request, they tried to have Longinus¹⁵⁶² rejected. Accordingly, they wrote saying that Longinus had been anathematized, and thus, he was not eligible for this mission. The king of Nubians was not convinced of the Alexandrians' claims. The Alexandrians, however, had the audacity to address to the people of Alodaei in the interior of Ethiopia, whose king was still an infant, letters of vilifications against Longinus. Furthermore, they sent two bishops who said that, "Longinus has no authority to baptize, or practice sacerdotal matters, and that God has taken revenge of him." The Ethiopians replied, "We know not who you are, nor can we receive you, but we will receive him who instructed the people of Nubia in the faith." Meanwhile, Longinus baptized the king and the entire people. Indeed, they welcomed him, as is evident from the letters of the king of Alodaei to the king of Nubia. These things were done in the year 891 of the Greeks (A.D. 580).¹⁵⁶³

¹⁵⁵⁸ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 411-414, English, 442-445.

¹⁵⁵⁹ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 403-405, English, 433-435.

¹⁵⁶⁰ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 280, 294-295, 297-299, English, 312-313 and 327-334.

¹⁵⁶¹ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 302-305, English, 334-337.

¹⁵⁶² The bishop who had converted the Nubians to the Christian faith.

¹⁵⁶³ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 283-288, English, 315-320. For the letter of the king of Alodaei to the king of the Nubians,

Emperor Tiberius was not well versed in doctrinal matters. For this reason, the Chalcedonians pressured him to persecute the believers (non-Chalcedonians), but he hesitated to do so. Eutychius went to see him daily and instigated him against the “distinguishers.” (This is how the Chalcedonians labeled the Orthodox). The emperor answered, “Trouble me about such things no more. I have as much as I can do with wars I am engaged in. You act in church matters according to what you think is right at your own risk. Look to it yourself. I am free from guilt in this matter.” Eutychius intensified and widened the persecution of the Orthodox. He destroyed their altars, plundered their possessions and sent them into banishment.¹⁵⁶⁴ He poured out his vengeance, with apparent arrogance, upon the phrase “You who was crucified for us” which was added to the Trisagion. His wrath extended to the Eastern nuns who carried out their services as usual. According to John of Ephesus, these nuns had fled from Antioch at the beginning of the persecution, and lived in various parts of the capital. According to the tradition of the East, they used in their service the phrase “You who was crucified for us.” Eutychius paid them a visit and threatened them with punishment if they did not stop using it.¹⁵⁶⁵ He paid them a visit and began to threaten them, but they were discourteous to him. When the clergy in his company saw their audacity, they said to him, “Let us leave this place for it is time for the liturgy.” He left them to their own.

Eutychius widened the extent of persecution. He seized John the historian, bishop of Asia (John of Ephesus) and his companions, and cast them into a place in a prison (called the *chancery*) which was in such a bad condition that the water ran down at the corners, and after rain dripped continuously for two days or more, owing to the ruinous state of the roof so they were as if thrown into a pool. Furthermore, the Diphysites (Chalcedonians) disputed with them daily. John had an easy chair on which he used to sit because of the gout in his feet, but Eutychius took it from him. According to John of Ephesus, he tore it up. The band of persecutors assembled and attacked the church of the Orthodox in Beth Marianum, and arrested many worshippers. They went up to the altar, lifted it up, overturned it, poured out on the ground the consecrated wine, and scattered the Eucharistic bread. After causing destruction and ruin throughout the church, they tore down the pictures of Severus and Theodosius, dragged off the clergy, and carried them, as in mockery, head foremost. Having learned of this, the emperor reproached Eutychius who slightly abated the vehemence of his cruelty. John and his companions were let out of prison. Shortly afterwards, Eutychius resumed his persecution of the Orthodox. This time, God struck him with wrath, and he died immediately.¹⁵⁶⁶

Chapter: Nineteen: On the Romans’ perfidy against the Christian Tayoye (Arabs) State; the death of Tiberius; and the events that took place in this year in the churches; and on the chief priests

A quarrel ensued between Mundhir, king of the Tayoye (Arabs)¹⁵⁶⁷ and Maurice, the Roman Caesar (582-606). The reason is that Maurice imagined that Mundhir had passed information to the Persians, and accordingly, they broke up the bridge on Great River in their country. Feeling animosity toward each other, Maurice went up to the capital and made accusations against Mundhir to the Emperor (Tiberius).¹⁵⁶⁸ The Syrian curator, Magnus, who was a friend of Mundhir, promised to seize him. He journeyed to Syria and prevailed upon Mundhir to come to him. He sent him a message saying, “I have come to inquire about your

see Syriac, pp. 288-289, English, 324-327.

¹⁵⁶⁴ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 182-183, English, 201-203.

¹⁵⁶⁵ See John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 179-181, English, 198-20.

¹⁵⁶⁶ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 173-176, English, 192-195.

¹⁵⁶⁷ This king cannot be Mundhir, son of al-Harith the Ghasanid who was a Christian Orthodox and ally of the Romans. Logically, he must be Harith IV, son of Harith III, king of al-Hira who was a heathen and allied to the Persians. See note on p. 236 of Payne Smith’s English translation.

¹⁵⁶⁸ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 213-214, English, 236-240. Later, he reiterates the unsuccessful expedition of Maurice and Mundhir against the Persians in the year 580. It was at this time that Maurice became suspicious of Mundhir for passing information to the Persians. But when Tiberias failed to reconcile both men, Maurice went to see him in Constantinople. John of Ephesus concludes this episode saying, “whether or not he (Maurice) accused Mundhir is not known for certain.” See John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 383, English, 413-414.

health. Had it not been for my being tired with the journey, I should have come and paid my respects to you.”¹⁵⁶⁹ Mundhir believed him because he was his friend. He set out immediately attended by a very small escort. Magnus asked him to send these people away. In the evening at suppertime, Magnus arrested him and delivered him up to a Roman army that took him to the capital.¹⁵⁷⁰

Upon learning that his father had been captured, Nu'man assembled his forces and attacked the Roman domain. He plundered gold, silver and other things, but without killing, burning or taking captives. Meanwhile, the emperor commanded Magnus to rule the Tayoye (Arabs). He also ordered him to seize the sons of Mundhir.¹⁵⁷¹ Magnus, using fraud, tried to entrap Nu'man saying to him, “If you come to me, I will make you king instead of your father.” Nu'man had one of the boys of his companions dressed like him and sent him with others to Magnus. When Magnus saw him, he asked him, “Are you Nu'man?” The boy said, “I am he. I have come according to your order.” Magnus said, “Here is the king's representative, throw him in iron chains.” The boy cried out, “Inasmuch as you wanted to deceive me, I have likewise deceived you. By Christ, I am not Nu'man.” When Magnus wanted to kill him, the boy said, “I would have been killed by my king if I refused to come to you, and will be killed by you because I did come. My death is a great honor for me.” Magnus had him tortured and then set free. Afterwards, Magna, the wicked murderer, died. Then, Nu'man, stepping on his own pride, went up to see Maurice Caesar. Maurice welcomed him with honor, and vowed to him if he would fight the Persians, he would release his father from exile. Further, he asked to receive communion from the Synodites (Chalcedonians), but he refused saying, “The entire Tayoye (Arab) tribes are Orthodox, if I receive communion from the Synodites, they will kill me.” With this, the animosity between the two worsened. Upon his departure, Nu'man swore that he would never see the face of the Romans again willingly. When he was on the road, the Romans seized him and sent him to the same place of exile as his father, Mundhir. Consequently, the kingdom of the Tayoye (Arabs) was divided into fifteen princes, most of whom joined the Persians. At this point, the kingdom of the Christian Tayoye (Arabs) ended, because of the perfidy of the Romans. Heresies spread among the Tayoye (Arabs).¹⁵⁷²

In the year 893 of the Greeks, (A.D. 582), the fourth year of Emperor Tiberius in which his life ended, bread vanished in the Western countries, especially in the capital (Constantinople), and none could be found in the marketplaces. The emperor ordered the barley in the storehouses be distributed by assignments, but it was finished in three days. He further ordered the feed of the emperor's horses, together with the feed of horses in the entire kingdom, be distributed to be baked. He also ordered the provisions found in the storehouses of lentils, chickpeas, rice, and even bread crusts, be mixed and ground with the barley and baked. This detestable bread, which appeared in the morning, was sold at exorbitant prices. Furthermore, the emperor had corn brought from many countries like Egypt and Thebaide, but famine also afflicted those countries. Great distress prevailed throughout the whole world to the extent that human beings were nearly wiped from the earth. Death overwhelmed the young men and women for two reasons: first, lest they wallow in the mud of sin; and second, it was a reproach to the old people who have reached the mouth of the grave but did not repent. In brief, death had dominion over all ages. Finally, the mercy of the loving God prevailed. Sea fishing increased in abundance, especially of the fish called tuna. People began to gather it as if gathering piles of wheat in an abundant season. Thus, people alleviated their hunger. The tuna fish was so cheap that each one was sold for a penny, after it had cost nine dinars. In places remote from the sea, God provided plenty of vegetables like lettuce, melons and others on which the people fed.

¹⁵⁶⁹ See John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 213-215, English, 236-238.

¹⁵⁷⁰ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac 213-216, English, 236-240.

¹⁵⁷¹ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 217-219, English, 240-242. At this point, thirteen chapters of the Syriac manuscript published by Rev. William Cureton are missing. The last bit of information in Chapter 43 is that, Magnus was successful making Mundhir's brother king. However, ten days later, death overtook him and deprived him of the power to commit further frauds. See pp. 242-243 of the English translation.

¹⁵⁷² The above narrative must have been taken from the lost chapters of Book Three, especially Chapters 52-56. See Ignatius Jacob III, Patriarch of Antioch, *Mor Yaqub (Jacob) al-Baradi'i (Baradaeus)*, (Damascus, 1978), p. 22, note 18.

In this period, fire broke out in the capital. In addition, a severe earthquake took place, especially in the eastern section of the capital. It was accompanied by cries coming out of the earth. Moreover, in this period, locusts appeared in great swarms and caused damage.

After Eutychius, John, who was a curator of John of Sirmin, was set up as patriarch of the Synodites (Chalcedonians) in the capital. He declined the position, but Emperor Tiberius forced him to accept it. He was a constant faster who kept vigil, and loved solitude. When he was pressed to accept the position, he stipulated that he would never violate his order of life, and receive no one until the ninth hour. Thus, he retained his way of life. He spent all day long prostrating in prayer. He was thin and dry like a piece of wood. He forbade the Chalcedonians to plunder the possessions of the Orthodox. He sought peace and connected deeds of mercy with his fasting and ascetic living. Quite often, he was slandered as being a follower of Severus because he did not surrender to the ideas of the evil men (Chalcedonians). The Chalcedonians betrayed him to the emperor to stop him from his wont of lavish giving lest he would not need squander the church treasury. He replied the emperor saying, "Don't tire yourself and those who instructed you. I have given no one, not even a penny of the treasury of the church." When this John was heavily pressured by the Chalcedonians to persecute the Orthodox, he never did. However, these wicked men never ceased stirring up different seditions. They even had the audacity to spit in the faces of the believers and lead them to the courts, while they endured their evils for the sake of God. The Chalcedonians, however, treated the patriarch insolently, and said to his face, "If you do not persecute the Orthodox, as Eutychius did, we will count you as one of them." He paid no attention to their wickedness.

In the time of Justin and Tiberius, the Synodite (Chalcedonian) chief priests were:

In Rome, John, was the 58th patriarch.

In Constantinople, Eutychius, after John of Sirmin, who were the 25th patriarchs for nine years, returned to the see for eleven years, and then died. Then, John the ascetic, followed as the 26th patriarch.

In Antioch, after the death of Gregorius, who was the 56th patriarch, Anastasius returned to the see.

In Alexandria, John was set up.

In Jerusalem, Eustathius was the 59th patriarch.

In Edessa, Epiphanius was the 40th patriarch, followed by Severus of Palestine.

As to the Orthodox, they joined Alexandria. After Pope Theodosius, they set up Theodore as their patriarch, who was deposed. In his place, Peter was set up for three years. Then, Damian was made patriarch.

In Constantinople, John of Asia (Ephesus) superintended the affairs of the Orthodox.

In Syria, Jacob (Baradaeus) was in charge of the Orthodox. He had been ordained a bishop for Edessa, and he is the one who confirmed orthodoxy. With the collaboration of Orthodox bishops, he ordained Paul the Black a patriarch of Antioch, who was later ejected for his communion with the Synodites (Chalcedonians). In his place, they set up Peter (of Callinicus), who was the 46th patriarch.

Chapter Twenty: On the death of Tiberius, and the wars of the Persians and the Barbarians

Before his death, Khusro chose his younger son, Hormizd, as his successor. He supplied his older son with necessary provisions and sent him away in order not to be killed. However, intelligence about him frightened Hormizd. Meanwhile, a Persian impostor claimed to be Khusro's son. He went to the Roman army in Armenia, said that he was Khusro's son, and had come to deliver the Persian kingdom to the Romans, if the Roman emperor supplied him with troops. Tiberius was joyful with this report, and offered the man money and royal garments. He gave orders that he be brought to the capital with great pomp. When he arrived at Chalcedon, the emperor sent Spatharius of the king of Persia to examine him and see whether he was false or not.¹⁵⁷³ Immediately, he recognized him (as an imposter). He seized him by the hair,

¹⁵⁷³ Spatharius, is an ambassador of the Persian king who was at the time in Constantinople negotiating peace with the emperor. Of course, he knew who the sons of Khusro were, and Tiberius asked him to examine the man and see whether he was false or not.

lifted him up and threw him off the throne.¹⁵⁷⁴ He said to him, "How dare you, an impostor, sit on a throne while the princes (of the Persian realm) stand before you?" He smote him, and thus brought his falsehood to light. Finally, this miserable impostor became Christian for fear of death.¹⁵⁷⁵

At this time, while the barbarous Avars and Slavonians were causing havoc in the Roman lands, the Roman army was engaged in combatting the Persians. Evidently, the Marzuban Adormahun had marched into Roman territory and reached Edessa. He set fire in its eastern section, and burned many churches, monasteries and villages over a distance of fifteen miles. He then moved to its western section and set on fire the Church of Confessors. On the fourth day, the Persians killed all the Christians and burned their bodies, and the smoke rose up and covered the sun. Some said that they cut down trees and lit the fire. Others said that they did this by means of Adormahun's magic power, who was chief of magicians in Persia. Finally, the reason for the burning of bodies was brought to light. The Persians moved to the other side and set fire in their camp. They battled the city for three days. However, realizing their inability to continue the fight, they turned towards Callinicus where the Romans and the Tayoye (Arab) troops in the company of Maurice Caesar had arrived. They fought the Persians killing many of them. On the next day, they were about to annihilate them, but the Persians set fire in their camp and left it, and then fled.¹⁵⁷⁶

Tiberius was usually compassionate to the poor.¹⁵⁷⁷ He ordered the remission of one-fourth part of the taxes in all parts of his dominion. It was the procedure to exact one flagon of wine upon each cask of wine brought into the city, which brought in many talents. Tiberius abolished it and ordered that wine should be distributed free to the city magistrates to obviate their extortion.¹⁵⁷⁸ Furthermore, he ordered the custom houses closed down.

In the fourth year of his reign, Tiberius suffered from intestinal dysentery. Realizing that his death was imminent, he called Maurice, from Arabisus in Cappadocia, and married him to his daughter, Augusta. He summoned the senate and asked its members to pray for him. He spoke to them at length. Then, he placed the crown over Maurice's head. He died two days later.¹⁵⁷⁹ The whole city mourned the death of the man of charity, endowed with the youthful handsomeness. Many say that no other emperor had a magnificent funeral like his. He, of excellent memory, was much lamented by everyone for being gracious.¹⁵⁸⁰

In this time, Epiphanius, Chalcedonian bishop of Edessa of notorious memory, died. He afflicted the Orthodox with many evils, and the see of the city remained vacant for nine months. Gregorius wanted to appoint a bishop from his own clergy, but the Edessan Chalcedonians would not accept. They appealed to Emperor Tiberius not to appoint for them a bishop from the province of Antioch, but someone of his own acquaintance. Tiberius sent to them Severus of Eleutheropolis, a man known for good character and conduct. Gregorius ordained him a patriarch of Antioch against his will, but when he arrived at the city, the congregation welcomed him with great joy. Soon, however, their joy turned into sadness because some of the inhabitants of Edessa had fled to Antioch because of disputations. Severus promised them good and accompanied them to the magistrate who threw them into prison. The bishop was stunned, and the inhabitants of the city were overwhelmed by sorrow.

A short time before, the emperor assigned a church to a large body of Goths who were of the heresy of Arius.¹⁵⁸¹ When they defeated the barbarians, they requested the emperor, upon their return, to assign

¹⁵⁷⁴ Apparently, the impostor was sitting on a lofty throne as a king.

¹⁵⁷⁵ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 409-411, English, 439-442.

¹⁵⁷⁶ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 375-381, English, 428-432.

¹⁵⁷⁷ In Book III, Chapter 14, p. 172 of the Syriac, English, 189-191, John of Ephesus says that Tiberius restricted his benefits to the rich and well fed, and did nothing to benefit the poor.

¹⁵⁷⁸ John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 172-173, English, 189-192.

¹⁵⁷⁹ Maurice became emperor in the year A.D. 582.

¹⁵⁸⁰ Most of this information is in the lost Chapters of the *History* of John of Ephesus. However, there are glimpses by the same author in, Part III, Syriac, 320-321, English, 349-351.

¹⁵⁸¹ The original text says that a church was assigned to the Arian wives of the Gothic men who were dispatched to fight the Persians. See footnote below.

them another church. The emperor said to them, "We will see the patriarch, and talk the matter over with him." When this story spread throughout the whole city, the people were outraged and imagined that he was an Arian. When Tiberius proceeded to the great church at Constantinople to pray, the clergy shouted, "Out with the bones of the Arians. Out with the bones of all heretics, and of the heathens, too." Upon hearing this, the emperor was very surprised. He left the church and went to his palace. He called unto him the patriarch and the clergy and said to them, "Brethren! What have you seen in me like the Arians in order to consider me an Arian?" After making many apologies, the emperor released them. He published an edict ordering that the Arians were to be captured and evicted from the city.¹⁵⁸²

John of Amid, known as John, bishop of Asia (and also of Ephesus), penned three volumes of history commencing with Justinian I (527-565) and ending with Maurice (582-602), where the blessed completed his endeavors. He further wrote the life-stories of saints who were his contemporaries. Of these are forty-five biographies recorded in my other book of history. Here, however, we shall only record the names of saints. They are Yeshu', bishop of Paitar, Mor Z'ura, John the ascetic, Abraham Sa'run, Sergius and Simon, Paul the anchorite, Addai Tubana, the Chorepiscopus Harpat, Abay the solitary, Simon the ascetic, an anonymous saint, Aho, bishop of Fasirin, abbot of the Monastery of Saint Zachariah, Aho the sage, John, bishop of Tella, John, bishop of Hephaestous, a solitary, Dehla the zealot, Thomas the bishop, Simon of Amid, the persecuted monasteries of Amid, Mara the solitary, Leontius the presbyter, the aged Abraham, Bassianus, the Patriarch Severus, the blessed old man Jacob, bishop of Dassius, Peter Photius, on the Monastery of Mor John of Amid, the layman Abraham, Thomas and Stephen, Thomas the Armenian, Addai and Abraham, Simon, Illiyya (Elijah) and Theodore, Ahron, Tribonius, the blessed Issac, the blessed Paul, the sons of the leaders of Antioch, Caria, Mara, bishop of Urtoye, Theodore, the Empress Theodora, Susanna, Miriam the ascetic, the blessed Cosmas, Casasria the patrician, Susina, the two sisters (nuns) Maria and Euphemia. *Here end the biographies.*

These life-stories show that those who rejected the error of the Council of Chalcedon, were distinguished, like the Apostles, with wonder works in support of the true faith taught by the divine Apostles. It is the faith of those who rejected the impious council (of Chalcedon), and adhered, like the Apostles, to the orthodox faith, held fast by our own church.

Remark

Zachariah, the Rhetorician (Zachariah of Mitylene), commenced his history from the time of Theodosius (375-395), to Justinian (527-565). Qura, the presbyter of Sarug, also wrote a chronicle in fourteen books beginning with the epoch of Justinian to the death of Tiberius. John of Amid, bishop of Ephesus, commenced his history from Constantine, who built Constantinople, to the time of Maurice, in three volumes. The late Patriarch Mikha'il (Michael), made use of these five books, and separated the profane events from the ecclesiastical ones. He confined, as was possible, the ecclesiastical events to the first column, as we have already mentioned, and the table of kingdoms in the second column. In the third column, he recorded the extraordinary natural phenomena. He exerted a great effort in separating these different events. He also mentioned that he recorded some events ahead of others because of the chaotic times under which they were written. This is specifically true of the books of the Saint Bishop John (of Ephesus), as he remarked, for the great persecution he had suffered, and the fact that he constantly moved from one place to another. Therefore, we see that John records what happened under the former emperor in the time of his successor. Moreover, since these matters cause confusion for the readers, especially of little experience, Michael did as much as possible to distinguish the different events, and put them in proper order. This is especially true to the number of years in the books of Mor Jacob of Edessa, and the solitary John of Atharb, and from the book of Ignatius of Melitene. As to the extensive narratives concerning the chronicles of kings, or the church, the patriarch (Michael) recorded them page after page. This is what exactly we did in this context lest the readers become lost in a maze of events. As to the events succinctly

¹⁵⁸² John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 170-171, English, 188-189.

written, they are placed in the column following the order of the book. They are distinguished by chapters, so that a chapter is ended with the end of the narrative. Concerning the three chronicles of Zachariah the Rhetorician, Qura of Sarug, and John, bishop of Ephesus, they covered the historical events until this time in which we conclude our chronicle, because their activity in this life has ended, and they have been transported from this world.

This elucidation was made by the late Patriarch Michael himself, to show that their writings had ended. In addition, the writings of ancient and middle writers like Africanus and Eusebius ended.

Here begins the history of Patriarch Dionysius nicknamed Tell Mahre. First, is his Introduction¹⁵⁸³

Your proud soul, my spiritual son and most beloved Metropolitan Iyawannis (John) of Dara,¹⁵⁸⁴ is not satisfied or restrained by collecting gems of wisdom, for the divine teachings and the orthodox doctrines that you have pursued since childhood, even to your old age, are plentiful. Therefore, if one said that you are like a river from which flow the waters of life, and bring joy to the city of God that is the holy Church, he would not be far from the truth. For I perceive that you are over voracious for all kinds of knowledge. However, you should invigorate yourself and endeavor to learn more about world events, and gather from them a treasure sufficient to satisfy your ravenous appetite. Do not place on me, the weak, this burden. Why don't you think of the old age, which began to weigh down on my head? Many things, especially the official matters of the church, and the labors of my miserable soul, prevent me from even breathing air with pleasure. I cannot stay in one place, but constantly move from one village to another and from one quarter to another in extended travels. Furthermore, I have to stand at the doors of sultans, and fall down on my face, with all the humiliation and disdains that follows. However, in the light of your zealous insistence, and your high-mindedness, I recalled that I, too, have a voracity to tell the truth. I prevailed upon some to record, the events of our own time, for the coming generations but they declined. Therefore, I decided to bear this task myself, despite my waning strength. Moreover, as I throw my reliance on God, I venture into this field of endeavor.

Some learned men did write about past generations from the beginning of the creation to the time of the believing Emperor Constantine. They discussed the innovation of the world and the creation, and the successive lineages from Adam and the years they lived. They further wrote about kings who ruled and the durations of that rule. However, what they had written cannot be considered an ecclesiastical history, but a general, or profane history. Of these are the histories of Josephus, Andronicus, Africanus, Anianus, George the Raghthi (Ragtiya), John of Antioch, and finally Eusebius and Pamphilus. The first, however, to write down an ecclesiastical history was Eusebius, and then Socrates, Sozomenus, Theodoret, Zachariah, Iliyya (Elijah), and John of Asia. The last writer was the presbyter Qura of Batnan (Sarug). Jacob of Edessa arranged a table of years, as did also John the Stylite of Atharb, as well as Daniel, son of Musa of Tur Abdin, another one called the son of Samuel from the western region, and still another called Theophile, and Theodosius, metropolitan of Edessa. However, these men wrote their chronicles with brevity without heeding the reality of circumstances and the chronological order of events. Theophile of Edessa, was Chalcedonian whose hatred toward the Orthodox was generic. He falsified everything whenever a member of our community was mentioned. We, however, have followed in the footsteps of the ancients by beginning where Qura of Batnan had ended. From his writings, we derived some of the true state of affairs. *This narrative is ended by the help of our Lord.*

¹⁵⁸³ Dionysius Tell Mahre died in 845. For his biography see Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, translated by Matti Moosa (Gorgias Press, 2003), 386-387.

¹⁵⁸⁴ Died in 860, for his biography see *The Scattered Pearls*, 390-392.

Chapter Twenty-One: The commencement of the reign of Maurice, the second emperor of the Greeks

After the death of Tiberius in the year 894 of the Greeks (A.D. 583, more correctly 582) Maurice from Arabissus reigned (582-602). Tiberius had appointed him before his death and married him to his daughter, Augusta.¹⁵⁸⁵

Maurice commenced his reign on August 5, 893 of the Greeks (A.D. 582) and was confirmed in his position as emperor on August 4, 894 of the Greeks (A.D. 583.) On that day, his wife, Augusta, gave birth to a son, born in the purple and was named Theodosius.¹⁵⁸⁶

At this time, the Romans rebelled against Maurice and set up a governor named Garmis (Germanus). When Hormizd, king of the Persian, heard this, he sent an envoy to them with pledges to attract them to his side. They, however, despised him, and went to fight against Hormizd. They killed a group of Persians, took captive 3000 slaves and sent them to Maurice. They were placed under his authority by their free will, and Maurice welcomed them with gladness, and showered Germanus with abundant gifts.¹⁵⁸⁷

In this time too, Maurice ordered Arabissus, his city, to be built. It is one of the cities in the region of third Armenia. After some of its magnificent buildings were completed, it was destroyed by an earthquake in the year 898 of the Greeks (A.D. 589.) The emperor ordered, and it was rebuilt under his own supervision grander than before. However, a second earthquake, more severe than the previous one, destroyed it.

In the sixth year of Maurice's reign, Priscus the Roman general, leading the Roman army, marched against Persia. The army, however, rejected him, and Emperor Maurice appointed Philip, his brother-in-law (the husband of his sister) a general in his place. Philip exhibited many splendid triumphs. Meantime, the army pressured the emperor to fire Priscus for his cruelty and insolence. Now as the army was wont to rebel, it began to plot against Philip also. They even thought of removing the emperor himself and setting up another. After their war with the Persians, they returned to Antioch and wintered there. While they were wintering, an earthquake took place in Antioch, destroying most of it, and the soldiers were scattered round about the city. Furthermore, the horsemen rebelled against the emperor, and he asked the bishop to have them reconciled. They were reconciled and accepted the leadership of Philip, the emperor's brother-in-law. After the Romans came into agreement, they learned that, in Nisibin, the Persians had won the governor (guardian) of Miyafarqin by showering him with gifts, and he handed the city over to them. Many Romans within the city perished. Philip and his army marched from Antioch against Miyafarqin, captured it by assault, and slew the Persians who were in it, and stationed the Romans. Upon his return, Philip passed through the city of Zugma and had a church built in it in honor of the Mother of God. It is said that on the day of her feast, they locked its doors, but they were opened by themselves. It was reported that the Mother of God herself opened them. The Chalcedonians, however, said that such a thing is not true. Others maintained that the clergymen opened the locked doors with a technical means.

In the eighth year of Maurice, the Persians rebelled against their King, Hormizd. They seized him by treachery and blinded his eyes, and he died. Ten months later, in the ninth year of Maurice, reigned Khusro, son of Hormizd. Those who killed his father because of the multitude of his evil deeds made him their king in the year 902 of the Greeks (A.D. 591). *End of the narrative.*

In this period, Maurice built a fortress in the province of the Sophenians called Shemkoroth.¹⁵⁸⁸ Sixty camel loads of willow, called in Greek Bsila, were made ready for the building of the fortress.

¹⁵⁸⁵ See above p. and John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 320-321, English, 172-173.

¹⁵⁸⁶ See previous footnote, and *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 140.

¹⁵⁸⁷ See *The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus*, translated Ernest A. Wallis Budge, 83-84.

¹⁵⁸⁸ See John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 416, English, 446-447. According to John, the fortress takes its name from a lofty and strong mountain. Emperor Maurice stationed in it a garrison and supplies of provisions.

In the year 894 of the Greeks (A.D. 583), the Romans seized the fortress of Oqbo (Ocba) and destroyed it. The Persians, however, attacked the Romans and took many of them captive, and rebuilt the fortress.¹⁵⁸⁹

At this time, the Romans sent an ambassador to the king of Persia, but the king despised him greatly. He killed in his presence all the Roman captives and sent him away with humiliation. Thus, the enmity between the Romans and the Persians intensified for twenty years. Then bands of abominable barbarians, who from their long hair, were called Avars, and who came from the remotest regions of the East, and also the Slavonians who came from the West, and still other people, the Lombards, who were under the rule of Khagan, king of the Avars, captured two cities of the Romans, and the rest of villages. They said to the natives, "Plant and harvest, and we will take from you only half of the tax." Had it not been for the emperor who built a big fortress outside Adrianople, they would have focused their attention on the imperial city. The emperor and his troops were alarmed by these barbarians, so he stationed a force on the outer wall about sixty miles' distance. When the emperor was hard pressed, he was forced to enroll into the army, even the clergy. He sent commissioners to all quarters to carry out the conscription. But they abjectly abused their mission. They snatched children from their parents, caused great damage to the regions, and even confiscated beasts of burden, oxen, and even chicken from all over the country.

At this time, the Slavonians ravaged several regions, plundered the furniture of the churches and the great ciborium¹⁵⁹⁰ that was dragged out by carts. They also used the church of Corinth as their dwelling place instead of their tents. The Romans, however, hired the people of Antes, (the Avars) and fell upon the capital city of the Slavonians, seized it and spoiled it. They brought out its treasures only to set it on fire. The city of the Slavonians was situated to the west of the Danube River. When the Slavonians heard that their city was spoiled, they became indignant and roared like a lion ready to pounce upon its prey. They assembled by the thousands and waged a ferocious war (against the Romans). When, however, they failed to restore their capital city, they marched against the city of Anchiales and the warm baths near it. They massacred a great number of Roman forces there. Finally, they destroyed its walls and discovered the purple cloth which Anastasia, wife of Tiberius, had donated to the church, which she had put on as she went to the warm baths. The Khagan (of the Avars) put it on saying, "Whether the Roman emperor likes it or not, the kingdom has been given to me." However, he received instant reports that the Turks were targeting him. He went out to Sirmium fearing that the Turks might plunder his country and his people. He sent to them eight qintars of gold, and they retreated.

In this period, three brothers from the internal region of Scythia, commanding thirty thousand Scythians, marched for sixty days from the foot of the Mountain Imaeon until they reached, in the winter, the River Tanais, which flows from Maeotis Lake and pours into the Pontus (The Black Sea.) Upon reaching the Roman boundaries, one of them, Bulgarius, taking with him ten thousand men, separated himself from the rest. He crossed the River Tanais into the River Danube, which also flows into the Pontus (Black Sea). He asked Emperor Maurice to give him land for his dwelling that he might become an ally of the Romans. Maurice gave him upper and lower Moesias and Dacia, which were impregnable regions. As the Avars were destroyed in the time of Anastasius, Bulgarius and his men lived there and became guards of the Romans, and the Romans called them Bulgarians. As to the other two brothers, they went to the country presently called, Bersalia, where the Romans had built the cities Caspia, also called Port of the Turanians, Bulgaria and Poguria. In the past, the inhabitants of Bersalia were Christians. However, when the alien people controlled that region they were called Khazars after the name of the eldest brother, Khazarig. These people became strong and spread all over.

In this period, the patriarch of Antioch of our church, we the Orthodox, was Peter of Callinicus (al-Raqqā). This was so because, although Paul the Black was ordained patriarch by Jacob Baradaeus with the participation of Patriarch Theodosius, he was ejected for two reasons: first, for having communion with the Chalcedonians; second, for ordaining Theodore of Romnīn, patriarch of Alexandria, without the knowledge

¹⁵⁸⁹ See John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 416, English, 447-448.

¹⁵⁹⁰ The vessel where reserved elements were placed.

of the Alexandrians. Furthermore, Paul had not yet been absolved of the charges launched against him by the Syrians and the Egyptians. As Paul went around in the East and the West making trouble, the Eastern bishops, in agreement with the Alexandrians, ordained for themselves a patriarch, the illustrious Peter,¹⁵⁹¹ at the Monastery of Mor Hananya (present Za'faran Monastery) between Balash, or Balas,¹⁵⁹² and Callinicus (al-Raqqa) in the wilderness. At that time Damian, whom we previously discussed at length, was patriarch of Alexandria, and also discussed the manner Peter was made a patriarch for three years after the ejection of Theodore, and then Damian himself.

In this period, there was a sophist named Stephen (Niobes) who said that, "If we confess one nature in the Lord Christ, it would no longer be possible to say that the difference between the properties of the two natures still exists." For this, he was rejected despite Damian's advice. However, he would not submit to the truth, and continued to argue and confirm his point of view. He kept saying that, "It is not possible to admit the difference of the natures of Christ, without admitting the distinction of these natures."¹⁵⁹³

When Peter, patriarch of Antioch, went to Alexandria to discuss the question of Paul (the Black), he was accompanied by the archimandrite Yuhanon (John) Barbour and Probus. These men were sophists and of Stephen's theological opinions. Probus, however, changed his mind and wrote a refutation of Stephen. Both John and Probus aspired to become bishops, but the patriarch refused to ordain them bishops. Frustrated, both men began to see Stephen. The patriarch (Peter) advised them not to see him, but they rejected his advice and remained in Alexandria. They began to see Stephen after the patriarch returned to Syria. They engaged in discussion with him forgetting what they said against him. They fell into the snares of his teaching. John, the archimandrite, tried to play both ways. He changed his views depending on whom he met. Probus tried publicly to build up what had been pulled down. When Damian expelled him (from Alexandria), he went to the East (Syria) and began to propagate the doctrine of the sophist, Stephen, but he was ejected from the church. When the archimandrite John, learned that Probus was thrown out of the church, he began to help him and defend him. Meanwhile, a council assembled at the Gubba Baraya (Outer Gubba) Monastery to investigate John's ideas. The council found that his defense was wrought with the blasphemies of the sophist Stephen and Probus. He was suspended of his (sacerdotal) services. The Patriarch (Peter) wrote a treatise deposing both men and refuting their teaching. He relied on the teachings of the church's doctors who taught that the distinction of the natures of Christ persists after the union without the plurality of confusion of these natures. When archimandrite John, and Probus, saw that they were rejected, they joined the Chalcedonians. They went to see Anastasius, the Chalcedonian bishop of Antioch, and endorsed the heresy of the Council of Chalcedon. When John was discarded by his monastery, he went to stay in the Monastery of Eustathius in Artah until Patriarch Peter passed away. John and Probus asked (Anastasius) to invite the Antiochian monks to assemble in order to debate them. They claimed that Peter was wrong maintaining that the definition and the distinction of the properties of the natures of Christ persist (after the union of the natures of Christ), and that he did not profess the plurality of the natures.¹⁵⁹⁴ After arguing and debating ten letters, their falsehood was exposed. Ashamed, Probus went to Constantinople where he deceived the patriarch of Constantinople who ordained him as bishop for Chalcedon. Then, he fell ill. Realizing that his end was near, he asked his disciples to go out into the streets or to the nearby cities to bring him an Orthodox (non-Chalcedonian) priest to absolve him of sin, but they could find no one. When they failed to find a priest, the soul of the wretched was in distress and he became more remorseful. He sent them again to find if possible a simple monk or even a layman, but they could find no one. One of his disciples asked, 'How can a simple monk forgive the sins of a bishop?' Probus

¹⁵⁹¹ He is Peter III, patriarch of Antioch, 581-591. For his biography, see *The Scattered Pearls*, 309-310.

¹⁵⁹² At present Balash is called Maskana in western Iraq.

¹⁵⁹³ What Stephen intends is that in the incarnation, the two natures of Christ were so united with each other that the properties of both of them could be no more distinguished from each other. In other words, one of these natures, most likely the divine, absorbed the other nature. See Matti Moosa, *The Maronites in History* (Syracuse University press, 1986, p. 84, reprinted Gorgias Press, 2005. Cf. Adrian Fortescue, *The Lesser Christian Churches* (London: Catholic Truth Society, 1913), p. 208.

¹⁵⁹⁴ See Matti Moosa, *The Maronites in History*, 85.

replied, "Yes, Yes, even an Orthodox layman can absolve the sins of a heretical bishop." His disciples said, "Then, we are all heretics." He said, "Yes. This is the truth." He died without forgiveness. His disciples abstained from communion with the Chalcedonians. They returned to Syria and reembraced the Orthodox faith. *End of the Chapter.*

Chapter Twenty-Two: Concerning the controversy which took place in our church because of Damian, pope of Alexandria and Peter, patriarch of Antioch

As we have shown earlier, the chief priests in our church, we the Orthodox in this period, were Patriarch Peter (III of Callinicus) of Antioch and Pope Damian of Alexandria. It then happened that a group of Tritheists were agitated, wrote down objections and demanded a response. The believers presented their objections to Damian as a man capable of responding to them. He, in turn, sent his response with Byzantine¹⁵⁹⁵ envoys to Peter of Antioch to examine them and make corrections if necessary. When Peter of Antioch examined these objections and Damian's response, he found them fraught with strange expressions incompatible with the teaching of the doctors (of the church), concerning the properties of the persons of the holy Trinity, which he considered as *qnume* (persons, essences). Peter did not want to blame him promptly, but wrote in a symbolic manner, saying, "I have found in some chapters of your response ambiguous expressions. I wish you would clarify them." Peter's intention was to have him explain himself in order that he might ferret out his intention of using those expressions worthy of condemnation. He wrote to Damian with the intention of understanding whether what he had written was exactly what he was thinking, or if it was a great challenge to the Tritheists.

At the outset, Peter used kind words lauding Damian lest he become indignant and obdurate. He said to himself, "May be whatever he had written was for lack of knowledge, and that he will feel sorry for it." However, when Damian agreed to the principle of negotiation, and learned that Patriarch (Peter) did not agree with his opinions, he attributed his disagreement to malice, and became outraged. Damian was invited several times by the patriarch and the Eastern monks to discuss the matter wherever he wished. Damian never responded. Finally, he was compelled to attend a council that assembled at Paralos near the confines of Egypt. Peter and the Eastern monks arrived at the place, and discovered that the (Egyptian) monks had annulled the meeting. They decided to assemble at Arabia of Palestine to discuss the conflict. Arbiters and mediators also arrived at the place. Damian feared a prompt examination, and demanded that it should be conducted through the exchange of letters. Peter responded, "This is not the path to peace but to toil and hardship. We agree to have the examination conducted wherever you see fit, and in the presence of the council." Damian agreed to do so. He journeyed to Arabia and then to Egypt. Peter followed him to Alexandria hoping that the examination would be conducted there, and that Damian would accept his amendment. In fact, Damian did not want to attend any meeting or have an examination of the matter. He fled and began to move through the monasteries. Peter and his retinue remained in the city (Alexandria), and whenever he summoned Damian, Damian dodged the invitation, or found an excuse not to attend. This confirmed Peter's belief that Damian wanted no examination of the matter. Again, he addressed to him a treatise in three books criticizing his opinions. This took place in the year 898 of the Greeks (A.D. 587).

Two years after the deposition of Probus and John Barbour, Patriarch Peter addressed a letter to some Syrians who were dwelling in Alexandria. He explained to them the events that took place upon Damian's visit to the East. Following are extracts from the letter:

This, our letter concerning past events is rather belated. Now, we have learned what you have written about the falsified reports, and are sure of the unfairness of what they said against us. Indeed, they have no concern for peace, and they do not want to discuss matters in a lawful manner, minute investigation or direct discussion. However, in their defense, they resort to agitation and discord in order to escape discussion. For this reason, we found it necessary to write to you now and send our greetings in the Lord to you and to all our believing brethren where you are. We will convey to you gradually everything in truth as

¹⁵⁹⁵ This is the first time the term Byzantines occurs in the Chronicle of Michael Rabo.

much as possible. However, you ought to know that Pope Damian and his retinue arrived in the East (Syria) in secret, and not openly. A few days later, after the pious archimandrite and those in his company bade you farewell, Damian and those in his company followed them to the sea of Gazza and left him there, but he reached Tyre. Shortly afterwards, the pope and his retinue arrived there and met with the archimandrite and his companions in their bishop's house. They asked them to proceed to meet us, but they refused to do so. They said that they would dispatch some of them to my unworthiness in the Gubba Baraya Monastery, and they informed us of this. Upon learning of the sudden coming of the pope's envoys, we found it appropriate to send two bishops to welcome them. We also decided to send the archimandrite and those in his company to Gazza to inform the inhabitants of the holy monastery there of the arrival of these dignitaries, and inform the natives of the province whom you deemed necessary to be present, apprise them of what would happen and prepare them to be present there. Our delegated two bishops met with the two bishops who were sent by Pope Damian. On the way to us, they met John of Anazarba, another John and Bacchus. They welcomed them with great amity and brought them to Sarin. They said that they could partake in holy mysteries with them. However, upon learning of their arrival, we dispatched bishops to ask them in what manner we should receive them. Should we receive them as fellow brothers of our ministry, or as strangers? Should we ask them whether they came for peace or just to probe the situation? Still, should we treat them as brothers with the hope that they might return to the right path? When we inquired of them, they said, "We will pray and take our meals together with you, but will not partake the Holy Communion together." Our bishops said, "If this is the case, let us act separately in everything, since you have separated yourself from us." Thus, we prayed alone and went about performing other things.

Following a lukewarm greeting, Pope Damiana's envoys handed to us letters. Upon reading them, we were astonished for the calumny and vituperation their preamble contained. We thought that by attending the meeting, Damian would at least reduce his hardness a little. Thus, we preferred to keep silent. Then, we said in a friendly manner, "We should have been informed about your coming in order to do what is necessary. The envoys remained with us more than twelve days awaiting the arrival of their bishops. We tried to do whatever would please God and our two congregations and then correspond to you." The envoys said, "We could have not corresponded with the pope (Damian) during this whole period." We said, "Same as the pope came to the East (Syria) according to the consultation of the leaders, so also we perform our affairs according to the consultation of the elders. If anything should happen beyond our will, we will bear the shortcoming with all fairness. I believe that Arabia is a fitting place for the meeting because of fear of the rulers." They said, "Antioch is a better place for the meeting." We said, "Since we assumed this awesome position (as patriarch of Antioch) of which we are unworthy, we cannot come close to the city for long time." Then, the envoys insisted that we should go first to the pope (Damian) in Arabia, and he would then accompany us to any place we wished. However, they did not stand firm to their word, and did not await the arrival of the bishops. When we learned that the pope intended to stir up trouble by addressing letters to the archimandrites to draw them unto his side but failed, we journeyed to Arabia.

Extracts from the letter of Patriarch Peter

Finally, we hastened to journey to Arabia submitting ourselves to Christ our Savior, and affirming our concern and esteem for the wellbeing of the believers. This is the truth. When we drew near, we sent to him (Damian) a few bishops requesting him to advance to the monastery, which was far away from the village. He came but did not enter the monastery. We arrived and found him with the bishops and those in his company sitting outside. We then realized that he was not keen on making peace. Nevertheless, we greeted him and blamed him kindly for not entering the monastery. He said, "I will not enter the monastery without your permission." I said to him, "But you have already entered the monasteries of your choice without permission." We then took him to the monastery, and offered him (Pope Damian) the first seat and sat with him. When the place where we were to assemble was discussed, he and his retinue said, "We should first think of the dignitaries who are with us, and then think of the meeting place." They asked us to assign the place of the meeting. We said that it would be in the vicinity of the Gubba Baraya (Outer Gubba)

Monastery near Mabug, Aleppo and the province of Antioch, where we have a great number of followers in agreement of our faith. Upon hearing this, the pope and those with him began to speak with fury and indignation. They said that they would not attend these places because their inhabitants are barbarians. When we reminded him that a short while ago, he (Damian) was in this region visiting his own brother the governor of Edessa, he said that visiting his brother was a church business. We said, "This is also a mission and not mere church business, it is also meant for the wellbeing of the Christian faith." However, he and his retinue insisted on not going to this region. We learned from their argument that they did not want an open discussion, but an exchange of letters. Finally, they agreed to wait for the illustrious Gophna of Mabug to arrive and decide the place of the meeting and the manner of discussion. When those in the company of the pope noticed his weakness even in simple and insignificant matters, they understood the truth about him. However, they did not want to criticize their indecision, but rather covered up the weakness of the pope by screaming and agitating.

Gophna arrived on Monday of Passion Week. We informed the pope (Damian) that either he should accompany us to see him in order to fix the place of the meeting, or send three delegates along with our own followers. He said as if he had forgotten what had happened, that we ought not to discuss the place of the meeting unless we have designated those who will assemble. Apparently, he was counting on a group of men from Tyre whom he had already convinced that they might help him. We agreed to his suggestion, but also recognized their duplicitous behavior. Nevertheless, we thought that it was necessary to deal with them in a friendly manner. When Philarcus came to know this, and realized their ill intention, he personally interfered in their own affairs. However, they were at their wit's end, whether concerning the venerable Philarcus or us, and they met with us for the second time at the church of Mor Sergius in Gbitha (the elect one). The discussion was a little prolonged to cover the conflict that had taken place in Egypt. When the pope (Damian) was unable to defend what had been said about those in his company, I said to his partisans, "You should keep silent while I or the pope has the floor. You should resemble the brethren in our company and let the God-lovers listen to what is said." The pope found what I said hard to swallow. He said, "I need one to remind me if I failed to do what should be done." I said, "There is nothing to prevent them from reminding you if they adhered to order." However, Philarcus and his men could not keep them silent, but realized that the pope's supporters kept agitating in order to cover up his weakness. However, Philarcus was anxious to join his forces. This is why he said, "If you find it proper, proceed to the place we have assigned for the meeting, otherwise, let me depart." The pope changed the subject to discuss persons. Philarcus said, "It is not fair that we laymen should reproach you." At the end, the pope was indignant and departed. He neither yielded nor consented to the document he had written concerning the place of meeting.¹⁵⁹⁶

The truth is that at the third meeting, the pope spoke with avid indignation. I beseeched him and those with him to resort to quietness. I said to his companions, "This is not proper behavior. All of you should keep quiet so the chief priest (Damian) might communicate with my weakness." They said, "We have not come to be silent." Those who were near the pope said, "Why do your partisans not let things take their proper course?" The pope said to me, "Your bishops do not keep silent because they do not understand, otherwise, you and I will keep silent and give the opportunity to the bishops to speak." I said to him, "Therefore, you have not mastered the art of communication, and do not consent to speak alone." He was embarrassed, and said, "Let us discuss matters in writing." Then, he and those with him went to a corner and pretended to write something. It was reported to us that they were inviting Maximus the Grammarian to come and help them say what they wanted to say. When Maximus delayed, and would not show interest concerning the place of the meeting or the persons, I wrote to him saying, "Those who desire a dialogue should write in an orderly manner and not in a confused manner. They should also write in conformity with the instructions laid before them, and associate their words with charity and reconciliation. Now, if you will, do accompany us to the mentioned quarters to discuss the matter in the presence of those

¹⁵⁹⁶ Cf. John of Ephesus, Part III, Syriac, 302-305, English, 334-337.

who are illustrious, learned and free, or else, we will go with you to any place you desire." However, those partisans of the pope who were gathered in the corner would not listen to what we suggested. They rather said, "We will read whatever we have because we put forth the charges." I said, "You are required to abide by what concerns the faith because you are the ones to be blamed, and you should defend yourselves. It seems that you coming to the East was not to apologize but to blame." They became agitated and held us with contempt and humiliation, like those who have no God. They even rubbed their heads with their hands to ridicule my weakness. Then, I turned my cheek to them saying, "I am ready not only to accept insults but also beating." They became more agitated and furious against us, but the brethren, while distressed, kept silent. Some of them, fired with zeal, said to the pope, "It is improper that your partisans behave so boisterously, while wearing priestly garments, and these are keeping silent." The pope rebuked them and accused them of being biased. I beseeched him to forbid them to misbehave, but he did not respond. In order to calm him down, I asked John the Armenian to proceed to the middle and talk to them as they talked to me. While John was defending what was written in the spirit of humility, they clapped, and seized the pope, shouting that they wanted to kill him. As they departed, the Metropolitan Paul saw them and said to them, "It is not fair that you should depart, but should remain and think of what is more preferable." They rebuked him and pushed him to the wall. A deacon from Atou rushed to help him, but they ganged up against him beating and wounding him. They further caused us a great deal of harm for very trivial reasons. Some of them hastened to the venerable Probus in Tyre, and slandered us with obscene and repugnant words, which caused him to be immensely worried. We sent the archimandrite John to acquaint him with the details of the matter, and request him to come to Arabia and offer counsel to both sides. We are awaiting his coming.

This is the letter of Patriarch Peter detailed in the book of Dionysius Tell Mahre. We have recorded here in brief which is sufficient to show the cause of the trouble which took place between the Egyptian and the Syrians, and what conclusion that confusion reached before it came to an end.

Chapter Twenty-Three: On the time of Maurice; and the peace made with the Persians; and the churches affairs during this period of peace

Emperor Maurice made his son Theodosius a Caesar in a very splendid ceremony. The patriarch placed the crown over his head.

In the same period, Khusro, son of Hormizd, ruled the Persians, but no one of the army generals in the East submitted to him. They disdained the young king and rebelled against him. When Khusro saw that Bahram had rebelled and with him a multitude of people, he resorted to Maurice, the Roman Emperor. He addressed to him secretly a letter carried by the Roman army general Iyawannis (John) of Rasafia, informing him of what had happened. He also showed his willingness to pay him a visit if the emperor granted him permission. Maurice rejoiced and pledged to extend to him any help. Khusro, very pleased, went to Edessa, and Iyawannis Rasafia welcomed him to his house with great honor. Khusro wrote to Maurice that he would be like a slave, but Maurice replied that he would be treated as a friend, and pledged to honor him as a father honors his son. Khusro remained in Rasafia's house until he received a reply from the emperor. Maurice supplied Khusro with 20,000 troops commanded by Iyawannis, captain of the host of Thrace, and 20,000 more Armenian and Bulgarian troops commanded by Anastasius. He sent with them forty talents of gold for his expenses. Khusro received the gold and returned to his own country.

Now when the rebels heard this, they prepared to fight, and the Persian Hormizan with 10,000 soldiers joined Khusro. The rebels were defeated and fled, but they were captured and killed with the exception of those who joined Khusro. Thus, all of Persia was subjected to Khusro, who gave many gifts to the Roman troops. Moreover, he gave each soldier 400 drachma and sent them back to their country. He sent great gifts and precious stones to Maurice, and gave back Dara and Rish 'Ayna to the Romans. Khusro asked Maurice, he gave him Maria, his daughter, as wife, and bishops and laymen went with her. Khusro

BOOK TEN

built three great temples (churches), one to the Mother of God, one to the Apostles, and a third to Sergius, the martyr. Then, peace prevailed between the two kingdoms.¹⁵⁹⁷

In the fourth year of Maurice the Roman emperor, which is the year 899 of the Greeks (A.D. 588), John Barbour and Probus were excommunicated. In the sixth year of Maurice, the conflict between Damian, patriarch of Alexandria, and Peter of Antioch was stirred up, as we have sufficiently shown earlier. Peter wrote three treatises against Damian resulting in a controversy that lasted throughout their lifetime.

In the 9th year of Maurice, which is the year 902 of the Greeks (A.D. 591), Peter of Antioch passed away on April 22, at the Gubba Baraya Monastery. Damian of Alexandria also passed away, but the conflict between the two remained.

In Edessa, there was a bishop called Sergius the Armenian. He and his brother John criticized the writings of Peter saying that they should not be accepted.

Julian, the eloquent and virtuous man, was ordained to succeed Peter. He was from the Monastery of Qinnésrin and a syncellus of Peter. When he saw what Sergius and his cohorts had done to split the church and entice many to their side, he censured them and expounded the expressions in which they were stumbling. They hardly quit their blind antagonism and objection, and the conflict ended.

In Alexandria, Anastasius succeeded Damian.

In Rome, the Chalcedonians had a bishop named Sozos.

In Constantinople, the bishop was another Anastasius.

In Edessa, the Chalcedonians had a bishop called Sawera (Severus). He built a palace and porticos over the river and several other edifices. However, when Narsai rebelled against the Emperor Phocas (reigned 602-610), and came to Edessa, some people slandered Bishop Severus to Narsai as a friend of Phocas. Phocas summoned Severus to the house of Marini where he was staying. After questioning his intention, he ordered that he be stoned, and died. The Chalcedonians set up Theodorus, of Edessa, a bishop in his stead. However, the believers of Edessa set up Peter to succeed Sergius.

In the 14th year of Maurice, the year 905 of the Greeks (A.D. 594), Patriarch Julian passed away. He served three years and five months as a patriarch. In the same year, Athanasius, from the Monastery of Qinnésrin, was chosen as patriarch. In the fifteenth year of the Emperor Maurice, the year 906 of the Greeks (A.D. 595), he was ordained a patriarch for the Orthodox See of Antioch.

In the year 17th of Maurice, the year 910 of the Greeks (A.D. 597), Maurice summoned Domitian, bishop of Melitene, son of his brother Peter, and authorized him to persecute the followers of Severus (of Antioch). It is said that this was originally the idea of this wicked bishop who loathed the flourishing of the Orthodox (non-Chalcedonians) in Melitene and its regions. Like a ferocious beast, he went up into Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia), seized churches, and handed them to the Chalcedonians. He went to Edessa and summoned the monks of the Eastern monasteries unto him. He cajoled them and threatened them to endorse the Council of Chalcedon, and forced them to receive his communion. When they did not submit, but used harsh words against him, he ordered the soldiers to drag them to the ditch outside the Sun Gate and slaughter about four hundred of them. The believers gathered their bodies and buried them in the very spot where they were martyred. This impious, however, continued the persecution of the Orthodox for a long time, forcing them to receive his own communion. Although some of them did partake of his communion, the majority resisted courageously and never accepted the wicked heresy of two natures. They even insulted the emperor and Domitian. A soldier called Asphartius said the he had heard the monks insulting the emperor and his nephew. This is why he had them killed, and drove away a great number of them.

On that same day, May 10, the sun eclipsed and darkness prevailed from the third hour to the sixth hour. People said this took place because of the murder of the monks, the servants of Christ. On April 2, a severe earthquake took place and many cities were destroyed in different quarters. The earth cleft and people were buried in it. Plague and tumors spread. Death also plagued the royal city (Constantinople) and

¹⁵⁹⁷ Bar Hebraeus says, "And Christianity spread throughout Persia." See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 85.

about 318,000 lost their lives. John, patriarch of Constantinople, was one of its victims. The plague extended to Bithynia and entire Asia.

In the next year, there was drought and extreme dryness in all of Syria and Palestine, and olive trees and other trees dried up. In the following year, swarms of crawling locusts, the like of which had not been seen before, attacked Syria and destroyed the crops, the fruits and the trees. Three years later, there was famine because of the scarcity of food.

Because of these chastisements, the Romans stopped the persecution of the Orthodox and also stopped their odious barbarianism. *End of the three accounts.*

Chapter Twenty-Four: Concerning the murder of Maurice and his deeds together with the deeds of other kings; and what happened between him and church leaders

As Khusro, king of the Persians, honored Maurice as a father, and Maurice honored him as a son, peace and safety prevailed all over the Roman and the Persian countries. Christianity spread throughout Persia, and churches were built in the cities villages, and the inhabited quarters. Then, Maurice became arrogant and treated the hosts of the Romans and of the army with contempt, and would not give them their pay. The situation became worse when the Bulgarians began to ravage the country of Thrace. The Roman troops commanded by Philippicus marched against them, defeated them and returned home. Despite all this, the emperor did not give them their pay. The troops sent a message to him, saying, "God has given peace in your days, but peace alone will not feed cavalry men unless they receive their pay. If you do not give us our pay, behold that we are from now your enemies." Like Rehoboam,¹⁵⁹⁸ he paid no attention to them and held them with contempt. They asked his brother, Peter, to rule over them, but he refused and went to Maurice to make the matter known to him. When Maurice heard this, he was scared, fled and hid himself in Chalcedon. When the army reached the royal city (Constantinople) and did not find Maurice, they set up as their emperor a common old man named Phocas.¹⁵⁹⁹ They went out, found Maurice, and brought him to the city. They killed his sons before him and then killed him.

Maurice ruled twenty years. He was killed in the year 914 of the Greeks (A.D. 602) the same year Phocas ruled.¹⁶⁰⁰ He was the 27th Roman emperor, and the third among the Greek emperors, first of who was Tiberius.

On Athanasius

It is not fitting to pass over the life story of the Patriarch Athanasius haphazardly.¹⁶⁰¹ His father died and left him and his brother Severus orphans in the care of their mother Janyha. She was pious, practicing constant fasting, and lover of strangers. She distributed the fortune left by her husband to the poor and to the churches. She raised her sons to be modest. As they were too young to travel with her, she visited the churches and the martyrums by herself, where the relics of saints, crosses and icons were stored. She touched them with her cape, and, when she returned home, she spread it over the heads of her sons. When she met with a bishop, a priest or a monk, she would take off her scarf and ask him to pray over it and sign it with three crosses. She would fold the scarf and carry it as if she was carrying something heavy. When she returned home, she would pour the blessing over the heads of her sons. After they were raised in this good manner, she vowed them to God at the Monastery of Bar Aphthonya known as the Monastery of Qinnesrin. At the monastery, they received their high education, and never neglected to serve the monastery in different capacities.

¹⁵⁹⁸ For the story of Rehoboam, son of King Solomon, who foolishly despised the counsel and listened to the advice of the youth his companion, and thus, the kingdom was split into the kingdoms of Judah and Israel, see 1 Kings 12:19.

¹⁵⁹⁹ *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 141.

¹⁶⁰⁰ *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 141.

¹⁶⁰¹ He is Athanasius, a native of Samosata. He became a monk at the Monastery of Qinnesrin. He was given the task of carrying salt from Gabbul to his monastery on camel back. This is why he was nicknamed Gamolo (Arabic, al-jammal), meaning he who drove camels. He was made patriarch of Antioch in 595, and passed away in 631. See Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, translated by Matti Moosa, 318-319.

It is reported about Athanasius, that in order to subdue his pride, he crept at night without being seen, to the place where the monks usually gratified their natural urge. He gathered their waste in a basket, carried it on his back, and emptied it in the River Euphrates. With such deeds, he trained himself and subjugated the body to the soul. For this reason, God called him to become a chief priest.

Upon the death of Patriarch Julian, the bishops assembled in a monastery of the western region. They fasted and prayed for three days with the intention of choosing a new patriarch. They beseeched God to choose whom he selects. On the third night, some of them heard someone saying in a vision, "Ordain the first monk you see when you open the door of the monastery in the morning." When they opened the door of the monastery, they saw Athanasius leading a camel to bring salt from Gabbula. They talked to him, and finding that he was learned and belonged to a famous monastery, led him by force and ordained him as patriarch while he cried and wept. He asked them to swear an oath to leave him first finish the duration of his service entrusted to him by the brethren. They did, and he left and went to the Gabbula to load salt and then returned to his monastery. He did not reveal his secret to any one, not even to his own brother Severus. When he completed the period of his service, the bishops went to take him along with them. They found him standing next to a pile of clay and handing it to the brethren there in order to level the roof of the compound of the camels in which he served. One year after completing his service, he informed his brother and the monks of his case, and they blamed him for concealing it from them. This is the first virtue of the life story of Athanasius who ordained his brother a bishop for Samosata. Both of them had shined and stood firm against the two kingdoms of the Romans and the Persians who antagonized our faith. When their mother passed away, both of them went to offer her their blessings. That God-loving woman was buried by a patriarch and a bishop. *This account is ended, O discerning reader.*

In this period, two beasts in the likeness of human beings, like a man and a woman, were seen on the Nile of Egypt. They were only seen up to the navel, and the rest of their bodies were under water. They appeared many times and then disappeared and were seen no more.

Emperor Maurice instructed Stephen, bishop of Harran, to persecute the heathens of the city. He did and converted many of them to Christianity. Those who resisted, he had hanged in the marketplace of the city. He then discovered that the governor of the city was offering sacrifices to the gods in secret while pretending to be a Christian. His syncellus betrayed him to the bishop. When the charge was proven against him, he was executed. In his place a bishop was ordained, the man who betrayed him. His name was Iyar, from whom the family of Iyar descended. Iyar was an orphan whose parents abandoned him in a Colonya in First Armenia, a village in the region of Nicopolis. It was there that he learned how to write. Then he attached himself to Acindynus governor of Harran. When the governor was betrayed, as said earlier, for being a pagan who sacrificed to the idols, he was replaced by this Iyar.

Chapter Twenty-Five: On the commencement of the reign of Emperor Phocas of the Romans, and the war Khusro waged in the Roman countries with the pretext of the murder of Maurice, and on church affairs during these years

When Khusro heard that the Romans had killed Maurice and his sons, he wore the mourning garments and ordered the leaders of the kingdom to do likewise. He observed a lamentation for him, which lasted a few days. Beside the lamentation, he reminded the Persian people of the good things Maurice had done to Khusro and the Persian kingdom. Then, he waited for the right opportunity to seize the Roman kingdom. He pretended to take revenge of those who wronged the emperor. He addressed the army as it assembled saying, "Great men and generals of the armies of my kingdom! Which of you is ready to fulfill my desire of the revenge I am about to inflict upon the Roman kingdom?" Instantly, Romizan, a courageous man experienced in war affairs, jumped out and stood in the middle with hands crossed. He said to the king, "I am ready to fulfill your desire, oppose the Romans and have no mercy on old people or children." The king rejoiced and said to him, "From now on you shall not be called Romizan, but Shahrabazar (wild boar)." He assembled a multitude of people and marched against the Roman lands.

In the year 915 of the Greeks, which is the second year of Phocas (A.D. 604), the Persians seized Dara, entered Tur Abdin and stayed in Hisn Kipha for two years. However, he did not harm anyone save the Romans whom they killed whenever they found them. Hisn Kipha fell into the hands of the Persians. When the Romans in Mardin heard of this, they abandoned the citadel and fled. The monks entered the citadel of Mardin and the Persians came to fight against them. They asked Basilius, bishop of Kafartuta, to allow them to kill the Persians.

In the year 918 of the Greeks (A.D. 607) the rebellious citadel of Mardin, and Amid, were handed to the Persians.

In this year, there was plenty of snow and ice, and the Euphrates and other rivers were frozen over.¹⁶⁰² The crops and olive trees also perished.

In this same year, the Bleus and the Verts (Veneti and Prasini) fought against each other, and the cities became desolate. Phocas sent an army general with troops to Syria, where he killed many.

In the 7th year of Phocas, the Persians seized some Roman regions up to the Euphrates. In this 8th year, which is the year 921 of the Greeks (A.D. 611), the Persians crossed the Euphrates and seized Mabug (Manbij), Qinnestrin, Beroea (Aleppo), and Antioch. As they were seizing these cities, Phocas was murdering the nobles and many others to the point that the number of free and fighting men dwindled immensely. Meanwhile, reports were circulated that Phocas had died.

In Africa, two powerful patricians, one called Gregorius, and the other Heraclius, made a covenant to rebel against Phocas, and dispatched their sons with the armies. They planned that one army would pass through the sea, and the other through the land. The one who arrived first should be proclaimed an emperor, and the other a Caesar. Now Heraclius, son of Heraclius, arrived first at Constantinople by sea, as the sailing wind was favorable. When the inhabitants of the city heard this, they greatly rejoiced. They rushed to welcome him and brought him into the city with great pomp and ceremony. Phocas was killed by the Romans. He was treated with the same method he had treated others.

Heraclius ruled in the year 922 of the Greeks (A.D. 612). The Persians ravaged Syria, Phoenicia, Armenia, Cappadocia, and Palestine. They also seized Galatia and Paphlagonia, and even Chalcedon.

While the Romans were busy killing each other, the Jews of Antioch stirred up sedition, and killed many people including Anastasius, the Chalcedonian patriarch.

In this year, winter was so severe that the even the seashores were frozen over.¹⁶⁰³

After Maurice and his son were killed by the Romans, Phocas reigned. His son-in-law Philippicus said bad things about him, and attributed to him the reason of his fall. He asked for the restoration of his dignity. Phocas said, "Philippicus, you are then ready to become our friend." Philippicus said, "Yes my lord." The emperor said, "How can you be a loyal friend while you could not become a good son-in-law. Go away. He, who could not be trusted as a son-in-law, will never be trusted as a friend." Thus, ejected by the state, he became a monk.

When Phocas reigned (602-610), Narsai, and a great number of Roman soldiers, rebelled against him in Edessa. Hearing of this, Phocas sent the army and invested Edessa. Narsai, by treachery, surrendered to Iywannis, the army general, after the latter pledged to pardon the Edessans.

Khusro had previously come to Edessa, and received a grand honor from the two leaders Marinus and Iywannis Rasafia. One day, while Khusro was contemplating the magnificent palace of Iyawannis, he desired to enter into it. Iywannis invited him with the nobles to see the palace. However, Iywannis, urged by vainglory that he was wealthier than Marinus, brought out the gold and silver vessels normally used in banquets, including trays, tables, plates, spoons, jugs, cups for drinking wine, goblets, jars and basins, all of which were made of silver, to Khusro. After eating and drinking, Khusro said to Rasafia, "You have greatly honored me. But there is a custom of the Persian kings when they stay in the house of a leader that the wife of that leader usually offers a cup to the king, and he will drink from her own hand." Iyawannis (Rasafia) was shy enough not to turn him down, and left the matter to his wife. When he informed his wife of

¹⁶⁰² Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 86.

¹⁶⁰³ Cf. Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 86-87.

Khusros' desire, she despised Khusro in her heart. She said, "You are great O king. But Roman noble women are not accustomed to offering wine to a man." Khusro kept silent. After the banquet was over, a man went to Khusro and slandered Iywannis' wife, saying, "The wife of Iywannis said, 'How can I appear before a man who has been driven out of his country?'" Khusro was outraged, and swore by his gods to evict the woman from the country, and make the lice eat her up if he controlled these countries, because of disgracing him. When he did seize Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia), he summoned her, and took her with others to Persia. He tortured her, especially by lice, and that noble woman suffered the worst death.

After peace between the Roman and the Persian kingdoms was suspended after the murder of Maurice, and the Persians' seizure of Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia) and Syria, Khusro dispatched bishops from Persia to control the cities of Syria. The Nestorian Aheshima came to Edessa, but was not accepted by the believers. Then the Orthodox Bishop Jonah arrived. When he was accepted, Khusro had all the Chalcedonian bishops expelled from Beth Nahrin and Syria, and the churches were handed over to the Jacobites. And all the churches and the monasteries that were usurped in the time of Maurice by Domitian, bishop of Melitene who stirred up persecution against the Syrians, and controlled the Chalcedonians for several years, were retrieved. Among the persecuted was the rhetorician Quriqa (Cyriacus) of Amid. While the Chalcedonians dwelt in the cities, Cyriacus and his companions roamed through the countries. Khusro ordered that the Chalcedonians be driven out of the Eastern regions. He also ordered the Orthodox bishops to settle in the cities, of these were Isaiah of Edessa, Samuel of Amid and the bishop of Tell Mawzalt. However, the villagers who lived outside these areas would not accept the delegated bishops, because they did not receive ordination from the patriarch of Antioch, but only from the metropolitan of the Mosul's region, and were subjects of the Patriarch Athanasius. When the patriarch saw that the villagers refused to accept the bishops, he instructed Cyriacus of Amid to visit the believers of Amid who dwelt in the province of Jazira, and authenticate their ordination and extend to them necessary help. In fact, Cyriacus was the only living bishop ousted from his see. Because of this, Samuel of Amid complained against Cyriacus.¹⁶⁰⁴ He was also opposed by the Eastern bishops. Cyriacus complained against them to Patriarch Athanasius, especially Samuel who was threatened by Khusro. Nevertheless, our bishops were the ones who administered the parishes while the memory of the Chalcedonians vanished from the Euphrates into the East. God hurled back their iniquity against them. What they had done through the Roman emperors, the same was done to them through the Persian kings of Athor (Assyria).

In this period flourished Tuma (Thomas) of Heraclea, (d. 627). He came from the Monastery of Tar'il, and became the bishop of Mabug (Manbij). He studied the Greek language at the Monastery of Qinnesrin. As a bishop, Domitian of Melitene persecuted him with the intimation of Maurice. He fled with other bishops to Egypt and lived in the Enaton (the Ninth-Mile Village) in the neighborhood of Alexandria. There he labored in punctuating and revising the books of the New Testament with precision after they had been commented on in Mabug by the effort of Metropolitan Philoxenus (of Mabug).¹⁶⁰⁵

In this period, the persecuted bishops of Syria, who had sought refuge in Egypt because of their persecution by the Chalcedonians, returned to their sees by order of Khusro, the Persian king, who had controlled Syria.

Athanasius¹⁶⁰⁶ journeyed to Alexandria and met with Anastasius, Orthodox Patriarch of Alexandria. He restored the union that had been disrupted by the conflict between Peter and Damian.

Chapter Twenty-Six: Concerning the union effected by Patriarch Athanasius of Antioch with Anastasius, Pope of Alexandria, after the conflict between Peter and Damian

The pact of the union effected by the two Patriarchs Athanasius of Antioch and Anastasius of Alexandria about peace and union between them

¹⁶⁰⁴ Cyriacus died in 623. See *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, translated by Amir Harrak, 142.

¹⁶⁰⁵ For a biography of Tuma (Thomas) of Harkel (Heraclea), see Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, 317-318.

¹⁶⁰⁶ Patriarch of Antioch.

The great God and our Savior Jesus Christ, one of the persons of the Holy Trinity, who had in the past enriched his people with divine prophecy by which he affirmed his mercy saying, "And I will pour out on the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem the spirit of grace and supplication,"¹⁶⁰⁷ now calls us to one spirit, one communion, one sheepfold and one company. It is pertinent to us what he had said in the past to his Father, "That all of them may be one, Father, as we are one."¹⁶⁰⁸ I wonder who would not wake up to the sound of the trumpet that calls for righteous deeds, go after the Lord God, and make his praises heard. Certainly, he would go after the Lord who destroyed our bonds, lifted from us the yoke of rejection and vicious tongue, and follow concord and equality in his magnification. Who would not go after the Lord God and meet in order to offer the fullness of the one glory, not as did every tribe that met in the past individually, and that Jacob should not be divided between Israel and Judah. For the dividing wall of enmity which part us asunder still stands between us.¹⁶⁰⁹ We strive that any difference of thought shall vanish, and every stratagem of the dragon (Satan), the enemy of good things who begrudges the harmony of the churches and their systematic order, gnash his teeth and never hesitates to sow dissension, shall perish. However, we should go together in full agreement to the house of God by the power and grace of him (Christ) who reconciled the heavenly things with the earthly things. He perceived that we have one mind, one saying, and one Orthodox creed of faith; that we hold fast to these matters like an anchor of the wakeful soul that enters through the door where Jesus went before us, on our behalf, as the divine Apostle Paul said.¹⁶¹⁰ God willed to bless his people with goodness, as it is written,¹⁶¹¹ raised for us a horn of salvation, redeemed his inheritance, and removed the disgrace from Israel. He promised through the tongue of the Prophet Ezekiel saying, "I will make a covenant of peace with them; it will be an everlasting covenant. I will establish them and increase their numbers, and I will put my sanctuary among them forever. My dwelling place will be with them, I will be their God, and they will be my people. Then the nations will know that I the Lord make Israel holy, when my sanctuary is among them forever."¹⁶¹² Now the sanctuaries that are the orthodox teachings of the fathers, who received them from those who witnessed and served the Word, are among us. The fathers are the torches that illuminated the holy church of God with the light of knowledge. They were not corrupted with anything by the grace of he who said that one Christian mind would dwell amid the two.¹⁶¹³ This will prompt Isaiah to come in and shouts with suffering and says, "Shout for joy, O heavens; rejoice O earth; burst into song, O mountains! For the Lord comforts his people and will have compassion on the afflicted ones;"¹⁶¹⁴ and "Sing for joy O heavens for the Lord had done this; Shout aloud, O earth beneath. Burst into song, you mountains, you forests and all you trees, for the Lord has redeemed Jacob, he displays his glory to Israel."¹⁶¹⁵ Jacob is then redeemed and Israel is glorified. Those who had been made the cornerstone, and were equally enriched by the one breath of the Spirit, that is the definition of the orthodox faith by the 318 in Nicaea, have spoken through the Spirit of God. They were confirmed by the 150 fathers of the Council of Constantinople against Macedonius, the enemy of the (Holy) Spirit. They were likewise, confirmed by those who struggled for the cause of the word of truth at Ephesus against Nestorius and his partisans, who worshipped man. He is that one to whom we surrender and follow in everything. We contemplate him in the light of the definition of the faith. With whatever trust we possess, we present proofs of the doctrine that we may save ourselves by harmony, unity of glory and love of the brethren.

¹⁶⁰⁷ Zechariah 12:10.

¹⁶⁰⁸ John 17:21-23.

¹⁶⁰⁹ Ephesians 2:14.

¹⁶¹⁰ Hebrews 6:19-20. The full quotation is thus, "We have this hope as an anchor for the soul, firm and secure. It enters the inner sanctuary behind the curtain where Jesus, who went before us, has entered on our behalf."

¹⁶¹¹ Psalm 29:11.

¹⁶¹² Ezekiel 37:26-28.

¹⁶¹³ Zechariah 6:13.

¹⁶¹⁴ Isaiah 49:13

¹⁶¹⁵ Isaiah 44:23.

We believe in one God the Father Almighty, and in One Lord Jesus Christ, the Son and the Word of God who is begotten before all worlds; and in the Holy Spirit who proceeds from the Father, is consubstantial with the Father and the Son, and together with the Father and the Son, is worshipped and glorified. He has the same substance of dominion and Godhead. The Son and the Spirit are from the Father and did not come after him. The Son has the property of Sonship, and the Spirit the property of Procession: a Trinity worshipped, consubstantial in glory, and ingenerate. It is the creator of everything, distinguished by *qnume* (persons) but without mixture. The Trinity is one substance and one Godhead beyond distinction or formation. As St. Severus (of Antioch) says, "In unity, it is not separate, and separate when there is no unity. It is united in the Godhead, and separate in the *qnume* (persons). Therefore, the three persons of the Trinity are one in substance (essence), one in nature, and one in power, divinity, action, property, dominion, and will. Here is evident the insanity of Sabellius who considered the three persons as one *qnumo* (hypostasis, person), and one compound thing with three attributes and appellations, and that in later time it will assume its form according to the circumstance. We do not believe this at all. We do not believe that the Trinity sometimes assumes the person of the Father, and sometime of the Son, and still another time of the Holy Spirit. We maintain that the Father is Father and not the Son or the Holy Spirit, that the Son is Son and not the Father or the Holy Spirit, and that the Holy Spirit is Spirit and not the Father or the Son. We believe that the property of the Father is Fatherhood that is he was not born, the property of the Son is Sonship that is he was born of the Father, and the property of the Holy Spirit is that he is not born, but proceeded from the Father from eternity without beginning. In these properties is established the non-mixture (confusion) of the persons. Otherwise, the Father never remains a Father, the Son remains a Son, and the Holy Spirit remains a Holy Spirit. Now how can we associate a great mystery, like the mystery of God, with such credulous claims? Alternatively, how could Arius and Eunomius prattle by enumerating the natures of the Holy Trinity, a matter that does not even exist in the gods and the goddesses who are deprived of divinity? Moreover, how can we admit the idea of Sabellius, who reduced the three persons (of the Trinity) to only one person, and then divide it into three substances and natures?¹⁶¹⁶ On the other hand, believe it to be mere substances and natures, in one way or another, in order to avoid falling into the idea of the plurality of natures and substances? However, we reject the idea of the plurality of substances and natures. We magnify the Trinity believing that it is consubstantial in substance and nature. We truly confess that it is one substance, one nature, and one Godhead in word and deed, not by imagination or as something strange to us. This is what the ignorant and insane John Grammarian maintained, and whom we excommunicate for his improper thinking. Indeed, he introduced a teaching contrary to the Holy Spirit. He and his partisans had gone mad being influenced by Beelzebub, the prince of demons. They say that, "The particularized *hypostasis* (person) was found by the internal confusion in the properties and attributes that is by the compounding of the substance with the attribute. We, however, follow the inspired by God, Basil, with respect to the Godhead."¹⁶¹⁷ In effect, each one of the persons of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, is consubstantial. Because of their consubstantiality, we proclaim them to be one God in substance and nature. For the cause of their consubstantiality, we do not say three Gods, or triple Godhead, or three substances, or triple substances unequal in genres and not different in genres, unlimited and not unlimited, equal and unequal, neither particular nor universal, neither Gods nor a numerous Godhead, or substance or attributes of the consubstantial Holy Trinity. Indeed, we have learned from the teachers of the church, who spoke the word of truth with respect to the Godhead that they are three (Persons) not by fiction or pretension, but in reality and fact. They are one in the Godhead with different properties. Therefore, the Trinity is one in some attributes and distinct in others, or distinguished from each other so as not to confound the *qnume* (Persons). It is neither this nor that. The three Persons are one in Deity, as the Theologian (Gregory of Nazianzus) said in his letter to Cledonius about the Trinity, "one and another," (*alius and alius*) in order to avoid the confusion of the Persons, and not "one and another," (*aliud and*

¹⁶¹⁶ See J. N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines* (New York: Harper and Row, 1978), 121-124, and Henry Bettenson, *Documents of the Christian Church* (Oxford University Press, 1963, reprinted, 1981), p. 38.

¹⁶¹⁷ The reference here is to St. Basil the Great (d. 379).

aliud),¹⁶¹⁸ because the Trinity in these three Persons is one. The Holy Trinity is united in the Deity, and distinct in the Persons. It is both a unity and Trinity. This unity and distinctness is ineffable. We stay far away from the pitfall of the error of Sabellius and Arius, who blasphemed in contradicting each other, and deviated from the truth. We stand solemnly confessing the Holy Trinity that is three consubstantial Persons in essence and nature. We say that, “The Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, are one God veritably by word and deed: one substance and one nature, because they are consubstantial.”

In effect, Mor Severus (of Antioch), inspired by God said in Chapter 33 of his *Second Treatise Contra John Grammarian*, “Because the essence of the Godhead is “shared” according to the universal meaning of the thing, yet the essence of the Godhead is by no means incarnated depending on the universal meaning, that is to say that, concerning the essence, the entire Holy Trinity is incarnated for the sake of mankind. Or, like the impious Eunomius, who perverted the notion of what is shared in the Godhead by reaching the conclusion of the diversity of essences and *qnume* (persons), he tried to show that the ungeneration of the Father is his essence and person, and the generation of the Son is his essence and person. However, we say this, “We, by the grace of God, confess the common essence of the entire Trinity: the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, is consubstantial. We neither say that the ungeneration of the Father is the essence and the person of the Father, nor the generation of the Son is the essence and the person of the Son, nor the procession of the Holy Spirit is the essence and the person of the Spirit. However, in refutation of the teachings of Eunomius, we say, “Just for mere definition, the ungenerated is the Father, and the generated is the Son, and that who which proceeds is the Holy Spirit. Thus, the ungeneration, and the generation and the procession, are but types of the essence, indicating the manner in which they exist, as the holy fathers taught. This is what we learned from the teaching of the holy fathers

The inspired-by-God Severus says in Chapter 1 of his *Sixth Treatise against John Grammarian*, “Since the consubstantial persons of the Holy Trinity are uncircumscribed by time, they are then eternal. As to the manner of their existence, it pertains to the origin and not to the communion of each person in what the other two have.” In Chapter 3, he says, “In his *Treatise against Eunomius*, Basil takes the essence instead of the particular person. He says that the expression of “ungenerate” signifies only the mode (of existence) and not the essence. It does not pertain to the nature of God as essence, but only to the mode of his existence. He proves that God did not exist from something, but that he existed without being generated.

Consequently, we confess this divine mystery and the difference between essence and person, and that each of the Persons of the Holy Trinity participates in the existence and the essence. As the essence is collective, so is the hypostasis (person) collective but in a natural and undiminished manner. If anyone believes other than this, we condemn him and cast him aside. We do the same thing to those who say that the divine in the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, or the entire Holy Trinity, was incarnated in one of the Persons, and do not confess that only one of the *qnume* (Persons), God the Word, who was manifested by his own will, was incarnated. We also confess that the Father, Son and Holy Spirit are one Godhead and nature. We honor in them the unity of the essence that was incarnated and became flesh without the Father and the Holy Spirit united in the incarnation, or that they themselves became flesh. We further confess the attributes that pertain to the divine and the consubstantial Holy Trinity. We accept these attributes

¹⁶¹⁸ This quotation by Michael Rabo requires some explanation. He refers to the first “one and another” in the masculine, and the second one in the neuter. If we go to the Second Letter of Gregory to Cledonius, we find him saying that the Savior had two natures as God and Man but he is not two Sons or two gods. The Savior is made of (elements) which are distinct from one another, yet he is not two Persons. For both natures are one by combination, the deity being made man, and the manhood deified. He goes on to say that, different (elements) because it is the reverse of what is the case in the Trinity. There (in the Trinity) we acknowledge different Persons so as not to confound the Persons; but not different (elements), for the three Persons are one and the same in Godhead. The editors, in footnote 7, say that the distinction here is between neuter and masculine—in Christ there is manhood and Godhead (*allo kai allo*) in one Person, while in the one Godhead there are different Persons (*allos kai allos*). Thus, the reference of Michael Rabo to the first “one and another,” is to the masculine, and the second one to the (elements), the neuter. See *The Second Letter of Gregory of Nazianzus to Cledonius Contra Apollinaris*, translated by Charles Gordon Browne and James Edwards Swallow, in *The Library of Christian Classics: Christology of Later Fathers*, ed. Edward Rochie Hardy (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1954), p. 217, footnote 7.

according to the power of the testimonies of the holy doctors (learned church fathers). After presenting the testimonies concerning the Godhead, and laying down the doctrine of the Incarnation, they added saying, "Our document contained the expressions and the testimonies which we have already declared. We hold onto this (teaching) with the spirit of the fear (of God), and in conformity with the ideas of those who set them up, i.e. the inspired-by-God fathers, in order to obviate any controversy or doubt among us.

We found it more appropriate not to discuss what had happened and what had been written during a very difficult period, between the late holy Damian, pope of this city of Alexandria and the blessed Peter, patriarch of Antioch. The reason is to prevent the members of Christ from falling into difficulty and distress because of the provocation of this subject. However, as it is said, we should eliminate among us the roots of doubt and its fruits. So if one from the other side should ask us, "How can you understand what had happened during a difficult period between the blessed leaders of councils?" We reply in a general manner that, "Those who had written have been transported to God. We, however, are united according to the teachings delivered to us concerning the orthodox faith of our fathers, which are now in our hands. To this faith we direct your attention, and declare to all our faith which has brought us together and upon which we achieved peace." It is well known, that both sides protect the noble, pure and unblemished canons of the fathers. Furthermore, they are holding fast to the traditions of Egypt and Alexandria. We pray for a lifelong constancy in peace and charity and for the elimination of sedition and iniquity by the intercession of the holy Mother of God Mary, the holy Severus, Anthimus, and Theodosius, the holy (pope) of Alexandria, Peter, Paul, Julian of Antioch and Jacob (Baradaeus). They have held fast and confirmed the orthodox and unblemished teachings of the fathers. They accomplished a complete union with God and established the union of the Sees of Alexandria and Antioch without discrimination. Thus, we sign each one personally:

I, Anastasius, by the mercy of God, bishop of Alexandria, accept and reinforce the above orthodox and unblemished teachings. I pledge to work for harmony with you by the help of God. Dear spiritual brother, holy Athanasius, leader of the congregation of the Christ-loving city of Antioch. We extend to you the right hand of participation and of unity of mind. With the same breath, we beseech God to prolong your life for the sake of protecting the holy church. I am still your loyal and resolute brother. I signed with my own hand and so did the bishops with me.

Thus also signed, Athanasius, Polycarp and the rest of the Egyptian bishops:

I, bishop Quriqa (Cyriacus), signed in agreement with my Patriarch, Athanasius.

Also, signed Paul, another Paul, Sergius and Tuma (Thomas).

The Letter of Athanasius to Quriqa (Cyriacus), bishop of Amid, explaining the accomplishment of peace

The venerable, holy, and spiritual brother, Bishop Mor Cyriacus, the humble Athanasius. Rejoice in the Lord!

When I contemplate from the beginning, the many profitable contributions of your honorable brotherhood to our holy Church, which is the Orthodox Church, I find myself remiss in comparison to others in discussing your labors concerning evangelization, and the perils you endured for the cause of the Gospel as a good soldier of Jesus Christ, according to the command of the wise St Paul.¹⁶¹⁹ It would be fitting for you to iterate, if you wish, what he had said because you have labored more than they have. Therefore, our conscience compels us to view your old age with love, honor and diffidence more than the entire spiritual brethren. Hence, is the proclamation that we have circulated to all of you, especially that you have conducted the election in the regions of the East. We have also circulated to the chief priests concerning the canonical peace, which has been accomplished. This is more than what we can expect from God, who is gracious to his people and generous with his abundant gifts to the holy churches of Egypt and the East. We have sent it to the entire brethren and to your venerable brotherhood. I say that I am not satisfied with this. Therefore, we perceived to write to you separately and with more detail urged by sheer

¹⁶¹⁹ 2 Timothy 2:3.

love, in order to inform your holiness of it, hoping it would be a source for the common good. Thus, it is necessary for you to be acquainted with the true course of events in the church of God that, in turn, you may inform others, especially about this raised question. It will become a source of joy for the godly, if everything takes its proper course by the effort of believing brethren like you, who rejoice in their good works, and the revivification of virtues in the holy Orthodox Church. After all, the adversaries try to spread doubt and despair among simple brethren.

Your prudence well knows, honorable brother, that our church has many enemies who begrudge her and gnash their teeth against her, disturbing her affairs. They cannot endure to see peace and harmony in the churches. Likewise, their father, the slanderer (the devil), could not tolerate the former state of prosperity, peace and concord among our churches. They (the enemies) never abstain from stirring up trouble and contention against us. They care for nothing save the spreading of doubt among the simple folks, but they have failed to blot out this benefit, and their failure is this state of peace and the propagation of doubt among us. They might believe that the harm that afflicts us is because of the weakness of others, and not because of their courage. They forgot that the cause is, first and foremost, good luck as said by Gregory the theologian (Gregory of Nazianzus). This is not all that there is. They further try to shove us into the perils of death by using every means to stir up the wrath of our rulers. However, they cannot cause us, or any other pious person, harm. They cannot shake the grace that is the holy church granted us by God, and by the prayers of the Mother of God and the saints. They cannot do this because of the true promise God extended to the church through the person of Peter, the prince of the Apostles, who said, "And I tell you that you are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell will not overcome it."¹⁶²⁰ The church is firm, safe and never convulsed, and of lofty stature. God will protect it until the end of the world, but how did this grace begin and end? Now it is a propitious opportunity to explain this, in brevity if possible, to your acumen in theological matters that urged us to this discussion, if your lordship would permit it.

After prolonged deliberations between us and the partisans of Damian, with frequent meeting of both sides and utter disappointment for not taking a step toward the union of our churches with their churches, it chanced that after a short period the honorable Patrician, the army commander coming from Aresnoe, arrived in Alexandria. He visited the venerable Patriarch Mor Nicetas with whom we discussed the same subject, but we found no hope in him. Immediately after he entered the city, some leaders from our faith met with him. One of them was Mara bar (son of) Shafni. They discussed with him matters concerning the peace of the churches urging him to come to our side and join us. He accepted their proposal with alacrity. He urged them to appeal to our weakness to extend to him guidance because he was determined to work with us concerning the peace of the churches. We met with him several times but to no avail, so we quit seeing him. However, we did not give up but sent to him Metropolitan Thomas lest he thought that we were holding him with disdain. We suggested that meeting him should be with complete privacy. In addition, we admonished him through the venerable Patriarch Nicetas. However, as the days went by, and he was waiting to proceed and execute what we had commanded him, he began to complain in front of those whom we had delegated to him, as if we were holding him with contempt while he was immensely concerned with this spiritual grace. Metropolitan Thomas replied that no one had summoned him and that he was delegated by us for this business. He spent several days in the city awaiting the order of his lordship. Then, he went to see him. After lengthy discussion of the doctrines by the two sides in front of him, the partisans of their side asked the metropolitan to listen to the discussion. This venerable man, our father Metropolitan Mor Thomas, displayed great interest in the discussion. He indicated the necessity of recording every section, which is the cause of dispute of both sides, and the comment of the fathers on it. Once they finished with the section, they would move to the other. When the examination went on for one or two days before him, they, on the next day, began to interpolate other demands in order to confuse the issues. However, he would not let them have their way, and swore to handle the issues with fairness and without

¹⁶²⁰ Matthew 16:18.

prejudice. Having carefully listened and understood the points in dispute, he asked the objecting disputants to explain the properties of the three Person of the Trinity, that is, their generation, ungeneration and procession. He said in harsh words, "You have failed in proving that the ungeneration of the Father is his own *hypostasis* (person)." He asked them a question regarding this point, but Damian, in all the years he lived after this question, could not prove that the ungeneration of the Father was his *hypostasis* (person).

Now let us leave everything aside. I am the one who entertains doubt concerning your stand from these issues. I would like you to provide me with only one proof by any father of the church who says that the ungeneration of the Father is his *hypostasis* (person), or, that the generation of the Son is his person. Since they fail to present a proof, why dwell on all this stupidity, injustice and hypocrisy? And why not put an end to the controversy, cast aside the conflict and make peace with our Eastern brothers? After much reproof, admonition and threat, he said to the reverent Metropolitan Thomas, "My lord bishop! Do you have any more reprimands? Our hope in God is to find a conclusion to the chapter of the properties and please you." Thomas replied, "We doubt many sections. If you really seek union, we should unite our doctrine in one thing, namely: that the Holy Trinity, i.e. the three Persons, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit are one God, one substance and one nature. The venerable saint was astonished and said, "Who are those who do not confess that the three Persons are one God? God is my witness. I will not partake with them in the mysteries if they do not believe so. I will say this to them face to face."

When Thomas returned on the next day, no one of those who was inclined to separation was present. He beseeched Thomas to prevail on us to attend, but Thomas said, "Why should he (Patriarch Athanasius) attend if there was no development? Write down whatever you intend to do." He then dictated to his syncellus the following, "We believe in the Holy Trinity, that is, three consubstantial persons in nature, and we say that the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit are one God in truth and reality, one Godhead, one substance, and one nature." After they confirmed these sections with evidence, they moved to another section pertaining to personal properties. They wrote down, "Therefore, by the grace of God, we confess the consubstantial Godhead of the three Persons: the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. We do not at all say that the ungeneration of the Father is his essence or person, that the generation of the Son is his essence or person, or that the procession of the Holy Spirit is his essence or person. They are simply an indication that the Father was not born, the one who was born is the Son, and the one who proceeds is the Holy Spirit, in conformity with the teaching of the holy fathers. They are only types of the (divine) essence and denote their status.

Then they moved to another section concerning the substance and person, or that which shares and is also shared. They wrote down, "We follow and confess the holy mystery, or the difference of the substance and the person. The three Holy Persons share one substance, i.e. the substance is common in all of them; the person is also common among them naturally and without deficiency. Anyone who holds a faith contrary to this, we anathematize him and reject him. We also anathematize and reject those who maintain that the entire Holy Trinity: the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, are incarnated by means of one of its persons (the Son), and do not confess that God the Word alone is incarnated and that the Father and the Holy Spirit were not united with his body, or were incarnated.

Upon receiving this record from the Metropolitan (Thomas), we examined it several times and discussed it thoroughly with our brothers the metropolitans and deacons. In addition, we collated it with what has been written before and found that its sections are so far from each other as the east is far from the west; in fact, they contradict each other. We found insincerity in the first section in which they tried to interpolate an innovation to show that the essence of the Godhead in the three Persons of the Trinity is another thing. The second section contained blasphemy and parting about the ungeneration, generation and the procession, and that the consubstantial and adored persons of the Holy Trinity are mere names and expressions. In the third section, it was said that it is not possible for the person (the Son) who partakes with the other persons of the Trinity to be of one substance, one genus, and one person. For example, we say God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit, as it pleases the new and strange spirit. Regarding the fourth section, we say that the Godhead is absolutely not a metaphor according to their

blasphemous opinion. Indeed, the Godhead, the substance, and the nature, are original in each of the three Persons of the Trinity, so also, whatever proceeds from it according to the inspired orthodox teaching. They requested us verbally to inform them if we are truly adhering to this teaching. However, if we have doubt about any other issue, they would appease our mind. They further requested us to deposit such issues in the records compartment as a document showing the agreement of both sides in matters of complete faith. Furthermore, they requested us to expand the expression of "Godhead," discuss the dispensation of one of the persons of the Trinity, (the Son), in the flesh, and argue against heresies. However, sometime ago, we already found a complete record on this issue. Then we summoned the metropolitan and instructed him if he ...lacuna... and we arrived in the proper time to the city ...lacuna... and when they read it ...lacuna... we immediately arrived. If the troublemakers had known about this, they would have prevented the fulfillment of this grace. These three men, of whom is John, said to have lived in the Monastery of Aphtonya and become the syncellus of Damian, and whom they considered a messenger but now label him as the devil, parted their company and their communion. He told them, "You have forfeited the teaching of Damian." Some of them were not in agreement regarding these sections until they heard the man and those sent with him. It was then that they kept silent. Another John said, "I have testimonies from the fathers to be deposited in the records compartment." He thought that if he failed to interpolate his foolish ideas into the doctrine, he might do the interpolation by means of these miscellaneous testimonies. We reiterated, "We also have testimonies which we would like to deposit. However, there is no need for them because they are not history, but only a commitment to the agreement which we should implement concerning the teachings." Seeing that all his stratagems failed, he tried another artifice to introduce the tern *bayula* (primordial matter), but we found it cumbersome and not possible. Thus, all hope of peace disappeared. Our enemies rejoiced and mocked us clapping their hands. However, they did not enjoy rejoicing their contempt for long because God foiled what they intended, that is, "If the Easterners rejected what Damian had written, we will not agree with them." In addition, the patriarch deceived them saying, "Would you accept what Peter had written?" At one time, they said, "Yes." At another they said, "We cannot accept what is written against us." He silenced them concerning this issue, and said, "Therefore, the two sides should insert his name in the Diptychs."¹⁶²¹ Those with us did not agree and left. They beseeched us saying, "Have pity on us and on the church. Peace should not be annulled because of one person." After deliberation, we appreciated their words and said, "If the faith of both sides is one, let us then study what the fathers have done concerning such names." Finally, it was agreed that they would mention his name (Damian) according to their customs in their assemblies, and that he will participate with them without suspicion. As for us, we will proclaim the name of our Father Peter (III of Callinicus), and that they will participate with us without suspicion. When this was done, the wretched John and another secular man separated themselves from the rest. They asked that the records should be kept in the compartment after the conclusion of peace, and that no one should revile the other.

After we achieved unity with Pope Anastasius, he added nothing to the minutes or even signed them. However, he sent it to us to peruse it and authorized us to make whatever emendation we wished. This was actually done, and when we met at the Monastery of Caesarea Patricia, he handed us the documents, which were written and signed before the altar ...lacuna... and then with ...lacuna... one with the other ...lacuna... I, he and the rest ...lacuna... the Lord, the Lord loved ...lacuna... and all of them.

On Saturday, the pope celebrated the Eucharist, and I did on Sunday. Thus, we consummated a holy festivity and a spiritual celebration in honor of he who has visited us with his mercy. However, in case some simple brothers are found who have no experience in the dispensation and the concessions, or fear the name appended to the record, you should, with your wisdom and experience, explain to them matters on our behalf and on behalf of the people, and especially on behalf of the truth. For we have not anything which is not in conformity with the dispensation of the skillful fathers. We say this not for your omniscient prudence, but for the information of others who need to learn from your discernment. There is difference

¹⁶²¹ Diptychs is a list of names of church fathers read during the celebration of the Eucharist. It was considered so important that dropping the name of any bishop from it was considered a break-off of communion.

in the signification of reality, dispensation and concession as it was in the past. I do not say this in relation to the term “man” but to lofty teachings. We consider that the time is appropriate for the dispensation that the holy Patriarch Peter had written in the books and proposed to Damian in Parlos. If he had received him as brother and colleague, your lordship would have become sure and proved to others that the *qnume* (persons of the Trinity), are not simple attributes from which emanates two things, as we see in the generation, ungeneration and procession. Furthermore, they are not names or adjectives denoting descent or origin and devoid of action. However, the attributes constituted by them are rational, perfect, distinct by number, and not distinct in the divinity. They are three in one in the Godhead. This is what we have learned from the father inspired by God.

We and Anastasius, and the entire colleagues here, send greetings to your lordship.

This Cyriacus was from the Monastery of Mor Zakai. He was a disciple of Patriarch Peter. He is a pious and learned man. He administered the church for a number of years, but was deposed by the bishops who were sent by the Persian king to seize the sees of Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia) when he expelled from them the Chalcedonians. *This letter concerning the reconciliation between the Egyptians and the Syrians is ended by the help of the Lord of reconciliation.*

Chapter Twenty-Seven: On the encyclical letter circulated by Patriarch Athanasius to the Eastern bishops, and a portion of the letter of Pope Anastasius to Athanasius concerning the union they accomplished between the Church of Syria and the Church of Egypt

The encyclical letter of Athanasius

To the pious and holy brothers of one spirit and service, the bishops of the East, from the humble Athanasius. Rejoice in the Lord.

You who struggled for the cause of the Gospel, who are stewards of the mysteries of God, and have become skillful doctors (learned men) by the breath of the spirit from above for the confirmation of profitable matters ...lacuna..., and you are the chief priests ...lacuna... high and exaltedlacuna... fraught with abundant graces ...lacuna... to the orthodox and royal path.

It could be improper to inform you, you who are ahead in knowledge, of the graciousness of God to us and to his holy church, to which the Prophet Isaiah points clearly, saying, “I am bringing my righteousness near, it is not far away; and my salvation will not be delayed. I will grant salvation to Zion, my splendor to Israel.”¹⁶²² Such magnificent, glorious and supernatural things are granted us that all may be astonished by the magnitude of his gifts which call us to exclaim, They will speak of the glorious splendor of your majesty, and I will meditate on your wonderful works.”¹⁶²³ It is great to praise, along with another prophet, the majesties of God and his dispensing wisdom, saying, “Great is the Lord and most worthy of praise; his greatness no one can fathom.”¹⁶²⁴ He has granted miraculously from his fullness an abundance of permanent peace to those who were before scattered, nay, they were even enemies and adversaries. He led the doubters to godliness, and to one voice and to the orthodox teachings of the fathers. Now, if you are of one mind and accord, you will find that their former stand from the teachings was negative. So, magnify the Lord with us, and we will together glorify his name as it is written, “The Lord is capable of wonder works.” He said through the Prophet Isaiah, “See, I am doing a new thing! Now it springs up; do you not perceive it?”¹⁶²⁵ He sees our weakness. The Lord who builds Jerusalem and surrounds it by peace shall unite us: we from the East who dwell in Alexandria with the sons of this city, and with the entire congregation of Egypt in quiet and pleasant peace, and in unity of opinion in God. You will know the union after you have perused the document of doctrine and faith that we have published and sent to you. God is our witness that we are

¹⁶²² Isaiah 46:13.

¹⁶²³ New International Version: Psalm 45:5 and note b5.

¹⁶²⁴ Psalm 145:3.

¹⁶²⁵ Isaiah 43:19.

tremendously glad in spirit, we raise fullness of praise to the Father, to the Son and to the Holy Spirit our Lord and God, and that we do not add any innovation to the truths of doctrines.

Reverent brothers! Beseech on our behalf the Lord of peace, steadfast in good things, that we may remain as we are now until the end and that we will not revert to schism or the tares planted by the enemies of piety. This is what prompted us to inform you, O saints. We are holding fast to piety because of the teachings that we maintain. We respect the one brotherly law and surrender to the Prophetic saying, "Announce this with shouts of joy and proclaim it. Send it out to the ends of the earth; say, 'The Lord has redeemed his servant Jacob.' They did not thirst when he led them through the deserts."¹⁶²⁶

Therefore, we beseech you as you contemplate the splendid works of God and behold the number of people who gain safety through discernment. Do not despise or think improperly of the concession we made, especially that this concession was accompanied with profit and benefit. We have not done anything contrary to the order of the church that we have received from the fathers. Not even a name was fixed in the document that differs from our opinion, lest it create doubt for you. Our holy fathers had arranged these matters, and even greater ones, for the cause of the peace of the church, and for the prevention of the dissension or separation of the people of God. They have surrendered to some not counting it as a disgrace, or that it desecrates the communion of the orthodox people. You are now like skillful carpenters and engineers who close the gaps. You have experience in all matters, and in your position, you can also bear the burden of the weak because the circumstances demand this thing. Everything done in the right time is good. You, as educators and teachers of the multifarious grace of God, will build magnificent edifices for Zion that do not disdain the weak, lest the lame stumble, but wants for him recovery through perfect men and women. It does not want anyone to perish in hell, but as the Scriptures says, that (God our Savior) "Wants men to be saved and to come to a knowledge of the truth."¹⁶²⁷

Therefore, if you examine closely these holy opinions, you will be able to take care of the people, as you desire, O reverent lords. So, as much as you can, do not let anyone falter on a stumbling block that the Lord of glory may commend you for your magnificent works in the great church, when all of mankind is brought into judgment. It is then that you and we deserve the gracefulness of God and the abode of our holy fathers, who taught us the word of truth with verity and perfect fear of God.

Extracts of the letter of Anastasius

To my lord, the holy and venerable brother and fellow-minister Athanasius, Patriarch of Antioch, from Anastasius, bishop of Alexandria. Let us rejoice in the Lord.

"How good and pleasant it is when brothers live together in unity!"¹⁶²⁸ The Psalmist David chanted this by the harp of the Spirit, as he perceived the children of one paternal stock and one source records their genuine origin. These are the people who had been separated from each other by the foolishness of the one who was jealous;¹⁶²⁹ who saw them tied by the unbreakable bond of peace, the indissoluble love, by means of the safety and serenity of the one who has an overflow of grace.¹⁶³⁰ How could he (David) not multiply his praise? Moreover, when he determines a matchless beauty like this, he actually nourishes faithfulness and assures a desire that has no semblance. Therefore, it is appropriate to say, "Let the name of the Lord be praised; both now and evermore."¹⁶³¹ Every one of the priestly rank, and every venerable officer (of the church) is an ornament of love. How adorable is it to sustain peace and unity among friends? How tender is the expression of harmony? Is there anything more noble and gracious than the beauty of unity in one faith and one communion? Our great God and Savior Jesus Christ says in the Gospel, "For where two or three

¹⁶²⁶ Isaiah 48:20.

¹⁶²⁷ 1 Timothy 2:4.

¹⁶²⁸ Psalm 133:1.

¹⁶²⁹ The reference here is most likely to the devil.

¹⁶³⁰ I believe the reference here is to God.

¹⁶³¹ Psalm 113:2.

come together in my name; there am I with them.”¹⁶³² Those who yesterday were split into two factions,¹⁶³³ they are today united in one people, and one indivisible faith whose medium is the Trinity in unity fitting to God. Those who yesterday were divided in the matters of the faith and contended against each other in word and deed, they are enriched today by the Holy Spirit in an indivisible unity. If we had spoken all the languages under the sun, we are now one language and one voice. Those who yesterday hated each other like Jacob and Esau,¹⁶³⁴ they are today like Benjamin and Joseph.¹⁶³⁵ We embrace those who yesterday separated themselves from us by their own will as if they were sent to witness the Promised Land. Today, however, we, like Caleb and Joshua, are of one mind and soul. We hasten toward the beautiful city above created by God and prepared for all the saints. Those who yesterday were as Judah and Israel split into two camps are seen today as one family. We ascribe this to the Lord of Hosts who is adored and glorified as king and priest. Those who yesterday fought each other with arrows and swords are seen today, as the Prophet said, “They will beat their swords into plowshares.”¹⁶³⁶ They are seen today with one voice preaching the Gospel everywhere under the sun. We do call to godliness those who are not from our fold when peace and charity flourish and shine in our midst instead of sedition and dissension. We should seek with affection the everlasting treasure of peace as disciples of the granter of peace (Christ), who reconciled the heavenly with the earthly and taught us, saying, “Peace I leave with you; my peace I give you.”¹⁶³⁷ Let us put on the divine sacerdotal garment of love. For nothing like love make us disciples of Christ. The Lord confirms this in his Gospel saying, “By this all men will know that you are my disciples, if you love one another.”¹⁶³⁸ Who would then desire not to become a disciple of Christ by befitting works? You, who are dearer to me than anyone else is, let us, as we are bound by one divine spirit, greet one another by correspondence and conversation that could be preserved in collections in order to be read. Therefore, O chief priest, I have examined my own collection and find that it announces the glad tiding of the concord between the Egyptians and the Easterners. It eradicates the ancient roots of sedition and confirms in us the perpetual unity of word. We believe that it firmly establishes and confirms our faith until the last day. This is actually what has been restored to its original splendor by the holy and inspired-by-God, Severus (of Antioch), when he sent a collection of synodical letters to the holy Theodosius containing what we had hoped. Furthermore, we sent to him a collection of our synodical letters. The authority of the permanent kingdom is concealed in the evangelical throne above. In fact, the festival letters addressed to the whole world are still preserved to this day and will be preserved for the future. If anyone should view the origins of orthodoxy, he will never overlook them.

After he (Anastasius) discussed the theological matter concerning the Incarnation, he said, “We extend a virtuous hand to each other, and we rejoice for our indissoluble communion offering with joy thanks to Christ who has brought us together in this concord. We pray for the victory of our king (emperor) to assist Nicetas, the victorious army general, who exhibited great effort in urging and calling for harmony. He had bitterly criticized the state of our separation and urged us to agree with each other. May Christ reward him on our behalf, and make him triumph over the enemies, and subdue the barbarians that the wars launched against those obedient (to the faith) by the enemies of charity and concord, may come to an end. May God bestow on him good physical health, prolong his life, and offer him in the world to come what the eye has not seen for those who love him. Glory to him forever and ever.

Signed in confirmation of the unity of the Holy Trinity. May God protect your beatitude and preserve your body and soul. etc.

¹⁶³² Matthew 18:20.

¹⁶³³ The reference here is to the Churches of Syria and Alexandria.

¹⁶³⁴ See Genesis 27:41-46.

¹⁶³⁵ Genesis, Chapter 42.

¹⁶³⁶ Isaiah 2:4.

¹⁶³⁷ John 14:27.

¹⁶³⁸ John 13:35.

He who seeks more information can understand from these correspondences how and when, and in what form the unity had been restored and established between the churches of Syria and Egypt by our Patriarch Athanasius of Antioch, Mor Anastasius of Egypt, the bishops of both sides, by Nicetas, the army commander, and other leaders and believers. May God make for them a good memory in all the orthodox churches until the end of the world, and record their names in the church of the firstborn in heaven forever and ever. Amen.

This union was consummated in the year 927 of the Greeks (A.D. 616) by the prayer of the holy saints through whose effort and that of other saints, God completed. May God have mercy on them and those who shared in this book. Amen.

Book Ten is ended. It contained the history of 43 years from 878 to 921 of the Greeks (A.D. 567-610). During this period, four Roman kings (emperors) and three Persian kings rose to power. This is the year 6114 from Adam, and the year 592 A.D. This Book consists of twenty-seven chapters.

BOOK ELEVEN

COVERS THE PERIOD FROM THE YEAR 6115 OF ADAM, THE YEAR 593 A.D. AND TH YEAR 922 OF THE GREEKS. IN THIS PERIOD, EMPEROR HERACLIUS RULED THE ROMANS, AND KHUSRO RULED THE PERSIANS. IN IT, TOO, BEGAN THE KINGDOM OF THE ARABS (MUSLIMS) BY MUHAMMAD

Chapter One: On the commencement of the reign of Heraclius, and the affairs of the church at that time¹⁶³⁹

Heraclius ruled in the year 922 of the Greeks (A.D. 616) which is the year 21 of Khusro.

Phocas was killed by the Romans who had earlier killed Maurice and his children.¹⁶⁴⁰

When he assumed power, Heraclius sent a delegation to Khusro, king of Persia, seeking peace. He said, "We killed Phocas because he killed your friend the Emperor Maurice." He believed that peace could be achieved by such stratagems. Khusro, however, was not deceived. He not only did not conclude peace with the Romans, but also seized from them several regions.

In the first year of Heraclius, the Persians attacked Antioch and captured it. The Persian and the Roman armies engaged in battle, and the Romans were defeated after the Persians finished off a great number of them.

In the second year of Heraclius, which is the 22nd year of Khusro, Bahram, the Persian army commander, seized Caesarea Cappadocia. He killed thousands of people, plundered, took captives, and then withdrew.

In the fourth year of Heraclius, Shahrbarz subdued Damascus for the Persians. In the following year, he seized Khalil (Hebron) and the Jordan basin.

In the sixth year of Heraclius, Shahrbarz occupied Jerusalem and killed ninety thousand inhabitants. The Jews bought the Christians from the Persians for cheap prices and killed them.

The Persians took Zachariah, the Chalcedonian bishop of Jerusalem, captive and sent him to Persia accompanied by the wood of the adored Cross. They also took captive the Jews who bought the Christians and killed them, and did not leave one Jew in Jerusalem or its environs.

In the next year, Shahrbarz occupied Egypt. He seized Alexandria and killed a great number of its citizens. He also made Libya subject to Persians up to the boundaries of Ethiopia. In that same year, the Persian Shahin attacked Chalcedonia, captured it by force and destroyed it, and then withdrew. Thus, the Persians extended their influence to the Roman countries and to Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia), Syria, Cilicia, Palestine, Egypt and the entire seacoast. They plundered and took numberless captives. They carried to Persia treasures, slaves and other things like quadrangular marble stones, and many pieces of marble from Rome, Syria, and other western regions.

Heraclius made his son Constantine a Caesar in order to send him at the head of the army to fight the Persians, which had controlled a part of the Roman countries that extended from the Pontos (Black Sea) to the East.

In this time appeared the name of Muhammad in interior Arabia conducting merchant trips to Arabia and Palestine.¹⁶⁴¹

In the year in which Heraclius ruled, (A.D. 616) the Chalcedonian patriarch in Antioch called Anastasius was killed, and the Chalcedonian See of Antioch was bereft of a patriarch for 38 years. As for us, the Orthodox, our Patriarch of Antioch at that time was Athanasius who made union with the Copts, which he concluded with Anastasius, pope of Alexandria, as we have already discussed in details in Book Ten.

¹⁶³⁹ It should be noted that the entire Chapters of Book Eleven are not numbered in the Syriac text. The numbering is mine.

¹⁶⁴⁰ *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 142.

¹⁶⁴¹ Muhammad was born in 570 or 571 A.D. As a young man, he was employed by his first wife Khadija, a businesswoman, on trades with Syria.

In Alexandria, Cyrus became patriarch of the Chalcedonians.

In Constantinople, Sergius became patriarch. He sent Isaiah, a bishop from Persia, to Edessa.

Heraclius addressed a letter to Patriarch Athanasius and the entire congregation of our faith as follows:

From Heraclius, Emperor of the Romans, the believer in Christ God, to the Orthodox.

“Although we had no opportunity to investigate the doctrinal issues, yet by our orthodox faith which is in our Lord Jesus Christ, the one true God, we glorify and say that, the Son and the Word of God who has no beginning, and who was with the Father and the Holy Spirit before all the worlds, he, as one of the persons of the Holy Trinity, the consubstantial and maker of life, willed to be incarnated from our lady the Virgin Mary, Mother of God, and was born from her for the salvation of mankind. He is a true God and he himself the God who suffered, and was crucified in the time of Pontius Pilate. The impassioned God suffered in his body. Certainly, suffering did not touch the united divine and human natures of God. We say concerning Jesus that he is the Word of God and his pure Son. He is of two natures united without confusion or division; he is one energy as Cyril of blessed memory said, ‘One nature of the incarnated Word of God.’ This indicates two natures united without confusion or division. No confusion is ascribed to one nature, and no division signifies one united nature of the incarnated Word of God. Of course, there is no division in the expression “two united natures.” Therefore, we anathematize anyone who believes otherwise, even if he was a member of the Council of Nicaea, the Council of Constantinople, the Council of Ephesus or the Council of Chalcedon.”

In the year in which Heraclius ruled the Romans, a sun eclipse took place for four hours. The plants perished and the grains disappeared, and famine prevailed.

In this year, Tayoye robbers from Arabia came, plundered Syria, and took captives. They destroyed many regions and killed many people. They burned everything without passion or mercy.

It is said that when one of the Roman emperors learned that his army was preparing to rebel against him, he enticed them to fight each other. He ordered some of them to wear yellow garments, and others red garments, and they fought each other. With this trick, he was able to get rid of them and their rebellion against him. The emperors of today, however, like Maurice, Phocas and Heraclius, are divested from wisdom because of distancing themselves from godliness. Therefore, “God gave them over to a depraved mind,” as it is written,¹⁶⁴² and they went on destroying each other. For this reason, Edessa suffered a great deal of evil. Khusro appointed a nobleman as governor of the city. However, he was greatly begrudged by the people who slandered him to Khusro, who believed them and did not rebuke them. The people asked the governor to meet with Khusro to ask him to lower the taxes. He did and obtained an order to dispense of matters in their interest as he wished. Upon his return, he met two unscrupulous envoys whom the Edessans had sent to Khusro to slander him. When the governor learned of this, he left them to heap up their abuses against him with as much force as the devil had given them. The governor returned to Khusro and informed him about the abundance of silver in Edessa. He advised him to gather it from the common people, from the churches and the elders, and from everywhere. Khusro sent to Persia 120,000 rats (pounds) of silver.

Chapter Two: On the appearance of Muhammad, and the response of Patriarch Athanasius to the letter of Heraclius, the Roman Emperor

In the year 933 of the Greeks (A.D. 622) and the 12th year of Heraclius and the 33rd year of Khusro, the kingdom of the (Tayoye) Arabs began. A man called Muhammad from the Quraysh tribe in the district of Yathrib, (more correctly Makka), claimed that he was a prophet.¹⁶⁴³ His followers are called Tayoye

¹⁶⁴² Romans 1:28.

¹⁶⁴³ Iliyya (Elijah) Bar Shinaya, a tenth-century Nestorian chronicler, correctly says that Muhammad ibn Abd Allah, the Prophet of the Muslims and their first king, went to the city of Yathrib and ruled it in the year 933 of the Greeks /A.D 622. See *The Chronicle of Iliyya Bar Shinaya*, translated from the Syriac into Arabic by the Rev. Dr. Yusuf Habbi (Baghdad, 1975), 128).

(Arabs), Ishmaelites, or Hagerites in relations to Ishmael and Hagar. They were also called Saracens in relation to Sarah and Midianites, that is, the sons of Keturah.¹⁶⁴⁴ However, although they had different names, their common name is Arabs. They call themselves by this name that is derived from Arabia Felix, an area situated between the River Euphrates to the north, and to the sea in the south, and from the Red Sea to the Persian Gulf to the East.

Muhammad ibn Abd Allah traveled from his city of Yathrib to Palestine (Syria) for business. By conversing with the Jews, he became familiar with their doctrine of one God. When he saw that his kinsmen worshiped stones, wood, and other created objects, he admired the doctrine of the Jews and was inclined to it. Upon returning to his country, he proposed this doctrine to his people. At the beginning, few followed him, and then they increased in number. When he gained more power, he commanded them to obey him lawfully, sometimes by threats and other times by praising the land of Palestine. He said to them, "Palestine the good earth which was given to those people (the Jews) because of their belief in the one God." He also told them, "If you listen to me and forsake these false idols and believe in the one God, God will give you that good earth." With such talk, he deceived many. He began to form from them a gang and engaged in ambushes in the land of Palestine. He sent delegations to Palestine that they might hear what encouraged them to believe him and recognize him. In fact, he himself went there several times without sustaining any harm. He plundered and returned loaded with booty. The Tayoye (Arabs) believed what he had told them for their love of money, which was their wont. Thus, they went there, including those who did not yet obey him, pillaging because they saw that his followers had become rich. Therefore, they likewise followed him. In addition, when the number of those subjected to him increased, he did not personally lead those who went to plunder, but sent others to command his army while he remained comfortable in his city. He did not use persuasion to have people endorse his teaching and faith, but the sword and killing of his opponents. After a while, his armies raided and ravaged some regions. When his power spread, he imposed the Jizya (tribute) on the countries. He set for his people a permanent kingdom that gained strength following as the caliphate was assumed like a chain from one to the other. The caliphs subjugated many Roman regions, and then the Persian kingdom.¹⁶⁴⁵

He (Muhammad) set for them (Muslims) laws he claimed were given to him by God. He taught them to confess one God the creator of everything, but he confessed no Father, no Son and no Holy Spirit. He said that God is one, of one person, and that he was not begotten, and begat none and none is like unto him, and has no partner.¹⁶⁴⁶ He (Muhammad) accepted the Books of Moses and the Prophets, and a part of the gospel, but he rejected most of it and adhered to insignificant things. He maintained that the prophets did prophesy about Christ as a righteous man and a prophet like the rest of the prophets, but that he was not God or the Son of God, as we Christians believe. However, Christ is greater than other prophets because he was born without human medium but by the word of God that he breathed into Mary as he breathed his spirit into Adam who was created from dust and became a living being. Therefore, sometimes Muslims call Christ the Word of God and his Spirit on the premise that he is a slave and created by the word of God. This is instead of the expression "Son of God" which we maintain because he was born of God without passion as the word is born of the mind. They (Muslims) look at this from a carnal point of view. They accuse us that we believe that God made him (Christ) born of a woman, who they say, was Mary the sister of Moses and Aaron.

Most of them (Muslims) do not believe in the crucifixion of Christ by the Jews, but say that one of his disciples who looked like him was crucified and died. As to Christ, he disappeared because God lifted him up to the Janna, or Paradise. They believe, foolishly of course, that Paradise is a place of eating and drinking and marriage. It contains seats of gold and mattresses of ostrich feathers and rivers of milk, honey and trees, which bear pleasant fruits. They ascribe predestination and luck to God. They are free to marry four wives and an unlimited number of slave girls. If one of them divorces his wife by pronouncing an oath,

¹⁶⁴⁴ Genesis 25:1-2.

¹⁶⁴⁵ Cf. *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 141-142).

¹⁶⁴⁶ See Quran Sura 112.

he cannot take her back until she marries another man and this man divorces her. In this case, his oath is annulled, and he can take her back.¹⁶⁴⁷ They pray five times a day and prostrate themselves four times in each prayer. They believe in the resurrection of the dead, in punishment and reward each one according to his deeds. They are infatuated by the love of the world, and by sensual lusts, eating, drinking, garments and multiple wives. There is no objection that one of them would divorce his wife and marry another. They fast thirty days from dawn to dusk, but eat all night long until dawn. They perform the ablution by water before prayer and wash their victuals. In the case of cohabitation or night ejection, they wash all of the body and then pray. They turn toward Makka in prayer wherever they are. They practice circumcision of both male and female without heeding the Law of Moses that decrees that circumcision should be done on the eighth day after birth. However, they circumcise at any age.¹⁶⁴⁸ *End of the account of the appearance of Muhammad, chief of the Ishmaelites (Arabs).*

The reply of Patriarch Athanasius to the Emperor Heraclius, the king (emperor) of the Romans

Gracious lords, we, your servants, have been ordered to write down in brevity what concerns the divine doctrines and the doubts that surround them.

We believe and confess what the 318 fathers had set down at Nicaea. It is a fact that the Holy Spirit was with them, and accepted by the council of the 150 fathers at Constantinople, and the fathers of the Council of Ephesus who assembled because of the obstinacy of Nestorius. We are determined not to accept any other definition of the faith. Those fathers taught us to confess the Word who is from God the Father, and consubstantial with him and the Holy Spirit in substance and power. He took a rational and living body from the holy Mary of perpetual virginity, and who is rightfully called the Mother of God. He was united with this body naturally and actually, and he was not made before this union. However, he took what he willed on account of this union that was consummated simultaneously. Thus, he issued from the womb of the holy Virgin Mary Mother of God with a body. He was incarnated in a consummate and unchangeable form. He had two births: one before all the worlds without a body or beginning; the other is a physical birth in the fullness of time. He is One before and after his incarnation and physical birth, and no addition was made to the Trinity. Because our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ is One, his nature is also One. We believe that his *qnumo* (hypostasis) is a compound of the divinity and the humanity, that is, of complete natures and persons as the fathers had expressed. His divinity was not changed into what it was not, or that his humanity itself was changed. Indeed, each one of the two natures maintained its own properties. We together believe in an ineffable union (of the two natures) which resulted in one nature of him who is One, incarnated and became man. He is in no wise divisible into two natures, or that he is two natures, two persons, two individuals, two Sons, or two Christs after the ineffable union which was consummated naturally beyond imagination and without change, or mixture, or division into two. In fact, the duality of natures dissolves their union, which becomes only a mixture, or a reversal of the divine mystery.

Moving from the divine Incarnation to duality, division, mixture and phantasy, to Nestorius who worshipped man, to the notorious Eutyches who said that he (Christ) being in the womb of Mary was a mere a presence in the womb, we say that, Christ the Son is one Lord consubstantial with the Father and the Holy Spirit, and consubstantial with us in the humanity. He is impassible and undying in his divinity, passible and dying in his humanity. He is above change; the union of his divinity with his humanity was consummated without duality or division. We further say that all the divine and human actions, be they high or low, the words (spoken by him), and his thoughts, belong to one (Christ) alone. Not only have these, but also the voluntary, natural, and unblemished passions that he accepted voluntarily in the body, but still remained impassible in his divinity belonged to him. For suffering cannot draw near from that which is impassible by its nature. This is some of the probable matters on which account the heretics blasphemed. Certainly, he is true God who suffered, died and resurrected in the body. The Theologian (Gregory of

¹⁶⁴⁷ This Islamic practice blatantly contradicts what God said in Jeremiah, 3:1.

¹⁶⁴⁸ *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 142, mentions some of these Muslim traits with great brevity.

Nazianzus) said, 'We needed a true God incarnated and suffered that we may live.' This is in brief, what we believe and in a cursory manner, O our serene and protected-by-God king (emperor).

With respect to the divine Incarnation, we say that if the two sides should reach a full agreement, and the dogmas contrary to the truth are cast aside and anathematized, then we will concentrate on the issues. By God's help, we will be able to place the names and persons whom we believe are subject of suspicion, in proper perspective in the church lest some might think that we have separated ourselves without reason from those who differ with us regarding these issues. Therefore, we decided to include in this document the following simple matters:

We, our serene and gracious king, renounce the Council of Chalcedon for making a definition of the faith other than that established at Nicaea. It fell under the weight of the canons of the fathers, first at Ephesus, which anathematized anyone who introduced another definition of the faith, be they bishops, clergy or laymen. This Council (Chalcedon) established the previously mentioned definition that says that Christ is two natures and known in two natures. This proclamation is relevant in relation to what is divisible and not to one which is compound. In fact, the council overlooked the expression "from two natures" established by the fathers. It accepted the letter of Ibas (Hiba, bishop of Edessa) fraught with blasphemy. It defended Theodore (of Mopsuestia), teacher of iniquity, and defended Nestorius who contended against God. It condemned St. Cyril as a heretic, and considered the letter of Ibas as orthodox just because it contained Cyril's Twelve Anathemas. It admitted Theodoret (bishop of Cyrus), who contended against godliness and those who practiced it in his writings. He especially wrote against St. Cyril because he condemned Nestorius and his writings. In fact, Theodoret neglected Cyril's name and showed aversion when it was mentioned. Furthermore, the Council of Chalcedon accepted the *Tome* of the Roman Leo who palpably divided the one Christ, who is indivisible. He divided him into God and man, into two natures, and two hypostases. He also divided into two his actions and properties. He ascribed to God the miracles and sublime actions, and to man passions and lowly actions. He said that hunger, thirst, sleep and fatigue are the requirements of man, and feeding five thousand by five loaves, offering the water of life to the Samaritan woman at the well, walking on water without being wet, and calming the raging sea undoubtedly belong to God. Each one of the natures acts in participation with the other. Thus, the Word acts what is for the Word, and the body acts of what is for the body. One (the divine) shines in wonder works, the other succumbs to lowliness. As the merciful God is above change, thus man is not consumed by God's power and might.

These things call us to doubt and divide the churches. If they are revised, there will be nothing to prevent us from going to the House of the Lord together and enjoy spiritual joy. We beseech God, who reveals all secrets, that our position is for godliness and not for controversy. We, contrary to what some believe, are not seeking the love of self.

Chapter Three: Concerning the condition of the Persians after defeating the Romans and occupying their countries because they were divided and lost their victories; also, on the Romans who persecuted us (the Syrian Orthodox), as was their custom, after they seized several countries; and on the beginning of the kingdom of the Arabs, called Tayoye, in the 12th year of Heraclius, and the 32nd year of Khusro, and on the first Arab rule in Yathrib in the year 933 of the Greeks, 6130 of Adam and 604 of our Lord

In the first year of Muhammad, the Persian Shahrbarz seized Angora (Ankara) and then Rhodes. Khusro treated those who fell under his power with cruelty. The tongue is incapable of discussing the tribulations, pillage, taxes, captives and the killing that took place in the aftermath of the victory of the Persian, Khusro.

In the year 936 of the Greeks (A.D. 625), which is the 15th year of Heraclius, the 35th year of Khusro and the 4th year of Muhammad, Shahrbarz and Kardigan attacked Constantinople. Their armies penetrated Thrace and from there they invaded the western region. They occupied the city for one year and tightened their grip against it, that there was no hope to have it released. Rescue, however, came suddenly to the city.

It reached the ears of Khusro that Shahrbarz was holding him with contempt and describing him as an arrogant who takes pride in a victory for which he is unworthy. Khusro ordered Kardigan to behead Shahrbarz, but the Romans captured the carrier of the letter. When Heraclius learned of the matter, he summoned Shahrbarz and swore to him (concerning his safety) the truth of Khusro's plotting against him. Shahrbarz thought of a stratagem. He altered Khusro's letter and inserted into it the phrase, "Three hundred nobles were to be killed with Shahrbarz." When the letter was read, Shahrbarz said to Kardigan, "Does it please you to do this?" The chiefs (nobles) were furious and mocked Khusro. They made a compact of peace with Heraclius, and also gave him (their sons) as hostages for the confirmation of the conditions of the peace. Among the captives was the son of Shahrbarz, and the Persians departed on their way. Heraclius sent a message to Khagan, king of the Khazars, asking him to send him 40,000 soldiers so that he might fight the Persian king. Khagan replied, "The army will leave the Caspian Gate and will meet you wherever you wish." In return, Heraclius promised to give him his daughter Eudoxia as wife.¹⁶⁴⁹

Heraclius marched in the direction of Armenia. In every region that he passed through, he drove away the Persians and stationed Romans. When Khusro heard that Shahrbarz had rebelled, and that Heraclius was marching against his country, his spirit waned, and he was greatly depressed. He collected as many soldiers as he was able, made Ruzbihan captain over them, and ordered him to meet Heraclius. When the Persians met the Romans in battle, the Persians were defeated and their captain was killed. When Khusro heard that his army was defeated, he fled Sqrta where he was encamped, leaving behind his treasures and possessions. Heraclius pursued him to Sqrta, capturing his treasures and rich possessions, and set Sqrta on fire. Then Shirin, the son of Khusro, who had been imprisoned by his father, learned that his father had fled. He went forth from his place of bondage and pursued his father, killed him and reigned after him. When Heraclius returned to pass the winter in Athor (Assyria), and then pursue Khusro, Shirin sent a message to Heraclius informing him that he had killed his father and he himself reigned. He confirmed the covenant of peace with him, and that the Persians should leave the Roman countries and return to their own country. Then Heraclius turned his attention to Syria to evict the Persians from it. He sent before him to Syria his brother Theodoric (with an army). However, when the Persians learned from the letters of Shirin and Shahrbarz about the peace pact, they scoffed at Shirin and said, "We will never be subjects to Shirin." Meanwhile, the Jews were helping the Persians because of their hatred of the Christians. When Theodoric reached Edessa, the Jews insulted him, mocked him and resisted him. However, being pressured by Theodoric, the Persians pledged to leave the city. It happened then, that a Jew name Joseph who feared that his people might perish, climbed down the wall of the city at night and went to Heraclius at Tella. He begged to him to instruct Theodoric to forgive the Jews their insults. When Theodoric entered Edessa, he began to evict the Persians and the Jews. As he proceeded to have them killed, Joseph appeared with Heraclius' order not to harm them. Then, Heraclius came to Edessa, and from there went throughout the cities of Syria.

Shirin the Persian died in the year 940 of the Greeks (A.D. 629) having reigned for nine months. He was succeeded by his son Ardashir who reigned for one year and ten months. He was killed by Shahrbarz who then reigned, and confirmed the covenant (of peace) between him and the Romans.¹⁶⁵⁰

In the year 941 of the Greeks (A.D. 630), the 20th year of Heraclius and the 2nd year of Abu Bakr, the Persians departed Egypt, Palestine and the entire Roman region. They returned to Persia, but were divided against themselves. Some of them followed Shahrbarz, and others followed Kardigan. Shahrbarz sought help from Heraclius who sent an army to rescue him. They killed Kardigan, and Shahrbarz ruled for one year. However, one of his relatives, a friend of Khusro, killed him and he was succeeded by Baram, Khusro's daughter, who ruled for a few months and died. She was succeeded by her sister Zarimantocht. Within only two years, many ruled Persia including Shahrbarz, Baram, Khusro, Peruz, Zarimantocht and Hormizd.

¹⁶⁴⁹ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 89.

¹⁶⁵⁰ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 90].

After ruling for seven years, Muhammad died and was succeeded by Abu Bakr who ruled for two years and seven months.¹⁶⁵¹

As to Heraclius, he fell for violating the law by taking Martina, the daughter of his brother, as wife. She gave birth to an illegitimate son named Heraclonas (Heracleon).¹⁶⁵²

After Qura chastised Edessa, he plundered the silver of the ancient church, taking the vessels of all the altars, the canopy of the altar and its four pillars and other pillars; he sent to Khusro more than 100,000 ratls (pounds) of silver.

Khusro ordered the Edessan to be taken captive to Persia as quickly as possible. The Marzuban (governor) who was in the city was a compassionate man. He thought that they should be removed all at once but in several groups, hoping that they might be pardoned by the king. When he sent one group, a report came that Heraclius was marching to Persia, and thus whatever remained of the inhabitants remained in Edessa. Among the captives was Sergius, son of Iywannis Rasafia, already mentioned. From him Patriarch Dionysius, nicknamed Tell Mahre, derived his chronicle of six generations.

In the year 932 of the Greeks, the 17th year of Heraclius, the 37th year of Khusro, and the 6th year of Muhammad, a portion of the hemisphere of the sun disappeared. It lasted from October until June, and people believed that the sphere of the sun would never become whole again.

In this year, jarab (skin disease) and plague broke out in Palestine and tens of thousands of people died.¹⁶⁵³

In this time Anastasius, the orthodox pope of Alexandria passed away, and Andronicus was set up in his place. Andronicus addressed a letter to Anathasius, patriarch of Antioch, renewing the union (between their two churches.) The Chalcedonians had a patriarch in Alexandria named Cyrus. When the Romans returned to capture Egypt and evict the Persians, Cyrus stirred up persecution against the believers there and against those in Syria for the following reason:

When the Persian influence vanished and the Romans controlled the cities in Syria and Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia), Emperor Heraclius came to Syria and reached Edessa. The people, the clergy and the monks went to welcome him. He was astonished at their great number, but when he learned about their belief, he said to some who were in his company, "How is it that we have kept such a great people away from us?" He entered the city and endeavored to reconcile both sides (the Chalcedonians and their opponents). At the festival, he went to our Orthodox church and showed immense respect for the congregation. At the end of the celebration of the Eucharist, he proceeded to take the holy mysteries according to the custom of the emperors. However, Isaiah, the bishop of the city said to him "I will not offer you the Communion unless you anathematize the Council of Chalcedon and the Tome of Leo in writing." The emperor became angry, evicted the bishop from the great church, and handed it to the Chalcedonians. Others also left with the bishop including the leaders of the families of Rasfaia, Tell Mahre, Cosmas son of Arbai and others who had furnished the church with its vessels and properties. They expected to return to the church with the bishops after the emperor had departed it. When the emperor went to Mabug (Manbij), he was met by Patriarch Athanasius accompanied by twelve bishops. They were Thomas, bishop of Palmyra; Basilius, bishop of Homs; Sergius, bishop of 'Ars; John, bishop of Cyrus; Thomas, bishop of Mabug; Daniel, bishop of Harran; Isaiah, bishop of Edessa; Severus, bishop of Qinnestrin; Athanasius, bishop of Arabisus; Cosmas, bishop of Epiphania of Cilicia; and Severus, bishop of Samosata. They spent twelve days debating the emperor. The emperor asked them for a document of their faith, and they handed him a copy of the document (the reply of Patriarch Athanasius to Heraclius) recorded earlier.¹⁶⁵⁴ Upon reading the document, he praised their faith and asked them to provide him with the document that he had issued where he confessed two united natures in Christ, one will and one act in

¹⁶⁵¹ Muhammad died in 632 and Abu Bakr ruled for two years (632-634).

¹⁶⁵² On Martina and Heraclonas, see George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 101-102, and A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, I, 193, and *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 145, note 4.

¹⁶⁵³ Cf. Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 90.

¹⁶⁵⁴ See above pp. 693-694.

conformity with what Cyril had said. The patriarch and his bishops, however, noticed that in his document, the emperor agreed with Nestorius and Leo, hence, they rejected it.¹⁶⁵⁵ Heraclius became wrathful. He wrote to the four quarters of his kingdom saying, "Anyone who does not accept the Council of Chalcedon, his nose and ears shall be cut off, and his house plundered." The persecution continued for a long time. As a consequence, the great majority of monks confessed the council (of Chalcedon). Showing their faithlessness, a great number of the monks of Marun (the Monastery of Marun), the congregations of Mabug, Homs and the southern regions, accepted the Council of Chalcedon and usurped the churches and the monasteries. Heraclius would not even allow any orthodox (non-Chalcedonian) to have audience with him or listen to them complaining that their churches were usurped. However, the God of vengeance who alone has power over everything, who changes the kingship and gives it to whom he wills, and who sets up the weak in power, when he saw the treachery of the Romans who were plundering our churches and monasteries without mercy whenever they felt powerful, brought the children of Ishmael (Arabs) from the south so that, through them, we may have deliverance from the hands of the Romans. As to the churches usurped by the Chalcedonians, they remained in their hands because upon entering the city (Edessa), the Tayoye (Arabs) let every denomination keep the churches in their hands. In this period, we lost the great church of Edessa and the church of Harran. However, our benefit was not that trivial for we were saved from the cruelty of the Romans and from their wickedness, tyranny and profound hatred of us, and we enjoyed some rest.¹⁶⁵⁶ *End of the account.*

Chapter Four: On the Tayoye (Arab) invasion of the Roman and Persian territories and on the union Athanasius (Gamolo) made with the congregation of Takrit

We have already mentioned the rise of the kingdom of the Tayoye (Arabs) who carried on invasion, pillage, ambush and disturbance during the life of Muhammad. After Muhammad's death (A.D. 632), Abu Bakr succeeded him. He dispatched four armies led by generals, one to Palestine, one to Egypt, one to Persia, and the fourth against the Christian Tayoye (Arabs). All these armies returned victorious. The army dispatched to Palestine reached Caesarea. The Patrician Sergius gathered a force from the Romans and the Samaritans 5000 men strong and was ready for battle with the Tayoye (Arabs), but the Tayoye (Arabs) were more powerful. They defeated the Romans and then Tayoye (Arabs) annihilated the Samaritans. When Sergius saw this, he turned his back and fled. The Tayoye (Arabs) pursued them and harvested them like ears of wheat harvested by a scythe. Suddenly, Patrician Sergius fell off his horse, but his men helped him mount again. He fell off the second time but managed to mount the horse. He fell off the third time and said to his men, "Leave me and flee with your lives lest you, like me, drink the cup of death which God had destined for our kingdom. The wrath of divine justice is upon us." His men left him and fled. The pursuing Tayoye (Arabs) got to him and killed him with one stroke of the sword. They continued to pursue the Romans until the evening, and very few were saved. The Tayoye (Arabs) publicized this in Caesarea. Indeed, they were victorious wherever they went, and kings and their armies feared them.

According to the ancient custom of churches, the jurisdiction of the Four Apostolic Sees was in this manner. The See of Rome and the See of Constantinople had jurisdiction over one third of the inhabited world covering Europe, which is situated north of the western sea called Adrias (Adriatic, Mediterranean). The See of Alexandria was given jurisdiction over Egypt, Ethiopia and Libya situated south of the sea. The Greater Asia, whose eastern boundaries extend from the Adriatic Sea until the extreme eastern part of the inhabited world, was placed under the jurisdiction of the See of Antioch. Its area is a little smaller than the area of the former two parts. Thus, the patriarch of Antioch ordained a catholicos for Armenia, Ghorzan and Daran. It was not until Babai, who was murdered by Barsoum of Nisibin, that this law was abolished in the time of the Persian King Ardashir.

¹⁶⁵⁵ See above p. 698.

¹⁶⁵⁶ For an analysis of this account, especially in relation to the origin of the Maronites and their doctrine, see Matti Moosa, *The Maronites in History* (Syracuse University Press, 1986 reprinted Gorgias Press, 2005, 87-102).

Patriarch Athanasius delegated his syncellus John to the king of Persia, and had an audience with him. After his mission was completed, he returned to Athor (Assyria) and Nineveh. On the way back, he went to the Monastery of St. Matthew to receive blessing from the blessed fathers there. He met with Metropolitan Christophorus, and rejoiced for the conduct of the monks. He discussed with them the restoration of the union with the Apostolic See of Antioch, and how weak they had become since they had alienated themselves from it. They showed desire to accompany him to meet with the patriarch. John took with him Christophorus and three monks: Marutha, Aho and Ithalaha, and arrived in Antioch in the year 940 of the Greeks (A.D. 629) in order to be ordained bishops by the patriarch. But what happened there? The reader will learn what happened from the following reply addressed by the patriarch to the monks of St. Matthew's Monastery.

The letter of Patriarch Athanasius

To the God-loving and excellent, our spiritual son, the priest Matta, the archimandrite of the monastery, and all the priests, deacons and brothers in Christ at the Monastery of St. Matthew; the humble Athanasius in the God and mighty Jesus: rejoice in what we are about to write to you.

The divine psalmist David says, "Blessed are they who are blameless, who work according to the law of the Lord. Blessed are they who keep his statutes and seek him with all their hearts. They do nothing wrong; they walk in his ways."¹⁶⁵⁷ In this age, the iniquitous do not walk in his ways. We, however, adhere without blemish to the orthodox faith in our Lord God and Savior Jesus Christ, who is the way that leads to the Father, as he truthfully said, "I am the way."¹⁶⁵⁸

We should deal with each other, and also with all the believers, with spiritual love. This is how to act according to the law of the Lord. For he said, "My commandment is this: Love each other."¹⁶⁵⁹ We should then suffer hardships and partake in his passions by keeping his commandment that is the good testimony he gave before Pontius Pilate, as it is written.¹⁶⁶⁰ Those who follow him should then seek the Lord with all their heart and soul, hate iniquity and love righteousness. You and others like you who love God, are as the apostle said, "The sweet aroma of Christ in those who are saved and those who perish. To the one we are the smell of death; to the other, the fragrance of life."¹⁶⁶¹ To whom then applies, after the holy apostles, the saying of the Lord, "You are the light and the salt of the earth,"¹⁶⁶² except to you and other holy people like you, who in the orthodox faith and good conduct, are like light and salt? They shined to those who were in error and led them back to the truth. For you do nourish the weak that are immersed in the mud of vile lusts, strengthen those of rotten behavior and salt them with righteousness. Who would rejoice more than we would when we hear such glad tidings about his sons? It is just and our duty to thank and glorify God who grants good gifts with good intention. We used to be filled with joy when we heard about your excellences. But when our son and syncellus, the presbyter John, returned and informed us about your love for all the saints, especially for us, we the weak, and told us about your humility, obedience, patience and constant vigilance in prayer, fasting and piety, and moreover, your fiery zeal for the faith, and readiness to suffer if anyone falsified your orthodox faith, or that the sanctity of the canons is violated, our syncellus has, in fact, seen much more than what we have heard about you. Thus, what we heard has immensely pleased us in these difficult circumstances.

Therefore, we the weak, long to reward you with what is worthy of you, as it is possible, like the matchless beneficences which God would grant you. Everything that John told you, by our permission, will persist and will be preserved for the coming generations. Now, we repeat the same principles, which we had decided in order to be preserved with utmost esteem, that your holy monastery would have honor and

¹⁶⁵⁷ Psalm 119:1-3.

¹⁶⁵⁸ John 14:6

¹⁶⁵⁹ John 15:12.

¹⁶⁶⁰ 1 Timothy 6:13.

¹⁶⁶¹ 1 Corinthians 2:15-16.

¹⁶⁶² Matthew 5:13-14.

leadership over all the holy monasteries in Persia. This stands so that your God-loving archimandrite will have leadership of the episcopate, over all the chorepiscopi and the archimandrites in the said quarters. He will also have the second dignity after the bishop. Furthermore, he will have precedence of the administration of church affairs whenever it is appropriate, as your archimandrites had been formerly accustomed. We have decreed that this should remain like the irreversible rule of God, and the unshakeable will of the Holy Spirit. In addition, the bishop who is canonically ordained for your monastery will be the chief priest and metropolitan over all the bishops of your region of Athor (Mosul and environs in north Iraq).

This is what is issued by us: we would like also to inform your affection, that the holy Bishops, Mor Christophorus, George, Daniel, Gregory and Yazdaphne, have been present in order to regulate the affairs of the church in your region. We have welcomed them as brothers after we experienced the temptation of your affection. They requested us to preside over, and to be spiritually concerned, with the churches at your place, same as our concern of the churches in our area. In fact, we used to apologize in the past because of the difficulty of the subject, and when our apology protracted, your insistent affection overcame us. Therefore, we executed their request and we will regulate the affairs of you churches, God willing.

Now that all are assembled here with good conscience and with our permission, and by the election of pious presbyters, we have ordained Metropolitan Christophorus alone for the diocese of Athor (Mosul and environs in north Iraq) that there will be one leader of the bishops of Athor, the Ishmaelites (Arabs) and the various Persian regions. Further, for the sake of the organization of the churches and by the urgency of God and the endorsement of the mentioned brother bishops, we have designated Mor Marutha of Takrit from Beth 'Arbaya as general leader and administrator of all the mentioned bishops and their dioceses, to represent us personally and act as our agent. We have permitted him to carry out this leadership responsibility, not only for his excellence and piety, but also on the strength of your testimonies. We request you to assist him as one who is in our place. If you did this, you would have pleased God and made us feel happy. You would also make us pray to God for you unceasingly to become a good example for the believers. May Christ our God who gave power to the disciples to step on snakes and scorpions, and control over the power of the enemy, give you the power to extinguish his fiery arrows and save you from the ambushes of the heretics. May he keep you as seeds for the good of the world, and crown your deeds and divine contemplations with success, and etc.

The event that took place at St Matthew's Monastery

Following the persecution by Barsoum of Nisibin, and setting the Monastery of St. Matthew on fire, Christophorus, the Armenian catholicos, came to the monastery and found a small number of monks like pigeons in their nests. When Babai and Bar Suhde, the metropolitan of St. Matthew's Monastery, Athor and Nineveh, had been killed (by Barsoum), he chose the well-known monk Garmai, and ordained him a metropolitan. Garmai, while still living, handed the episcopate to Mari, and Mari handed it to Yeush' Zkha, who handed it to Mor Suhde, and Mor Suhde handed it to Simon, who handed it over to Christophorus. All of these dignitaries were from the same monastery, and each one of them handed over the episcopate to the other during his lifetime. However, in the time of Christophorus, they renewed their commitment and obedience to the See of Antioch. We have mentioned them here that it may be known from whom the Easterners received the ordination in this period. Barsoum of Nisibin could not enter the country of the Armenians because they threatened to kill him. Thus, they preserved their faith. When the sons of Athor (Mosul and its environs) saw that the Armenians did not travel to Antioch to have a catholicos ordained for them (by the Patriarch of Antioch) according to the tradition, because of fear of the Persians, they, following their example, had a catholicos ordained for them.

In September of the year 945 of the Greeks (A.D. 634), a severe earthquake took place followed by a sign in the sky. Something like a lance appeared and moved from north to south. It remained for thirty days. Many people believed that it was a sign of the coming of the Tayoye (Arabs).

In this period, Heraclius issued a decree that all the Jews in his kingdom should be baptized. Some of them were baptized and converted to Christianity. For this reason, they fled the Roman regions to Edessa. However, when the grip was tightened against them, they fled to Persia. Meanwhile, many of them received baptism and converted to Christianity. *End of this history.*

Chapter Five: The commencement of the kingdom of the Arabs, that is Tayoye, and the death of the blessed Mor Athanasius (Gamolo)

In the year 946 of the Greeks (A.D. 634-5), and the year 24 of Heraclius, and the year 13 of the Arabs (Hijra, or the Islamic Calendar), Abu Bakr died having reigned for two years, and was succeeded by Umar ibn al-Khattab. Umar dispatched an army to Arabia that seized Busra (Bostra),¹⁶⁶³ and destroyed several towns. In the following year, he dispatched an army to Persia. The Persians were divided and fighting each other. Some of them wanted Yazdagird, son of Khusro; others wanted Hormizd. Then battle ensued between the Persians and the (Tayoye) Arabs, and the Tayoye (Arabs) were victorious. The Persians were killed and their kingdom weakened. Later, Hormizd was killed. The (Tayoye) Arabs triumphed over both the Persians and the Romans.

When Heraclius heard that the Tayoye (Arabs) had killed the patrician Sergius and his army was scattered, he instructed his brother, Theodoric, to assemble an army to fight the Arabs. Theodoric did what Heraclius ordered. He marched with apparent arrogance relying on human strength. The Romans shook their heads and mocked the *Tayoye)Arabs saying, "What are these sons of Hagar except dead dogs?" They reached the village of Gousit in the province of Antioch. There, a Chalcedonian solitary man was living on a pillar. Theodoric and some of his men spoke with him for some time. He said to Theodoric, "I understand that the reins of the Roman kingdom will be delivered into your hands as they were into the hands of your brother. I am confident that you will return triumphant if you pledge to annihilate the partisans of Severus (of Antioch who opposed the Council of Chalcedon.) after coming back." Theodoric said, "Before asking me to do this, I had determined to persecute the partisans of Jacob (Baradaeus)." Upon hearing this, one of his adjutants, an Orthodox (anti-Chalcedonian) officer, was fired with zeal but could nothing then for fear of the general (Theodoric). Theodoric, enchanted with arrogance, camped in the neighborhood of the Arab army. The two sides met and the Romans were defeated. The Tayoye (Arabs) pursued them and trampled them like cut-off branches. When the power of the Romans was exhausted, that officer drew from Theodoric and said, "What happened to the promises of the solitary Stylite monk whom you trusted? Do you think you have returned with a high head?" Theodoric, who could hardly save himself and few others, was ashamed. He hid himself lest anyone would see him.

After the Romans were defeated, the Tayoye (Arabs) entered their camp and plundered the gold, silver, slaves and abundant possessions therein. Because they seized the Roman territories and the booty therein, the Tayoye (Arabs) were immensely enriched and expanded their occupied Roman territories.

In the year 942 of the Greeks (A.D. 631), the Patriarch Mor Athanasius passed away and was buried in the Gromya Monastery.¹⁶⁶⁴ He was succeeded by his disciple Yuhanon (John) known as John Sedroy (he of the Sedros, that is, supplicatory prayers) from the monastery of Eusebuna.¹⁶⁶⁵

In Alexandria, Andronicus succeeded Anastasius, who was succeeded by Benjamin. Both of these dignitaries sent ecclesiastical letters to Mor Athanasius before his death.

In this time, the Tayoye (Arabs) entered Persia and reached the Mountain of Mardin near Rish 'Ayna. They were told that the monks of the Qadir (Qidr, Qidar) Monastery and the Bayd (Eggs) Monastery were spies. Therefore, they killed a great number of them. The rest of the monks from the western region came to the neighborhood of the River Baliha (Kaliha), where they found a water fountain. They built near

¹⁶⁶³ Busra is a town of the Christian Ghassanid Arabs in Hawran, Syria. See *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, translated by Cyril Mango and Roger Scott, 468, and Philip Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 78, 147, 149, 150.

¹⁶⁶⁴ *The Chronicle of Elijah bar Shinaya*, 130, who follows Jacob of Edessa, says that he died on Tuesday 9 of April, 942 of the Greeks.

¹⁶⁶⁵ See Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, 77-78 and 321.

it a monastery called the Beth Rishir, meaning the monastery of the abbot of the Bayd (Eggs). The reason they called it by this name was due to the eggs of a bird which Jacob, its founder, had discovered.

The remainder of the monks of the Monastery of Qadir arrived near Callinicus (al-Raqqqa) at the temple that contained the pillar the Empress Theodora had built. They enlarged it, dwelt in it and called it the Pillar Monastery.

Theodora was from the town of Daman situated above Callinicus. She was the daughter of a priest. As a child, her father took her to a monastery, which at one time was called the Monastery of the Huts, to receive the blessing of the solitary monks there. She was brought up in chastity and the Orthodox faith. It happened that the Emperor Justin dispatched his nephew, Justinian to that region. At Daman, he heard of Theodora and wanted to see her. Upon seeing her, he asked her father to give her to him as wife. This was a very difficult quest for her parents because Justinian was afflicted with the error of those who confessed two natures (in Christ after their union).¹⁶⁶⁶ However, despite his error, the parents agreed to give Theodora to Justinian as wife because they feared the emperor. This happened by the dispensation of God that the Emperor Justin might mitigate his persecution of the Orthodox (non-Chalcedonians). Since she became an empress and till her death, Theodora was a solace and help to the Orthodox, as it is written in Book Nine. We have mentioned the late empress here because she built the Pillar Monastery during her reign. She also sent gold and built the monastery in which she was raised. This John Monastery became the refuge and protection for the persecuted (Orthodox).¹⁶⁶⁷

In this time, a severe earthquake took place and the sun darkened. The Churches of Resurrection and of Golgotha collapsed with many other places. These churches, however, were rebuilt by the Chalcedonian Bishop Madestus.

In this period, the Persians attacked the Romans. Isaiah, bishop of Edessa, and all the Orthodox bishops were driven out, and the Chalcedonians seized the churches. Shortly afterwards, the Tayoye (Arabs) captured Beth Nahrin. Cyrus, and the Chalcedonian bishop of Edessa was driven out, and the Orthodox bishops returned to their sees from the countries controlled by the Tayoye (Arabs).

In this period, plague broke out over all the regions of Syria and Phoenicia. A great star in the form of a Roman person appeared. In addition, a severe earthquake took place in Armenia and destroyed many places.

Chapter: Six: On the period of the waning of the Persian kingdom and the progress of the Tayoye (Arabs)

In the 4th year of Umar ibn al-Khattab, king (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs), the Tayoye (Arabs) carried out raids against Syria up to the banks of the Euphrates River.

In the 5th year of Umar, the Romans of the Arabian region waged war against the Arabs in the city of Bustra called Ghbita (Arabic, al-Jabiya), situated on the River known as Yarmuk.¹⁶⁶⁸ The Romans were badly defeated and departed the region. The battle took place as follows:

General Bais, son of Shahrbarz the Persian,¹⁶⁶⁹ assembled an army and marched to the neighborhood of Damascus to guard that region. The caliph of the Tayoye (Arabs) met them and killed many of them. Upon reaching Damascus, they pitched their camp near the River Pharfar, which the Tayoye (Arabs) call Kadrun. In the next year, the Tayoye (Arabs) came to the neighborhood of Damascus. When he

¹⁶⁶⁶ This simply means that Justinian was a holder of the faith of the Council of Chalcedon, which stated that Christ is two natures in one person. To the non-Chalcedonians, this meant that the council had separated the two natures of Christ after they had been united in the Incarnation. To them, and to the parents of Theodora, this was a blasphemy. This subject has been thoroughly elaborated earlier.

¹⁶⁶⁷ See above Book Nine, Chapter 20, note.

¹⁶⁶⁸ See *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, 469, footnotes 2 and 3 by the translators, and *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 143, note 3 by the translator, and *The Chronicle of Elijab bar Shinaya*, 131-132.

¹⁶⁶⁹ From the course of events, this must be Bannes of Theophanes, but he does not say that he is the son of Shahrbarz. In fact, we understand from Theophanes that he was a Roman. After denouncing Heraclius, the soldiers proclaimed him an emperor. See *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, 470.

heard of their arrival, the patrician was scared. He appealed to the emperor's deputy in Edessa who assembled 10,000 fighting men to aid him. They met the patrician at Homs who had with him 60,000 fighting men. They came face to face with the Tayoye (Arabs), and the Romans were defeated. On that day, 40,000 Romans perished and a great number of them drowned in the River of Yarmuk. The son of Shahrbarz, whose life was saved, surrendered to the Tayoye (Arabs). He resided in Homs. He addressed a letter to Umar saying, "Give me an army and I will subjugate Persia to you." When Umar read the letter, he wanted to execute what it contained. However, the daughters of Khusro, who had been taken captives by the Tayoye (Arabs), said to Umar that he should not be deceived by the falsity of Shahrbarz. They told him what Shahrbarz and his son did to Khusro and his children. They further said that Shahrbarz treacherously killed anyone who did not swear oath to support the king and his sons, how could he then keep his oath to him (Umar)? Indeed, he wanted to rebel and rule. Umar believed them, and sent an order to have the son of Shahrbarz crucified on a wood in Homs.

After defeating the Romans, the Tayoye (Arabs) came to Damascus. They offered safety to its inhabitants and to other cities. From there, Umar dispatched Khalid (ibn al-Walid) with an army to the country of Aleppo and Antioch and killed a great number of people.¹⁶⁷⁰ No one was saved. No matter how many calamities the province of Syria suffered, we are still unable to discuss all of them because of their great number. Indeed, these woes are the result of the wrath of God.

At this time, Sa'd left Yathrib and encamped in the neighborhood of city of Kufa ('Aqula).¹⁶⁷¹ Meanwhile, Yazdagird, king of Persia, assembled an army and dispatched it to fight the Tayoye (Arabs). The army pitched its camp in the neighborhood of Kufa. They sent a man from Hira who knew Arabic to spy on the Arabs. When he came near the Tayoye (Arab) camp, he said to himself, "I will know from the person I meet, who will be victorious." He met a bedouin who was squatting on the ground defecating, while eating bread and cleaning his tunic from lice. The spy from Hira asked him in Arabic what was he doing. The bedouin said, "I am doing exactly what you see, taking in the new, casting out the old and kill my enemies." The man from Hira was sorrowful and said to himself, "A new people will enter and cast out the old, and kill the Persians." He went back and told the story to the Persians saying, "I found them (Arabs) barefooted and hungry people, but brave." He repeated to the general what he had seen and what he had thought. When the two armies met in battle, the Persians were defeated and were pursued to Ctesiphon on the River Tigris. A Persian army commander, who was wearing a shield, was pursued by an Tayoyo (Arab) who had nothing on him except a lance. As he was fleeing to a village, the commander saw a man in the field. He asked him to direct him to a place to hide and save himself from his pursuers. The man hid him realizing that he was pursued by many (Arabs). Shortly afterwards, a man appeared not wearing an army uniform, clumsily mounted on a horse, and not looking like a soldier. The man in the field was astonished and said, "How is it that a man arrayed in armor, and of more imposing stature and awesome countenance, flees from a naked man? The man reviled the Persian because he fled and hid himself from the bedouin. The Persian said, "Don't blame me. But hear and see with your own eyes in order to believe." He took an arrow and struck an iron shovel making a hole in it. He said, "With such a fling I struck the bedouin several times, but he repulsed them by his sleeve as if he was shoving away flies. This made me believe that God has given them victory, and this is why I fled."

Having learned of the festival observed in the Monastery of Simon the Stylite in the province of Antioch, the Tayoye (Arabs) came and took an enormous number of men and women, young and old, captive, and the Christians lost hope. Some of them said, "Why did God allow this to happen?" However, the prudent said that divine justice allowed it to happen. The reason is that the Christians indulged in drinking, gluttony, dancing, and other sexual immorality and uncleanness during the festivals of the martyrs, instead of fasting, prayer, keeping vigils and chanting (praises of God). Thus, they angered God who is just, who convicted and punished us.

¹⁶⁷⁰ *The Chronicle of Elijah bar Shinaya*, 131.

¹⁶⁷¹ Kufa is a Syriac term, Kubo, meaning thorns. Kufa is a city in southern Iraq.

In this time, Heraclius sent a man named Gregory to guard Cilicia Bridge lest the Tayoye (Arabs) cross over it.

In this time, the noble and victorious St. Epiphanes, the noble bishop, received the honor of true martyrdom because of the Orthodox faith. His martyrdom was as follows:

When the blessed (Epiphanes) fled before the Tayoye (Arabs) and entered the Roman country safely, someone informed the army commander, Gregory, who was designated to guard the bridge about the coming of Epiphanes. Because Gregory was arrogant, he mocked the sons of Hagar (the Arabs), threatened them and also threatened the partisans of Severus (of Antioch). When he learned that Epiphanes was Orthodox, he summoned him and asked him where he came from. Epiphanes said, "I am from Isauria and have deviated from the true path, but divine grace changed me and I became a partisan of Severus. I confess that the Word became incarnate and took flesh from the Virgin Mother of God. He is one without division, and one united hypostasis (person) with the body united to his divinity. I do not divide him into two: God and man. I do not ascribe the passions of death to his body and the miraculous things to his divinity as was proclaimed by the Council of Chalcedon." Gregory threatened him saying, "Accept our faith (of Chalcedon) and the emperor will offer you great influence. If you desist, I will deliver you to death." The combatant Epiphanes said, "Neither fire nor sword will separate me from the true Orthodox faith to which I am holding." Immediately, Gregory ordered he should be killed. As he was about to receive the crown of martyrdom, Epiphanes said, "I have hope in the Lord that the death of Epiphanes will be like the sword and war inside Syria." The holy Epiphanes prayed for his murderers and then received the crown of martyrdom by the sword. One day after his martyrdom, the commander of the Arabs army named Qanan arrived with captives. Gregory went out with his army to save them. Upon reaching Arab camp, the Tayoye (Arabs) surprised them, smote them, and annihilated them. In addition, they killed the horse Gregory was mounting. He asked a soldier to bring him another horse but could not respond to him. Meanwhile, the Tayoye (Arabs) pursued him, bound him in irons and killed him, as the holy Epiphanes had truly predicted.

Chapter Seven: On the murder of Yazdagird, king of the Persians, and the cessation of their Kingdom, and on Severus, bishop of Samosata, and his miraculous departure from this life at this time

The Persians and their king assembled for the second time at the River Tigris, which was the dividing line between them and the Tayoye (Arabs). They destroyed the bridge over the river between the two cities.¹⁶⁷² The Persian camp was rather quiet. Suddenly, however, the Tayoye (Arabs) acted rashly and said to each other, "Let us cross over to the Persian side. God who has helped us on land will also help us on the water." They crossed the river and took the Persians, who were encamped, by surprise and killed them. They seized Ctesiphon and gained possessions and captives. Then, for the third time, Yazdagird assembled a force at 'Aqula, but they were defeated and fled. They assembled for the fourth time in the Mountain of Madi, and the Persians were defeated and killed by the Arabs. These four troop concentration took place in one year. When Yazdagird, the last of the Persian kings, saw that his country was ruined, his army destroyed, his people fled and scattered, and he was unable to stop the Tayoye (Arabs) onslaught, he fled to the borders of the country of the Turks to the region of Maraghani called Sijistan. After hiding for five years, he was killed, perhaps by the Tayoye (Arabs) or by the Turks. By killing him, the Persian kingdom, known as the Sassanid kingdom, which ruled for 418 years, was no more. This kingdom was established in the year 538 of the Greeks (A.D. 227) by Ardashir son of Sabaq, and ceased to exist in the year 956 of the same calendar. in the time of this last Yazdagird which is also the time of Heraclius, emperor of the Romans and Umar bar (son of) al-Khattab, king (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs).

After the Persian king was killed, and the Persian kingdom ceased to exist, the Tayoye (Arabs) controlled the whole of Persia. They waxed in power and succeeded everywhere. They were victorious in wars because they were supported by God. They came to Aleppo and Antioch and killed a great number of

¹⁶⁷² These sites are Ctesiphon and Seleucia.

people. When Heraclius, the Roman emperor, saw that war had become ferocious, he departed with sorrow from Antioch and went to Constantinople. It is said that his farewell to the people was like a traveler saying, "Farewell Suzo Syria", meaning Syria stay in peace.¹⁶⁷³ He ordered his army to plunder and loot the villages and cities because they had fallen into the hands of the enemy. In fact, they pillaged and destroyed all the regions more so than the Tayoye (Arabs), and left them in their hands who controlled them. Heraclius addressed letters to the Romans of Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia), Egypt and Armenia, saying, "No one should wage war against the Arabs; those who can protect their land should stay in it."

When the Caliph Umar entered Egypt, Qura (Cyrus), bishop of Alexandria, went out to welcome him. He proposed to pay him 200,000 dinars a year on condition that the Tayoye (Arabs) should not enter Egypt. Umar agreed and left. Some, however, complained to Heraclius that Cyrus was offering Egypt's possessions to the Arabs without coercion. However, since the conscience of the Romans had been sickened, Heraclius addressed a letter to Cyrus to quit being the governor of Egypt. Instead, he sent an Armenian named Manuel to administer Egypt. When the Tayoye (Arab) envoys came to receive the money, they found Manuel with a Roman army at Babylon, known today as Fustat. Manuel send them back empty handed, saying, "I am not Cyrus who never wore arms but a tunic. This is why he promised you the possessions of Egypt. As to me, I am wearing arms as you see." The envoys went back and told Umar of what happened. Then, Umar entered Egypt and defeated Manuel who fled with a few men to Alexandria, and the Tayoye (Arabs) controlled Egypt and became its masters. Heraclius addressed a letter to Bishop (Cyrus) to evict the Tayoye (Arabs) from Egypt if possible, or else offer them double the amount he had already promised them. Cyrus went to the Arab camp and justified himself to Umar. He beseeched him to accept the money. Umar said, "I will never do what you want. Since we have controlled the country, we will never leave it." With this, Umar repelled Cyrus who left dispirited.¹⁶⁷⁴

At the end of the year 948 of the Greeks (A.D. 636-7), which is the 26th year of Heraclius and the 15th year of the Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims), the Caliph Umar came to Palestine. He was received by Sophronius, bishop of Jerusalem, and talked with him about the country. Umar provided him with a covenant instituting that no Jew should have authority to dwell in Jerusalem. When Umar entered Jerusalem, he ordered a masjid (mosque) to be built on the site of the Temple of Solomon for their (Muslims) worship.¹⁶⁷⁵ When Sophronius saw Umar wearing a ragged garment, he brought him a clean raiment and a loincloth and begged him to accept it. Umar refused because he was accustomed not to take anything from anyone. He said, "No one should take anything from another person unless it has been given to him by God. For God gives every man what he wills. And if he was greedy to take a thing from a person, he would be behaving against the will of God."¹⁶⁷⁶

Umar was praised for many things like these. In fact, the Tayoye(Arabs) related many praiseworthy traits about him. The truth is that he was just and removed from avarice. Indeed, despite all the treasures and the possessions the Tayoye (Arabs) took from the Persians and the Romans, he did not take anything for himself, not even a new garment. When he rode a camel, he used his cloak as a saddle. When he sat down or slept, the ground was his seat. When Bishop Sophronius insisted (that he should accept a new garment), Umar said to him, "Since you have insisted that I should accept the new garment, I will, due to your honor, borrow it from you but will give it back to you when my own garment has been cleaned." This is exactly what he did.¹⁶⁷⁷

From there (Jerusalem), the Tayoye (Arabs) passed through the cities of Syria, and subjugated them all. Iyawannis (John), captain of the Roman host, came to Qinnasrin to meet with the Tayoye (Arabs). He made an agreement to pay them annually 100,000 dercone, or darics¹⁶⁷⁸ on condition that they should not

¹⁶⁷³ Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 152.

¹⁶⁷⁴ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 95-96 with some variations.

¹⁶⁷⁵ *The Chronicle of Elijah bar Shinaya*, 132.

¹⁶⁷⁶ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, with some variations.

¹⁶⁷⁷ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 96 with some variations.

¹⁶⁷⁸ Daric is a Persian gold coin worth about one English pound and ten shillings. See *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary*, ed. J. Payne

cross to the east of the Euphrates River, and should not invade Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia). He paid them one-year tribute. When the foolish Heraclius heard of this agreement, he was wrathful against Iyawannis and banished him. This is how God rejected the kingdom of the Romans, and how Heraclius was led by blind thinking in running it.

In the year 951 of the Greeks (A.D. 640), the 27th year of Heraclius (the 18th year of the Tayoye (Arabs, Islamic Calendar), and the 6th year of Umar, the Tayoye (Arabs) crossed the Euphrates because they had not received the tribute. The citizens of Edessa went out to meet them, and received from them a pledge concerning their city. The Roman army left the cities with sorrow. The cities of Tella and Dara, which did not surrender, were seized by the Tayoye (Arabs) by the sword and the Romans therein were killed. They also controlled Beth Nahrin by the leader Ibn Ghanim (Iyad ibn Ghunm), and then returned to Syria. Umar imposed the *jizya* (poll tax) on all the countries occupied by the Arabs. Thus, the poll tax was imposed on the Christians in the year 951 of the Greeks (A.D. 640).

In the next year of 952 of the Greeks (A.D. 641), the 19th year of the Tayoye (Islamic Calendar), the 7th year of Umar (641 A.D.), Heraclius passed away having reigned thirty years and five months.¹⁶⁷⁹ He was succeeded by his son Constantine and then by Heracleon, nicknamed "The New David." Martina, Heraclius' wife,¹⁶⁸⁰ had Constantine blinded and set up her son Heracleon in his place.¹⁶⁸¹ The Senate was displeased by her actions, so they deposed Heracleon and set up Constans II (Constantine III) in his place.

In this time, Pyhrrus was Chalcedonian patriarch of Constantinople. He was ejected and Paul was set up in his place.

In Rome, after its destruction, arose Martinus. He was the 40th bishop of Rome. He was known for good conduct and piety.

The Orthodox Yuhanon (John) of the Sedros, ordained Constantine as bishop for Edessa. After Constantine's death, he ordained Simon for Edessa.

On Severus

Severus, bishop of Samosata, and brother of Patriarch Athanasius, had accompanied his brother to Alexandria to accomplish the union of the churches after the dissension that had taken place in the time of Damian and Peter. When he returned to his country, Severus continued to serve his congregation. He usually undertook pastoral visits to the believers from April to October, and from the commemoration of the martyr Mor Romanus to the festival of the Resurrection (Easter), he retreated to his monastery and never left it no matter what happened. One day, a wealthy man from the village of Nagrud came beseeching him to save him from a misfortune. Evidently, demons had dominated his house as a result of some matter, and no one could enter it. Even if a person came to visit, the demons hurled stones at him and would not let him in. When the blessed Severus heard this, he was very grieved. He promised that after the festival of the Resurrection (Easter), he would visit the village. When the time of the festival came, Severus, as promised, visited the village and went to the rich man's house. The demons came out to receive him, wailing. After praying, censuring and reading the *husoyo*,¹⁶⁸² he turned to the demons. He rebuked them, cursed them and commanded them to leave the house. Immediately, they disappeared and showed up no more in that village.

Furthermore, an army commander of Mabug (Manbij) was from the same town of the holy (Severus). He had brought the wood of the true Cross that he had received from Shahrbarz in Persia and delivered it to Heraclius in Mabug. It happened that his son died before receiving baptism. His father sent a messenger to the holy (Severus) beseeching him to come and give him condolence. When he arrived at the

Smith, Oxford: At the Clarendon Press), 1903), 91.

¹⁶⁷⁹ *The Chronicle of Elijah bar Shinaya*, 133.

¹⁶⁸⁰ Martina was mother of Heracleon and the second wife of Heraclius.

¹⁶⁸¹ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 96, says that Martina killed Constantine by poison.

¹⁶⁸² *Husoyo* is a propitiary prayer in prose form recited at certain times in different services. It is of two parts: the premium, or the introduction prayer, usually brief; and the *sedro*, which contains the text of the prayer. It is always accompanied by incense. See Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, translated by Matti Moosa, 77-78.

house, the boy's mother fell at his feet asking him to supplicate God to return life to the child in order to receive baptism, but the blessed (Severus) greatly apologized (for not answering her request). However, because of her great insistence, he prayed, and holding the child by the hand, raised him back to life, and baptized him. After remaining alive for that day and suckling, the holy (Severus) said to his mother, "I don't think that this child should continue to live. The best thing for him is to depart this life as a pure child free from impurities in order to inherit the kingdom (of heaven) as God had decreed for him. The child's parents did not object, so the child lay down and departed.

In addition, a violent demon entered a man from Amid, and he attacked anyone who happened to come his way. Many pregnant women who heard his screaming aborted. The people bound him in fetters, tied him to a carriage and brought him to the Monastery of Qinnesrin. They beseeched the holy (Severus) to heal him. Because of their great insistence, the holy Severus asked them to untie him and loose his fetters. The demonic man threw himself at the feet of the holy Severus. Lifting up his eyes to heaven, Severus rebuked the evil spirit saying, "Come out of this abode because it belongs to God." The evil spirit replied, "I will never leave him for he is mine and I am his by his own intention." The holy Severus rebuked him harshly, the demon came out of the man and departed, and no more harm befell him.

A magician from Edessa dwelt in Samosata. Because he was greatly pressured by the citizens of that place, he invited a group of evil spirits and commanded them to dwell in people. They did, and ruined many people who abandoned their homes and wandered throughout the mountains. When the holy Severus heard the news, he went to the Monastery of Elias to supplicate God on their behalf. Those who were possessed by demons congregated in the monastery. The demons wailed before the holy Severus. Seventy possessed men drew near to him, and he commanded the evil spirits to come out of them. They did come out, repining. Afterwards, more other demons entered them. The blessed Severus rebuked them saying, "Why did you return to these abodes?" The replied, "We are a different group. If you drive us out, others will come and enter them. In fact, we are legion." While he was arguing with them, they stood before an urn containing some relics of the Apostle Paul. They tied up their hands to their backs. They began to complain vehemently from the severity of their torment and then levitated off the ground to become like candles in the martyrrium. As they were tormented, the Apostle Paul commanded them to return to Severus to do with them what he willed. They returned and prostrated before Severus saying, "We have come to you in obedience to your friend the judge." Severus pressured them to tell him the name of their leader. They said that he was the magician (from Edessa). Severus summoned him and delivered him to the inhabitants of his town who tortured him and condemned him to death. The blessed Severus prayed and the demons could be seen no more in that district.

Then, the blessed Severus went to the Monastery of Mor Jacob in Kesum where God revealed to him that he would depart this life. He summoned the monks and asked them to perform the funeral prayer while he was standing in their midst. He beckoned to a monk to recite a *busoyo*, and to the other to complete the whole service. After they finished, the old man (Severus) withdrew from the holy table, bade her farewell, and received the Holy Communion. He turned toward the east and prostrated three times. Then he turned to the west and prostrated. He said to the brethren, "Farewell brothers. Pray for me and stay in peace." He stretched his hands and feet and gave up the soul. The death of the blessed Severus took place in the year 952 of the Greeks (A.D. 641). His prayer is with us. Amen.¹⁶⁸³

After the death of the holy Severus, and in the time of Daniel, bishop of Edessa, the demons possessed the brothers at the Monastery of Qinnesrin. The monastery's archimandrite called Bishop Daniel to help those poor men. He asked some of them to travel to the Monastery of Mor Jacob and bring back the relics of the holy Severus. However, the monks of the monastery refused to give it to them. Finally, they gave them a portion of the relics. When they arrived at the Monastery of Qinnesrin, the demons began to wail saying, "Woe to us that that lame has come. It is not enough that he drove us out of Samosata, but has chased us to this place too." They describe him as lame because he had fallen off his horse and since then

¹⁶⁸³ It is also said that he died in the year 643 A.D. See Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, *Scattered Pearls*, translated by Matti Moosa, p. 319.

began to limp. One of the men possessed by demons was a disciple of the holy Severus. The demons threatened the evil spirit inside him saying, "Here comes his teacher to drive you away from him." The demon said, "I did not enter the body of this young man by my own will, but I was forced to do so. In fact, he had killed the dog of our master in the upper vineyard, and for this reason, he sent me to torment him. He also sent my mates to enter these monks because they left the church during the celebration of the Holy Eucharist and went to play in the water ducts outside the monastery." The demons called the magician "our teacher." When the monks had these young men stand to the right of Severus's relics, the demons immediately wailed, shouted with stentorian voices, and abandoned them.

Remark

These stories about magicians and the demons exorcised by holy men cannot be doubted because they were mentioned in the book of the trustworthy Patriarch Dionysius (Tell Mahre). The reader should realize that magicians and demons have no power over people without the permission of God, as it happened to the righteous Job. This man, well known for his righteousness and zeal, was a subject of temptation in one way or another. *End of the narrative.*

Chapter Eight: On the death of Heraclius king (emperor), of the Romans, and the murder of Yazdagird, king of the Persians, and the murder of Umar, king (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs), and on the chief priest in this period

Umar, king (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs), subjugated the Romans and the Persians by his victories over them. Consequently, the Persian king fled and hid in the country of the Turks.¹⁶⁸⁴ Heraclius left the provinces in the hands of the Tayoye (Arabs) and fled to the capital (Constantinople) where he passed away.¹⁶⁸⁵ He was succeeded by Constantine, who was blinded by his father's wife (Martina),¹⁶⁸⁶ and was succeeded by Constans II who killed his two cousins and their mother. Umar, having reigned for twelve years,¹⁶⁸⁷ was killed as follows: A man working as a polisher (decorator) complained twice to Umar against his Qurashite master for oppressing him. Umar paid him no attention because he was busy with matters of the state, or, had forgotten about his complaint. The man was angry with Umar and stabbed him with a knife in the abdomen while he was praying, and Uthman succeeded him. He was the fourth ruler of the Tayoye (Arabs) (beginning with Muhammad).¹⁶⁸⁸

Uthman began to display avarice. He collected gold and changed the dispensations of the caliphs before him. The Tayoye (Arabs) gathered together to kill him, but when he promised to behave like his predecessor, they reconciled with him.

In the year 961 of the Greeks (A.D. 650), Uthman sent his son Sa'id to pursue Yazdagird, king of Persia, who had been hiding in Sijistan for five years. Then, he came forth and went to Kufa. Sa'id, after subjugating all of Persia, came to Marw (Marv). Yazdagird, fearing that he might be delivered to Sa'id, hid himself in a mill. A Turk who was there killed him and carried his head to the marzuban (governor) of the city. When the marzuban saw that his king had been killed, he delivered the city to the Tayoye (Arabs). He sent the crown of the Persian king to Uthman who, in turn, sent it to Makka where it is still there.

In this time, the Tayoye (Arabs) destroyed Caesarea of Palestine. Regarding its beauty and treasures, it is rightful to apply to it the same lamentations as for Jerusalem. Its sages knew not the Lord, the ancient of days, and its elders heeded no judgment. Its streets and alleys were filled with iniquity. Its young men and women defiled each other, and the cries of the wronged people reached the ears of the Lord. Thus, the Lord

¹⁶⁸⁴ Yazdagird fled to (Marw, Marv). See *The Chronicle of Elijah bar Shinaya*, 133.

¹⁶⁸⁵ *The Chronicle of Elijah bar Shinaya*, 132.

¹⁶⁸⁶ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 96, says that he was poisoned to death by Martina.

¹⁶⁸⁷ More correctly, ten years.

¹⁶⁸⁸ It is difficult to ascertain the source from which Dionysius Tell Mahre derived this information because he gives none. His story of Umar's death is different from known Arabic sources in our hands. See for example, *Tarikh al-Yaqubi*, II (al-Najaf, 1358 of the Islamic Calendar/A.D. 1939), p. 137, and Philip Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, Tenth Edition (Macmillan-St. Martin's Press, 1976), 176, note 4.

had the Tayoye (Arabs) subjugate it. Mu'awiya (Ibn Abi Sufyan) came and invested it by land and sea. He attacked it constantly from December to May. Still, the citizens received no promise for the protection of their lives. Although seventy-two mangonels (engines of war) hurled stones against its wall, it was not breached because it was firm. Then, the Tayoye (Arabs) dug a hole and some of them went in while others scaled the wall by means of ladders. They killed, and some of them were killed, for three days. After that, the Tayoye (Arabs) became stronger. Seven thousand Romans, 1,000 of whom who were guarding the city, fled by ships and Mu'awiya plundered abundant possessions. He also imposed the jizya (poll tax) on the inhabitants. Then he went up to the country of the Greeks. He encouraged his troops saying, "We are going up to lands rich with gold and possessions of every kind. God has delivered it into our hands because of the sins of its people." He passed into Cilicia looting and taking captives. The Tayoye (Arabs) then went to Eumita, seized its gates and took its inhabitants by surprise. Mu'awiya ordered them killed and stationed guards lest anyone of them escape. After gathering its riches, they tortured the nobles so that they might show them where other riches were hidden. They carried off all the people, men, women, and children into slavery. They defiled this wretched city so much that they even laid with women in the churches, and they returned to their country rejoicing. These things took place in the year 951 of the Greeks (A.D. 640-641).

In this period, plague broke out in Syria and Beth Nahrin, and many perished.

In this same period, while the Arabs were rebuilding the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem, the building collapsed. The Jews said (to the Arabs), "If you do not remove the cross raised on Mount Olives opposite the Temple, the Temple will not be built." However, when they removed the cross, the edifice remained firm. By means of this pretext, they brought down many crosses. Since then, hatred of the cross prevailed in the kingdom of the Tayoye (Arabs), and they persecuted the Christians for honoring the cross.

In this period, the sun eclipsed on the third hour of October 29, and the stars appeared. People were seized by fear from this wondrous sign.

In this period, 'Amr (Ibn Sa'd), the Tayoyo (Arab) amir, ordered that crosses should not be exhibited openly on festival days or in funerals, which pleased the Jews immensely. Therefore, the Tayoye (Arabs) began to remove the crosses from churches. It happened then that a Christian, close to 'Amr, saw a Jew trying to remove the cross from the top of the Church of St. John the Baptist. He was fired by zeal and went to 'Amr and said to him, "Just prince! It is unfair to give the opportunity to the Jews to scoff at the mysteries of our religion." Immediately, God changed the heart of the prince who replied, "I have not ordered that all crosses should be removed except those drawn on the walls of the streets." He ordered a man standing by to climb to the top of the church. He did, and snatching the cross from the Jew's hand, struck him on the head and cracked it, and his brain gushed out. The Christians were immensely consoled, and the Jews disappointed. The Christians began to raise the cross during their prayers, festivals and funerals. However, the people of Homs and Damascus continued to raise the cross on these occasions without paying attention to the order of the prince ('Amr).

In this period, Martin, bishop of Rome (649-653), convened a council in Rome attended by 109 bishops. It condemned the Emperor Heraclius, Sergius, Cyrus and Paul, and anyone who did not confess two natures, two actions, two wills and two forms (in Christ).¹⁶⁸⁹

In this period, the amir 'Amr ibn Sa'd, forbade crosses from being exhibited outside the churches. He further ordered crosses to be erased from the walls. 'Amr summoned our Patriarch John (of the Sedros). When the patriarch entered into his presence, 'Amr began to say strange things about the books (the Old and the New Testaments), and addressed to him fatuous questions. The patriarch answered them all based on the Scriptures and on natural evidence. 'Amr was astonished about the patriarch's courage and profound knowledge. He asked him to translate the Gospel into Arabic on the condition that he should remove from it anything that indicated that Christ was the Son of God, and also remove the terms of baptism and the cross. The blessed John, relying on God, said, "God forbid that I will delete one letter or one line from the Gospel, even if all the arrows and the lances of your army pierced my body." Seeing his resoluteness, 'Amr

¹⁶⁸⁹ See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum (Ecclesiastical History)*, 1, translated into Latin by Joannes Baptista Abbeloos and Thomas Josephus Lamy (Lovanii, 1875), 277, and Barsoum, *Scattered Pearls*, translated by Matti Moosa, 321.

permitted him to do whatever he saw fit.¹⁶⁹⁰ He summoned the bishops and a group of men from Tanukh, Uqayl, and Tay, well versed in both Syriac and Arabic languages and ordered them to translate the Gospel into Arabic. He then submitted their translation to commentators for examination. Thus, the Gospel was translated and delivered to the amir.

As to Egypt, it was found in some sources that Benjamin, patriarch of the Orthodox, delivered it to the Tayoye (Arabs) because of their persecution by the Chalcedonians. It is reported that Cyrus, the Chalcedonian patriarch, used to wear on one foot a red shoe, and on the other a shoe worn only by monks, to show that he had religious as well as a worldly authority. He drove away Patriarch Benjamin from Egypt who went to the Arabs and promised to deliver Alexandria to them if they ejected Cyrus and handed to him the churches (seized by the Chalcedonians). He returned to Egypt and ordered his congregation to deliver Alexandria to the Arabs. When Cyrus learned this, he gathered all the gold and silver vessels of the churches, stealthily boarded a ship and fled to Constantinople. Benjamin retrieved the churches. Since then, and until this day, the Chalcedonians had no success in Alexandria and Egypt. They did not even dwell there except for few of them. The Orthodox, however, gained control of the churches and the monasteries until our day.

In this period Severus Sabukht, bishop of Qinnestrin, (d. 667), and Matta, bishop of Aleppo, were well known in religious and profane sciences.¹⁶⁹¹

Chapter Nine: Containing the letters of Patriarch Mor Yuhanon (John) to Marutha, metropolitan of Takrit; and the letters of Marutha to John concerning the persecution (inflicted) by Barsoum of Nisibin on the Orthodox; also, on the heresy of the impious Maximian (Maximus)

In his refutation of Maximian (Maximus), the presbyter Simon from the Monastery of Qinnestrin, said that Maximus derived his heresy from the teachings of Theodore, bishop of Mopsuestia. Then, it spread among the monks of the monasteries in the neighborhood of Jerusalem. One of them (monks) was called Palea-Lura and the other Nea-Laura (as J. P. Chabot has it in Book Eleven, Chapter 9, p. 433, n. 2, or Daphlaludha and Dinaludha in the Syriac text). They adhered to the ideas of Origen, who had been influenced by Plato, and was inclined to paganism. Up to that time, they kept their ideas secret, but Sergius, a monk from Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia), exposed them. He traveled to Jerusalem to worship and visit these monasteries. The monks tried to attract him to their belief telling him that, "What we have learned from Origen is that the souls of human beings and animals, birds, beasts, trees and fish of the sea, were angels before falling into sin. Because they were alienated from the love of God, they were cast down from heaven and became worthy to dwell in bodies as if they were locked up in prisons. Each one of them is tortured according to the magnitude of his sin, and they transmigrate from one body to the other. At the end, however, and after they have been tormented for their sins, the decree of the punishment of the souls and of the devils will be removed, and they will regain their past glory. After all, Christ shall be crucified thrice after the Resurrection: twice for the devils and once for the souls. This is the anticipated resurrection where the souls are liberated from the bodies. When the souls and the devils are purified from their sins, they will be transformed into their original form as angels and assume divine nature. The archimandrite of their monastery says, 'I was formerly their prior as Christ was chief of the angels, and Christ is no better than us. As he had become God, so also we will be transformed and become gods. God has no favoritism that he would honor Christ more than us. This is the true resurrection, by whose means we will be completely liberated from the body, because the body desires what is bad for the soul, and the soul desires what is bad for the body. The will of the soul is one thing, and the will of the body is another. Likewise, Christ has two wills. As to the bodies, they shall rise at the Resurrection, but in a spherical form.'"

When that virtuous monk Sergius heard this, he sneaked out at night and fled the monastery. He went to the Emperor Justinian and informed him about these men. The emperor ordered that they be

¹⁶⁹⁰ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum (Ecclesiastical History)*, 1, 276.), and Barsoum, *Scattered Pearls*, translated by Matti Moosa, 321.

¹⁶⁹¹ For a biography of Severus Sabukht, see Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, translated by Matti Moosa, 325-328.

driven out of their monastery. Then Patriarch Menas convened the Fifth Council and anathematized anyone who confessed that Christ is of two wills or two actions. In addition, he anathematized the impious Theodore of Mopsuestia whose books contained this doctrine. The council further anathematized the Agoenetes who held two wills and two operations in Christ. In addition, the Emperor Heraclius made some investigation and anathematized those who held two wills and two operations in Christ.

In the time of Constans, son of Heraclius appeared the disciples of Plato in the district of Tiberias. Maximus journeyed to Africa and met with the Nestorians who, finding that he was holding their same belief, accepted him. He journeyed also to Rome and deceived the Patriarch Martin, who accepted those disciples and provided them with a monastery. Then Maximus went to Constantinople. When Emperor Constans heard about his teaching, he assembled a council in which Maximus debated Constantine of Perga. Constantine proved that Maximus was in agreement with Nestorius and Theodore (of Mopsuestia). The council admonished him but he would not desist. The emperor ordered him locked up in a nuns' convent to shame him. However, the impious Maximus enticed the nuns not to take the Eucharist from their adviser, claiming that the Holy Spirit does not descend upon him (during the celebration of the Eucharist). He also lured them not to take the Communion even from Paul, the patriarch. The nuns, however, kicked the Eucharistic elements with the heels of their shoes as instructed by Maximus. When this matter was exposed, the emperor commanded that the nuns be dragged through the streets of the city and burned by fire. He had Maximus' tongue cut off, and yet he did not desist but addressed letters to different quarters. The emperor had his right hand cut off, and Maximus used the left hand. The emperor ordered his left hand cut off and banished him. Maximus was not worthy of any rank in the church of God.¹⁶⁹²

The letter of Patriarch Yuhanon (John) to Marutha

To our pious brother and fellow-minister, Mor Marutha, the bishop and metropolitan of the country of Persia, John the wretched who holds the Apostolic See of Antioch, and the servant of the Syrian Church, who is adorned by the name of the patriarchate in our Lord Jesus Christ the Almighty God, greets you in peace and asks for your prayers in the Lord.

You are well aware that during our visit to the king of the Persians, the union with you was accomplished. For you were like a flock inseparable from the rest of the sheep since the persecution stirred up by Barsoum of Nisibin until the time of my master, the Patriarch Mor Athanasius. Since ancient times, the See of the Catholicoses of the Persians, Armenians, Gorzan and Dara, were subjects to the See of Antioch until the murder of the Catholicos Babai. Since then, your leaders disposed of matters as they wished until we came to you as I have said. We met with your Metropolitan Christophorus and Addai, the archimandrite of St. Matthew's Monastery. You have united yourself with us after the said metropolitan had come to us, you ordained bishops assigned by the metropolitan, and with you were the bishops of Mor Athanasius.

We asked you to relate the story of Barsoum's persecution, but since the matter was not clear enough in the time of the blessed Athanasius, we neglected it. Now, that we have been called to occupy his (Athanasius) position, although we are not worthy of it, we beseech you to relate the story, knowing that many similar stories have reached you. We only hope that you would not neglect our request, that you may be remembered in what we will store in our library. Pray for us that the Lord may assist us, according to his own will, to dispense of the affairs of his flock that is redeemed by his victorious cross. We also hope that our quest and appeal would not be considered an intrusion.

The entire brothers and the Syrian bishops send their greetings and ask for your holy answered prayers.

¹⁶⁹² For an analysis of this account, see Matti Moosa, *The Maronites in History* (Syracuse University Press, 1986, reprinted Gorgias Press, 2005), pp. 98-102).

The reply of Marutha to Yuhanon (John)

To the blessed Chief Father and Chief Priest, the treasure of the holy and glorious church, the Patriarch Mor Yuhanon (John), Marutha, the stranger, and by the grace of God, Metropolitan of St. Matthew's Monastery and the East, sends divine greetings and asks for your answered prayers.

The letter of your holiness, which we received, has filled us, our brothers and the sons of our congregation with great joy and delight. For God has set you up as successor to the holy Athanasius after his death, and as leader of his church which he had chosen, not by the means of human will, but by the Holy Spirit who had chosen the great Peter. We, therefore, pray that you may receive the gift of the apostle himself and inherit him in his See.

As to your request concerning the story of Barsoum's persecution, I would like you to know, O chief of chiefs, that all of the stories which were preserved at the monastery, were burned by the impious Barsoum along with the monastery. This story is not available everywhere because a great number of learned men and historians were then martyred. However, in order not to frustrate your beatitude, we will put down the available information we heard from trustworthy elders who, in turn, had received it directly from their fathers, beginning with Nestorius and gradually afterwards.

After Nestorius was condemned by the Council of Ephesus (431) and banished to Patmus,¹⁶⁹³ Rabula (bishop of Edessa) brought the contemptible commentaries of Theodore and his master Deodore. They were read and condemned by the church of God. The Emperor Theodosius ordered their teaching burned wherever they were found, and the death of anyone who accept them. Upon his return to Edessa, Rabula found books by Theodore at the school of the easterners and set them on fire in the middle of the city. The partisans of this heresy fled to Nisibin, then under Persian rule. There was a bishop in the city called Barsoum who was infected with this evil heresy. He did not proclaim them openly because he was under the authority of the Catholicos Babai, and the catholicos was under the authority of the patriarch of Antioch. When the catholicos was summoned to attend the council, he could not because of fearing the (Persian) government, which was engaged in war with the Romans. Here our conscience is awed by the persecution of Barsoum, the flood of iniquity, the chaser of saints, and the murderer of the righteous and the sword of Satan.

Babai and his bishops included their approval in the following letter they addressed to the council:

To the holy ecumenical council assembled in Ephesus by the will of the Spirit, Babai, Catholicos of the East and his bishops ask for your divine greetings.

You have invited us to attend your assembly on account of the perversion contrived by Nestorius. As you well know, we are under the authority of a kingdom remote from our faith. Since we could not attend, we decided to send you our endorsement for fear that persecution might be stirred up against us by the heathens, in case we attended. We also feared that the knife that killed our father in the recent past might slaughter us.

We agree and consent to everything resolved by the council. We renounce the blemished teaching contrived by Satan against the church. We also reject those who consider the Son lesser than the Father, or pertinently say that Christ is God who dwelt in man. Or, confess two natures and two *qnume* (hypostases, persons) of Christ after the natural and hypostatic union (of the two natures) done in an ineffable manner, and in a wondrous compounding without division or confusion. They do not confess the Son was born of the Father before all ages, and that he himself was born of Mary in latter times; he is consubstantial with the Father in his divinity and consubstantial with us in his humanity. He is and no one else. He is the one who was crucified for us in the flesh. He is God in everything be they sublime or lowly. He himself descended into Sheol (Hades) and destroyed the bonds of death. He resurrected with glory and ascended into heaven without an addition to his person. He will come again with glory to judge both the quick and the dead. We anathematize all the deviated heretics, and accept the holy Council of Nicaea and the Council of Constantinople and this, your third Council (First Ephesus).

¹⁶⁹³Nestorius was banished to Oasis in Egypt.

We write this in the spirit of one faith. We ask your holiness to honor us by accepting what we have written. We ask you to pray for us and for all the brothers. We beseech you not to blame us for the delay because we are under the authority of an impious (Persian) kingdom.

Babai sent this letter with two monks to Ephesus. Upon reaching Nisibin, they stayed at the church. Barsoum asked them where they were going, and they told him everything. He said to them craftily, "The king of Persia has spies in our city (Nisibin). If they would know that you are going to the country of the Romans, they will kill you and you will also cause the death of Babai. So, leave the letter with me and I will take care of delivering it." The monks listened to him, returned to Babai, and informed him of the matter. Babai said to them, "You have done well by listening to the advice of our brother Barsoum." Then Barsoum went to the Persian king and showed him the letter. He read it to him, and said that, "Babai is a spy for the Roman emperor." He rejoined, "I would like to inform you that in the lands of the Romans appeared a man called Nestorius who reproved the Roman emperors saying that the law does not allow them to wage wars against the Persians, but rather surrender and pay them the tribute. When they saw that he was teaching these ideas, they wanted to kill him, but then had him banished." The King said, "It seems that this man is wise and loves our kingdom." Barsoum said to the king, "If you deliver to me the Christians in your kingdom, I will teach them his ideas, and they will never become spies for the Romans in Persia." The king then delivered Babai and the Christians into his hands. Barsoum said to Babai, "Endorse the faith of Nestorius and keep your position." Babai said, "May your authority go with you to perdition. As to me, I anathematize Nestorius and all those who follow him." The impious Barsoum threatened Babai with torment and death. The holy Babai said, "You, enemy of justice and second Judas, what do you have more than death? I would rather die a thousand times than deviate from the truth." Barsoum ordered his tongue cut off, allegedly for insulting the king. Finally, he had his head cut off. The blessed Babai had already instructed the believers to bury him in the wall in a standing position, with his face looking toward the east until the Son of God comes again, and justice takes its course.

Barsoum's persecution (of the Orthodox) began in Ctesiphon and extended to Beth Garmai.¹⁶⁹⁴ Some bishops fled to the Jazira and others to Armenia. Still others succumbed to him for fear of death. Those who resisted him, Barsoum had slaughtered. Then, he came to Arbil (Adiabene), and its bishop escaped. A great number of presbyters and faithful laymen were killed. Barsoum reached the province of Nineveh. He seized Bar Suhde, metropolitan of St. Matthew's Monastery and Nineveh with twelve monks and ninety presbyters. He asked them to celebrate the Eucharist that he may receive the Communion, or else, he would celebrate the Eucharist and offer them the Communion. They said courageously, "God forbid that we will give the holy elements to the dogs, or take contamination from hands dripping with blood." Barsoum had all of them killed in the Monastery of Baznitha (Bahzani), and set on fire the Monastery of St. Matthew in the Mountain of the Thousands.¹⁶⁹⁵ He annihilated the Christians except for those in the monasteries, and ordered the rest to be persecuted. Those who resisted him, and were patient, went up to the mountains and have since been called monks to this day.

When Barsoum reached Banuhadra (present-day Duhok north of Mosul) and tried to ascend to the hut of Mor Samuel (Samuel) near the village of Mordani, the angel of God stood in front of his beast and stopped her from going further. It did not budge although he forced her to move. He sent a message to the blessed Samuel, and Samuel let Barsoum's beast loose. Then, he went to the village of Beth Adhre (Ba'idhra north of Mosul) and set up impious canons. He decreed that no presbyter, deacon or bishop should be without a woman (wife). This is because he himself would not be reviled for having a harlot companion. He learned that the believers (Orthodox) had met at Ctesiphon and secretly set up a catholicos name Acacius. He wrote to Acacius reminding him of the murder of Babai. Fearing death, Acacius unwillingly accepted Nestorius. Then, when Barsoum traveled to the Armenian region and reached Arzen, the Armenians threatened him saying, "If you do not go back, we will avenge the blood of the faithful." The impious wrote to the Persian king saying, "The Armenians have rebelled against you." The king asked the opinion of his

¹⁶⁹⁴ Beth Garmai is a province in Iraq where Philoxenus, bishop of Mabug, was born.

¹⁶⁹⁵ Called the mountain of the thousands because, at one time, there lived in it thousands of monks.

counselors. They advised him not to provoke an internal conflict that would divide his kingdom just because the Christians had complaints. He summoned the Armenian kings unto him, but they responded saying, "Unless you swear an oath that you will not alter our laws, and do not dispatch us to fight any people except the Turks, we will come on the condition that the cross will precede us because we are Christians. Otherwise, we will not come." After consulting with his nobles, the king agreed with the Armenians and repulsed Barsoum. Thus, the Armenians were saved from Barsoum.

As to the Metropolitan Bar Suhde and the twelve monks, they were locked up in the house of a Jew in Nisibin. When the wicked Barsoum returned, he promised Bar Suhde to appoint him the head of all the bishops if he confessed his doctrine. He also promised the clergy to ordain them bishops. When Bar Suhde resisted him, Barsoum ordered him to be stoned and the monks crucified. The Jew in whose house these men were detained, confessed Christ when his son was healed by a miracle, and was baptized by the holy Bar Suhde. He is the one who transferred the remains of Bar Suhde to the Baznitha Monastery.

If we would relate the hardships suffered by the faithful at the hands of the anathematized Barsoum, or narrate the stories of the saints who were martyred during the persecution, we would need the tongues of angels in order not to forget, by our stupidity and credulity, the memory of the martyrs.

Barsoum assembled three councils: one in Ctesiphon, the second in Kirkuk and the region of Beth Garmai, and the third in Ba'idhra. He instituted impious canons in all of them. They were refuted by the holy Philoxenus in two large volumes. Since no chief priest was left in our country, seven monks journeyed to Antioch and were ordained bishops. Upon returning home, however, they could not appear in public. Following the death of the impious Barsoum, the Armenian catholicos came and performed ordinations in our district. It has been proven to us, that the number of bishops, presbyters, monks, laymen and other believers murdered by the accursed Barsoum, amounted to 7,800 souls. These things took place before the time of Theodosius II (the Young), and from then until the time of Constans, son of Heraclius.

We found in an Arabic manuscript the death of the impious Barsoum as follows:

When Barsoum was on his way to the king of Persia to ask for more troops to persecute the faithful (Orthodox) and annihilate them for good, he entered a village called Karma in the neighborhood of Takrit. He celebrated the Eucharist with the intention of forcing the inhabitants of the village to receive the Communion, but the men of the village fled. Then, the women were called by force to partake in his Communion. A nun took the elements by her lips and then spat it out of her mouth. Barsoum bowed down to pick it but she struck him with an iron key on his head. He was then finished by her companion nuns. His disciples and the soldiers were standing outside. When he delayed, they went and saw him lying flat on the floor, and the women had fled. They moved him to Nisibin and buried him in the church. *End of the narrative.*¹⁶⁹⁶

Chapter Ten: The epoch of Constans II, son of the Roman Emperor Heraclius; and on Uthman, king (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs); and the account of the Tayoye (Arabs') capture of Caesarea of Cappadocia and the sea islands; and on the death of Mor Yuhanon (John) and other church matters

In the year 958 of the Greeks (A.D. 647), the 25th of the Tayoye (Arabs) and the 5th of Constans, Gregorius the patrician of Africa rebelled against Constans.

In this year, the Tayoye (Arabs) raided Africa, waged war against the patrician, and killed a great number of his army. Afterwards, they returned and seized all the coastal cities. Gregorius offered his allegiance to Constans.

Mu'awiya (Ibn Abi Sufyan), commander of the Tayoye (Arab) host, divided his army into two camps, and appointed a Syrian named Habib, an evil man, as captain of one of them and dispatched him to Armenia in October. When he and the army reached Armenia, they found it covered with snow. They brought oxen and drove them in front of them, which made a pathway for them to pass through. Thus, they entered Armenia unimpeded by the snow, or being detected by the inhabitants who were unaware of what

¹⁶⁹⁶ It is unfortunate that this Arabic source is not identified.

was happening. The Tayoye (Arabs) fought against the Armenians, looting, taking many into captivity, and burning the villages. Then they withdrew to their land rejoicing. The other army, under Mu'awiya's command, went to Caesarea of Cappadocia. When they crossed the mountain passes, they found the villages teeming with people and beasts, and plundered them. They attacked the city for ten days. Finally, they destroyed the whole district, left the city desolate, and then returned.

A few days later, they returned to Caesarea once more and attacked it for many days. When the people saw that the wrath against them was great, and that there was no one to save them, they pledged to pay the Tayoye (Arabs) the jizya (tribute). When the Tayoye (Arabs) entered the city and saw its beautiful buildings and monasteries, and its abundant possessions, they regretted their pledge of safety, but they did not go back upon their oath. However, they carried whatever they desired and went to the city Amorium.¹⁶⁹⁷ When they saw that it was adorned with trees like Paradise, they were astonished at its beauty. They marched and invested the city, and when they saw that they were unable to capture it, they offered its inhabitants a pledge of safety and open it for them, but the people would not agree. Finally, Mu'awiya sent troops who surrounded the city and plundered immense amounts of gold and silver like dust, and returned to their country.

In the year 960 of the Greeks (A.D. 649), Mu'awiya collected thousands of soldiers and brought 1700 ships from Alexandria manned with armed men. They went down into the sea and arrived at the Island of Cyprus. Mu'awiya also ordered the Armenians to be brought to keep the ships steadfast in the sea. He sent a message to the inhabitants that they should come out and take a pledge for the safety of their lives. However, when they refused to do so, the Tayoye (Arabs) brought the Alexandrians who were annoyed, because the people of Cyprus would not let the Tayoye (Arabs) enter the island. They tied the ships and entered the island in arms killing and plundering. Then they went to Constantia (Salamon), the capital city, which was teeming with people and captured it by force. Mu'awiya entered the Episcopal house and defiled it by committing an impure lustful act.¹⁶⁹⁸ God allowed the defilement of this church because the clergy had changed the faith of the holy Epiphaneas that was built in his time. After collecting the gold of the island and its possessions and captives, they divided the booty. The Egyptians took a portion and they took the rest, and then returned.

However, as God's face was turned against the island to destroy it, he, after a while, stirred up Abu al-'Awar and his army who returned to Cyprus for the second time because he heard that some people had dwelt in it. Upon his arrival, these people trembled from fear. The Tayoye (Arabs) entered the island and brought out the people who were hidden in underground tunnels. They plundered the whole island and they moved to the city of Pathos.¹⁶⁹⁹ They tightened the grip around it, and its inhabitants asked for safety. Abu al-'Awar pledged not to harm them provided they give him gold, silver and possessions. The people gave him what he asked for, and, having collected all this wealth, the Tayoye (Arabs) returned to Syria.

Then, Mu'awiya tried to seize Arwad, which is another island, but failed. He sent a message to their Bishop Tuma (Thomas) to tell the inhabitants to leave the city and go in peace, but they refused to do so. At this time, Mu'awiya went to Damascus, but then returned to Arwad and captured it. He evicted its inhabitants and had it plowed under so that it would never again be inhabitable.

In the year 965 of the Greeks (A.D. 654), Abu al-'Awar and his army sailed to the island of Cos and captured it through the treachery of its bishop. They plundered all its possessions, killed many of its inhabitants and took the rest captive. They razed its fortress to the ground. Abu al-'Awar went to Crete and plundered it, and went to Rhodes and laid it waste. They destroyed the wondrous brass colossus, which it is said to have been one of the wonders of the world. They decide to break it down and take its Corinthian brass. It was standing straight like a man, and they found that it was built on rocks deep in the ground fixed with huge iron rods. A number of men got together, and by ropes tied around the colossus, pulled it down.

¹⁶⁹⁷ Amorium, Amuriyya of the Arabs.

¹⁶⁹⁸ Tell Mahre does not say what this defiling act is. However, it is most likely an immoral sexual act.

¹⁶⁹⁹ The Lapathus of Bar Hebraeus in his *Chronography*, 98.

Immediately, it fell to the ground. It is said that it was 107 feet tall, and weighed 3,000 loads of brass. The brass was bought by a Jew from Emessa (Homs).

In the year 960 of the Greeks (A.D. 649), Patriarch John, nicknamed he of the Sedros, passed away in December and was buried in the church of Mor Zu'ra in Amid. In this same month, Simon, metropolitan of Edessa passed away. In this same year, Mor Theodore from Qinnesrin was ordained a Patriarch of the Orthodox See of Antioch.

In Alexandria, the patriarch of the orthodox was Benjamin.

Both Rome and Constantinople were controlled by Chalcedonian bishops for a long time. Since then, their heresy added evil upon evil, and sin upon sin, especially the second heresy more than the first one. In fact, although the bishops at Chalcedon iniquitously defined two natures in Christ, still they did not confess two wills and two substances. Later, however, appeared the expression of two substances by John Grammarian, and two wills by Maximus from Yasfin in Tiberias. Maximus was condemned in the time of Constans, and banished to the Caucasus in Armenia. His hands and tongue were cut off because he would not return to the right path when a council was assembled in Constantinople to discuss his case. However, Martin, bishop of Rome, whose conscience was corrupted by the heresy of two wills and two acts, assembled a council in Rome, as we mentioned above, and anathematized the Emperor Heraclius and the Patriarch of Constantinople because they did not confess two wills, two substances and two acts as they professed two natures and two acts, or two natures and two properties.

As to Constans, nephew of Emperor Heraclius,¹⁷⁰⁰ he journeyed to Rome, bound Martin and kept him in his company. Constans, knowing that Martin was a follower of Maximus who maintained the doctrine of two wills and two substances and two operations, while simultaneously holding to two natures. So, he intended to deter him from holding the belief of Maximus. The reason is that the Chalcedonians never accepted the doctrine of two wills, two substances and two acts. This heresy, however, crept into their midst after a while, as we shall explain later.

In this time, an Armenian named David¹⁷⁰¹ with a number of soldiers left the capital (Constantinople). Meanwhile, Valentinus with his soldiers left the country of the Arabs. They communicated with each other to meet in a certain place to fight the Arabs. When the Tayoye (Arabs) learned of this, they attacked Valentinus and killed him. When David reached Beth Nahrin and found no Tayoye (Arabs) there, his troops began to commit evil acts. They went to the village of Beth Ma'da and looted gold, silver, other possessions, bread, wine and meat. They beat the Christians and filled their nostrils with sand and ashes in order to (force them) to show them the treasures hidden underground. Nothing was heard except the crying and wailing of decent women who were raped right in front of their husbands.

When Titus and his troops witnessed the behavior of the Romans, that David did not rebuke them, he went up to David and said to him, "It is not appropriate for you as a Christian to stretch your hand against the Christians, nor will the emperor praise you when he learns that you have entered this country to plunder and burn." He ordered him to take his troops and leave to save those whom the Armenians had taken captive. Thus, Titus saved many people.

When the reports about David reached the ears of 'Is¹⁷⁰² in Damascus, he assembled an army and came to Edessa; the Armenians were frightened and left everything in the camp and fled. The Tayoye (Arabs) pursued them in groups of fifties and hundreds and eventually caught up with them. David returned and ordered his men to fight the Tayoye (Arabs). Titus with his men formed one front as the Tayoye (Arabs) tried to seize him. Seeing that he had mighty men with him, they left him and turned their attention to David and his army. The miserable David called out to Titus saying, "This is the time to show your affection for the Romans." He replied, "If I help you, the Lord will never support me." Indeed, the sighs of the poor and the defilement of women stirred up such divine wrath. David and the men in his company were slaughtered because the Tayoye (Arabs) pursued him alone. As to Titus, he fled to Amid.

¹⁷⁰⁰ Constans II, or Constantine III (641-668), was son of Constantine II, the son of Heraclius. He died from poison in May 641.

¹⁷⁰¹ Prince of Saharthonians. See J B. Chabot, *Chronique De Michel Le Syrien*, II (Paris, 1901): 443, footnote 2.

¹⁷⁰² Chabot calls him Tyadh. See *Chronique De Michel Le Syrien*, II, 444.

In the year 958 of the Greeks (A.D. 647) a severe storm raged, uprooted the trees, and destroyed the pillars of the blessed ascetics.

At this time the people of 'Aqula, or Baghdad (more correctly Kufa in southern Iraq), moved to Mabug (Manbij) via Harran, and from there to Hama.

In Syria and Beth Nahrin, a vicious plague and severe famine broke out. Varying reports about these events were recorded in different books. Nevertheless, these things did really take place. We will give here their details.

Chapter Eleven: On the march of Arabs against Constantinople; and the defeat of the Romans at sea; and on Constans who killed his brother and went to Rome, but then returned to Syracuse; and on the cannibals who ate human flesh; and how the heresy of the impious Maximus was accepted in the capital where he was condemned and rejected

In the year 966 of the Greeks (A.D. 655), the 35th year of the Tayoye (Arabs), the 10th year of Constans, the 9th year of Uthman, Mu'awiya prepared ships to sail against Constantinople the capital city. It happened that two zealous men released the captive prisoners who were jailed in Tripoli where ships were built. They killed the Tayoye (Arabs), burned the equipment of the ships and fled by boats to the country of the Romans. When Mu'awiya, captain of the Tayoye (Arab) host, heard of what happened, he was outraged and assembled an army larger than that the first one and had ships prepared. The expedition, commanded by Abu al-'Awar, came to the place called Phoenicia and he found there the Emperor Constans and his brother Theodosius. While they were preparing to attack the Arabs on the following day, Emperor Constans slept and dreamt that he was in Thessalonica. He related his dream to an interpreter who said, "It would have been better if you have not slept, O emperor, to see this dream. Thessalonica is to be interpreted: This Allio Tin Niki, that is 'allotted the victory to others and victory will be for your enemies.'" The emperor scoffed at this interpretation, and set ships on the sea for battle, but the Romans were defeated by the Tayoye (Arabs). The emperor himself would have been killed if it were not for the son of a trumpeter who leapt to the royal ship, and carried the emperor across to another ship so that he might be saved. He himself remained on the royal ship. After he killed many (men), he was himself killed. The fighting was so intense it was said that the dry sand ascended more than the vapor between the ships. The Romans were defeated, Constans and his brother fled to the capital, and the war quieted down.¹⁷⁰³

Abu al-'Awar, captain of the Tayoye (Arab) host, ordered that dead bodies be taken out of the water, and they numbered about 20,000. When the Arabs were ready to march against Constantinople, Ptolemy went out to meet them and promised to pay them an annual tribute from the country of the Romans. However, when he reneged on his promise, the Tayoye (Arabs) went up and plundered Isauria. Then, Ptolemy paid the tribute and concluded peace with the Tayoye (Arabs) for three years. The emperor sent Gregorius, son of his brother, Mu'awiya as a hostage in return for the gold. However, the Tayoye (Arabs) did not keep their pledge and, like the Romans, not only violated their commitment to the Tayoye (Arabs), but to each other. Now, Constans killed his brother Theodosius that the kingdom might remain for his sons. This was why the army hated him for acting without mercy, and when he learned of this, he went to Rome. As he tarried there, the troops agitated against him, saying, "It is not seemly for the emperor to be in Rome because he is far away from the Arabs." Then Constans came to the island of Sicily. When he arrived at Syracuse, he chose to live there. He sent for his sons, but the citizens were unwilling (to let them go), saying, "We will not permit our emperors to go away from us." Then he made his three sons Constantine, Tiberias and Heraclius, Autocrators. He then made them dwell in the royal city while he himself dwelt in Syracuse. He was afraid that his troops would kill him, as he killed his brother for no offense. For this, the people called him "the second Cain."¹⁷⁰⁴

¹⁷⁰³ See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 98-99.

¹⁷⁰⁴ See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 99.

Following the death of Constans (d. 668), nephew of Heraclius, the wicked heresy of Maximus was anathematized and rejected. Even so, it was accepted in the capital in the time of Constans' son, as it had been accepted in Rome as follows:

A person named Agathon was ordained a patriarch for Rome to succeed Martin. He had a soldier friend of the rank of Comte named Theodore from Colonia¹⁷⁰⁵ of Armenia. He urged Agathon to convene a council. When the bishop assembled in Rome, they reconfirmed the wicked heresy of Maximus and the heresy of John Grammarian. They resolved that since the Council of Chalcedon had determined that in Christ there are two natures, two prosopons and two operations, it was imperative to confess (that in Christ) there are two substances and two wills. Indeed, they had been immersed in this error and anathematized those who did not confess two substances and two wills. Agathon, bishop of Rome, confirmed this definition (of faith). He addressed a letter to Constans carried by the monks of Nisibin, as said earlier, and mentioned those who had deceived Agathos, as we said in the previous chapter. He sent with the monks one 170 (pound) of gold as a bribe for the emperor. He also sent gold to the leaders in order to accept what the council had determined which he had assembled in Rome. It is said that bribe blinds the eyes of wise men, especially that the eyes of the Greeks had been blinded for a long time by the heresy of two natures, which appeared in Chalcedon. In fact, they went from bad to worse and from one ditch to the other. They accepted and surrendered to and confirmed the impious teaching of Maximus, which proclaimed two wills, two acts together with two natures in Christ.

In this period, a severe famine took place in the earth to the extent that people ate the flesh of animals and everything unclean.

At this time, a man named Elisha, from the village of 'Ufri in the district of Germanicia (Mar'ash) and who originally came from the east was a companion of robbers, but later separated himself from them. He retreated to a cave and behaved like a solitary ascetic. During the famine, he was accustomed to eating human flesh. Although the famine was no more, he never quit this evil custom. In fact, he went down to the villages, and deluding children, he took them up to his cave, slaughtered them without mercy, and ate their flesh. He hid their bones and clothes in a place near his cave. When he happened to meet their mothers while they were wailing, he comforted them with pleasant words, and give them the flesh of their children to eat, saying (to each of them), "O woman! Do not grieve for the loss of your child, but rather rejoice because he is saved from hunger. Take, eat this which I have hunted." The poor women ate and thanked him not knowing where the flesh came from.

One day Elisha said to laborers from the village of 'Ufri during the grape harvest, "I am ready to set a banquet for you provided you give me the wine of your vineyards." Then he went to the village to prepare food as he was accustomed, but could not find a child (to slaughter). It happened that a monk from the Monastery of Mor Mari named Damian came to the village to buy cheese. When Elisha saw him, he told him to come along with him and he would sell him hundred pounds of cheese. Elisha went along with him, and he took him into his cave. He told him to sleep and have some rest until he brought him the cheese. When Damian slept, Elisha struck him with a stone on the head and killed him. He cooked his flesh, which was fatty. He took the flesh of his thighs to the village and set it before the laborers to eat. While they were eating, one of them named Matta (Matthew) said, "Elisha, Sir. The smell of this meat is not good." Elisha swore that it was the meat of a calf, but Matta stopped eating while the others ate their satisfaction.

A day later, the monks looked for Damian but could not find him. Other people, however, saw him going up with Elisha to buy cheese, and they became suspicious. Several days later, the dog Elisha¹⁷⁰⁶ went to the village to snatch children as his evil custom was, but found none. Evidently, the citizens of the village hid their children for fear of what had been happening. Elisha met a young priest and said to him, "Would you like to buy cheese?" The priest, trying to ferret out information from him said, "How much do you sell it for?" He said, "Hundred pounds a dinar." The priest went up to the cave with Elisha but with great caution. Elisha said to him, "Sleep and have rest until I come back." He left but delayed coming back. The

¹⁷⁰⁵ Perhaps the city of Ani of Armenia.

¹⁷⁰⁶ In the Middle East until today calling a person "dog" is very denigrating; it is an insult.

priest, however, was awake and vigil. At night Elisha, thinking that the priest was sleeping, carried a stone and went in to kill him. The priest jumped up and said, "You want to kill me, Elisha?" Elisha said, "No. It is only a joke." The priest spent the night awake and praying. In the morning, he said to Elisha, "Where is the cheese?" Elisha said, "I have no cheese." The priest then held him and brought him down to the village. He shouted to the villagers and they rushed to him. He told them what happened between him and Elisha, and asked them to tie up the culprit, which they did. They went up to the cave and found eleven skulls of children and the head of Damian that had not yet decomposed. They also found the boiled flesh of people and the children's clothes. They delivered Elisha to the judge, and under torture, he confessed his crimes. The judge had him crucified on wood.

In this time, in the district of Christian Emessa (Homs) lived two women in one house. One of them had a child. Her mate said to her, "How is it possible that you nurse this child milk under these harsh famine circumstances?" The child's mother said, "Fear God, Sargo. What is on your mind?" Sargo kept silent. A day later, the child's mother went out to pick herbage because the famine was very severe. Her mate (Sargo) called two other women and a man who used to eat human flesh. They slaughtered the child, cooked him, and ate him. When the mother returned home, the wicked Sargo told her, "Your child has died, and we buried him with the unbaptized." The mother asked her to show her the grave, and when she showed her the ground, she began to dig but could not find the child's body. She went to the judge and told him the whole story. The judge seized the two women and had them tortured until they confessed their crime. He ordered them burned by fire together with the man.

Further in this period, a woman died, and other women came and ate her thighs.

Chapter Twelve: On the murder of Uthman, after whom the Tayoye (Arabs) kingdom split into two parts, and then reunited. On the kingdom of the Romans and the council they assembled in Constantinople known as the Sixth Council, which was to introduce the heresy of two wills and two operations and two essences (in Christ), and on the murder of Emperor Constans

When Uthman, king (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs), was constrained, as we said earlier, he promised to abandon his evil habits, and thus the Tayoye (Arabs) reconciled with him. However, when he returned to his evil habits, the Tayoye (Arabs) gathered together and told him, "Why don't you behave according to what had been delivered to us by Muhammad? You have hoarded in your treasure money which had been purloined and pillaged, and you deal with whoremongers and wicked people." He replied, "Since I am caliph I will do whatever I wish to do." They parted from him and every day connived to kill him. They gathered at the door of his house armed and said, "Either you abandon your evil practices or die instantly." Then, he wrote to Mu'awiya informing him of this matter, and instructed him to send him an army. However, the Tayoye (Arabs) stormed his house and killed their caliph Uthman in the city of Yathrib (Madina). In the meantime, Mu'awiya sent an army commanded by Habib to rescue Uthman. When the army reached Busra, and learned that the caliph had been already assassinated, they returned and informed Mu'awiya of the matter. Thus, the Tayoye (Arabs) were split. Those in Yathrib and Babylon joined Ali, son-in-law of Muhammad, and those in Syria and Egypt joined Mu'awiya. These events took place in the year 967 of the Greeks (A.D. 657) and the 35th year of the Tayoye (Arabs) (Islamic Calendar).¹⁷⁰⁷

In this year, the followers of Ali and of Mu'awiya prepared for war. After a great number on both sides were killed, Mu'awiya withdrew without meeting Ali. Again, the two sides reassembled for war. After a great deal of bloodshed when many perished, three zealous men determined to kill the three who were the cause of this war among the Tayoye (Arabs). One of them journeyed to Egypt to assassinate Sa'id. The second went to Mu'awiya's camp but was captured and killed. The third entered the camp of Ali, struck him with a spear, and killed him. Then, the Tayoye (Arabs) in East and West became subjects of Mu'awiya who transferred the residence of the caliphate from Yathrib to Damascus. Mu'awiya commanded the army for fifteen years and spent five years in the split state that he ruled for twenty years.¹⁷⁰⁸

¹⁷⁰⁷ *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 145, and *The Chronicle of Elijah bar Shinaya*, 137. The accounts of these chroniclers are very brief.

¹⁷⁰⁸ The account of Tell Mahre of the early Arab government following the death of Muhammad in 632 is very correct. This early

In this time, the heresy of the Haroriyyin, after the village of Harawra', (near al-Kufa in southern Iraq) appeared. In this village, the Tayoye (Arabs) assembled and rebelled against the state of the Muhajirun (immigrants) until this day.¹⁷⁰⁹

In the year 980 of the Greeks (A.D. 679), the 47th year of Constans, the 9th year of Mu'awiya, and the 54th year of the Tayoye (Arabs), Abu al-'Awar ordered the Christian soldiers to pay the jizya (poll-tax) in all Syria. Until then, they had paid no tribute in the Tayoye (Arabian) kingdom.

At this time, the seven-year peace between the Tayoye (Arabs) and the Romans ended. The Tayoye (Arabs) raided the entire country of Asia, Bithynia and Pamphylia. Furthermore, a plague broke out in Beth Nahrin while the Tayoye (Arabs) continued their devastation and plunder up to Pontus and Galatia.

In the year 980 of the Greeks, Constans was killed in Syracuse. It happened that he entered the bath, and Andrew, son of Troilus, covered his head with so much soapy foam that he could not open his eyes. He struck him with a copper bucket on the head, he died, and Andrew fled.

The Greeks set up a certain (*comes obsequii*), Mizezius, as emperor. He was of Armenian origin and a patrician by rank.¹⁷¹⁰ He was a mighty man, handsome and chaste in behavior. In fact, they made him emperor against his will. When Constantine learned that his father was killed, he came to Sicily and killed Mizezius and his companions. He then set up his brothers Tiberius and Heraclius as emperors.

In the year 976 of the Greeks (A.D. 665), 44th year of the Tayoye (Arabs), 23rd year of Constans, and 5th year of Mu'awiya, a controversy arose on account of the Resurrection Festival (Easter). Some Christians observed it on Palm Sunday, others on the New Sunday (the Sunday following Easter).

In the next year, a flood took place in Edessa at night; the water pushed against the wall and made a breach in it, and the city was inundated with water. Many people drowned.

In the year 977 of the Greeks, and the 24th year of Constans, Sapur, nicknamed Aparasitgan, captain of the Armenian host, rebelled against Constans. He sent to Mu'awiya a man named Sergi (Sergius), saying, "If you give me help, and send me an army to kill Constans, I will subjugate all the Romans (or Roman countries) to you." When Constantine, the emperor's son who was in the royal city heard these things, he sent to Mu'awiya Andrea, a eunuch and his cubicularius, who was renowned for his knowledge of the art of war. Mu'awiya ordered that Sergi should first be ushered into his presence in order to connive against Constans. In the meantime, Andrea mounted a blind beast and went to Damascus to tell Mu'awiya to warn him not to be deceived by that rebel. However, when he learned that Mu'awiya was to receive Sergi, he did not want to enter into his presence. Mu'awiya commanded that Sergi should come in first, followed by Andrea. Sergi went in, bowed down and took a seat. When Andrea went in, Sergi trembled, leapt up and bowed in homage to him. When Mu'awiya saw this, he was angry with Sergi, saying, "You coward and of little mind. What happened to you? If you are terrified by this slave in this wise, and leapt up and bowed to him, what would you do if you saw the one who he sent?" Sergi replied, "I did this, not through fear, but because of habit." Turning toward Andrea, Mu'awiya said to him, "What is it that you want?" Andrea said, "The emperor has sent me to you to expel this man sitting before you." Mu'awiya said, "You are all our enemies. The man who multiplies the jizya (tribute) for us, him we will help." Andrea replied, "It is true that the emperor and the rebel are your enemies, but there is one enemy better than the other and a friend better than the other. Moreover, the slave and the master are not equal. For the master freely and in a most excellent manner attends to the business of the state, while the slave who lives under servitude does more in a slavish manner because he is a slave. Therefore, what my emperor pledged under any condition, even though it is less than what this tyrant has pledged, you should believe him and not this unscrupulous man. If this tyrant would win you to his side by his pledge, know that he is a liar. If he had done so much evil to his master who is his benefactor, how could you believe his promises?" He said this and left. On the next day,

period of Arab history is stained with murder and bloodshed. Three of the pioneer caliphs, Abu Bakr, Uthman and Ali, were murdered. It was a sheer struggle for power.

¹⁷⁰⁹ The Muhajirun are those who immigrated with Muhammad from Makka to Madina in 622. They are in contradistinction of the Ansar (helpers), the men of Madina, who supported Muhammad and asked him to move to their city.

¹⁷¹⁰ See George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 110.

Sergi arrived earlier. When Andrea came, Sergi did not stand and bow down before him. Andrea said to Sergi, "You hopeless one, why have not you stood up before me?" Sergi was bold, looked at him disdainfully and yelled at him like a woman. Andrea threatened to have Sergi's testicles cut off. Mu'awiya said to Andrea, "If you do not give us the land tax of all your country, nothing of your kingdom will remain except the name. Otherwise, be on guard." Andrea said, "It seems that the Arabs decided to have the substance and we the shadows. Nevertheless, we have hope in God." Then Andrea left and went to Melitene. He commanded the guards of the mountain passes to seize Sergi when he passed through. Now, Mu'awiya had promised to send an army with Sergi, but the ambush seized him and brought him to Andrea. Andrea said to him, "Are you Sergi who mocked me before Mu'awiya?" He commanded, and his testicles were removed from him and placed in his hand. Then, he had him crucified. As promised, Mu'awiya sent an army to Sergi, but before it arrived, it happened that Sapur was mounting his horse in front of his house. He was pressured by the Persians, fell off the horse and died. When the Tayoye (Arabs) learned of this, they plundered the whole Roman territory to the confines of Chalcedon, and went back.¹⁷¹¹

Since we have previously started to discuss the heresy of Maximus of two wills in Christ, we should endeavor to complete its discussion. We should also explain how the council, which assembled in Constantinople, known as the Sixth Council, endorsed this heresy, although it was convened after the death of Constans, that is, in the time of Constantine.¹⁷¹² However, we postponed the discussion of this heresy to this time in order to make the chronological order of events easier for the reader.

After the death of Constans, his three sons ruled. In the 12th year of their reign, the year 992 of the Greeks (A.D. 681), and the 60th year of the Tayoye (Arabs), a council known as the Sixth Council assembled in Constantinople. It was attended by 250 bishops including the delegates of Agathon and his written consent. Theodore, having been bribed with gold by the emperor, endorsed the innovation (of faith) by the council. When the patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch rejected him, they were removed from their seats. Because bishops from Syria, Palestine, Egypt and Armenia did not attend, they (the council's members) invited a person named Peter and offered him the seat of the patriarch of Alexandria. They seated another person in the place of the bishop of Jerusalem. They did not permit the emperor's two brothers to attend because they knew that they would not accept the innovation, and become opponents of their father, Constans.

Macarius, bishop of Antioch, debated at length with them, proving from the writings of Cyril (of Alexandria) and declaring that the expression of two wills and two operations in Christ is a heresy. The representatives of Rome were outraged saying, "This man is a partisan of Severus (of Antioch), and for this reason he quotes Cyril." The emperor, however, compelled the bishops to sign the innovation. Some of them signed unwillingly. Macarius was banished to Rome where he spent his life in prison. In this manner, the wicked heresy of Maximus was introduced.

There is no doubt that the deviation of the Chalcedonians from the firmness of orthodoxy is manifest to anyone who investigates this subject profoundly. He will realize how they (the Chalcedonians) were affected so fast by this evil heresy that confronted them. If this was not the case, why did they confess for the last 125 years since the end of the corrupt council (of Chalcedon) until now, one will, one operation and one substance, along with their confession of the multiplicity of natures? Thus, they added corruption upon corruption.

As to our church, we the Orthodox, Theodore from the Monastery of Qinnésrin, was our patriarch. He administered the church for eighteen years, and died in the year 978 of the Greeks (A.D. 667). He was succeeded by Severus known as Bar Mashqa from the Monastery of Phaghimta.

In Alexandria, Agathon was a patriarch.

In this period, the eloquent Severus Sabukht passed away. In addition, Trokos, bishop of the Arab tribes, passed away.

In this period, Janurin of Amid was renowned as a jurist.

¹⁷¹¹ Cf. Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 100-101.

¹⁷¹² He is Constantine IV Pogonatus 668-685.

In this period also, a great number of Jews believed in Christ.

In Edessa, Gabriel was bishop of the faithful (Orthodox). In the same city, the Chalcedonians had a bishop named Tiberius ...lacuna... *End of the story of church fathers and of kings.*

Chapter Thirteen: The commencement of the reign of Constantine and his brothers, sons of Constans, the Roman; and on Mu'awiya, king (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs); and the conflict between the patriarch and the bishops

In the year 981 of the Greeks (A.D. 670), the year 55 of the Arabs and the year 10 of Mu'awiya, Constantine IV (nicknamed Pogonatus) reigned. He commanded that the Romans should be subject to him and his two brothers Tiberius and Heraclius equally, and that the portraits of the three should be stamped on the darics (Roman coin), and be equally honored. He further commanded that no one should place one of them over the other. He went to Gallia and Italy and subdued all the western nations.

At the beginning of the reign of Constantine, the Tayoye (Arabs) marched into Africa and took about 80,000 men captive. A year later, they captured Lycia and Cilicia, and then they camped at a city on the seashore. Three Roman patricians marched against them, and conquered them, and 30,000 Tayoye (Arab, Muslims) men perished. The rest fled on ships, but they were destroyed by the storms. Then, a carpenter from Ba'lback named Callinicus, who had fled Syria to the Roman country, burned the Tayoye (Arab, Muslim) ships by fire, destroying the ships and those in them at the sea. From this time, the Romans learned how to make the fire called naphta. Callinicus has been celebrated by the Romans until this day.¹⁷¹³

In the ninth year of Constantine, a group of Romans came to Mount Lebanon. They were known as Marada (Mardaïtes), but the Syrians called them Gargumoye (Jarajima). They seized the country from Mount Galilee to the Black (Amanus) Mountain. They always came out to plunder, and for this purpose, they were dispatched by the Romans against Lebanon. Eventually, the Tayoye (Arabs) overcame them, killing some and plucking out the eyes of others.¹⁷¹⁴

In this year Iyawannis, son of Mizezius, rebelled against Constantine for seven months. Constantine personally marched against him and killed him in Sicily. After his triumph and causing fright among the Tayoye (Arabs), Constantine became arrogant and violated the covenant with his brothers because he wanted to give the sovereignty to his son Justinian, known as the Arrogant.¹⁷¹⁵ Thus, he abandoned the fear of God and decency, and rejected his brothers for no apparent reason or crime they committed. He brought into subjection the leaders by means of gifts. Leo, one of them, said, "It is improper to disdain those who have governed us without having committed something wrong. I would not agree to do so." The emperor ordered that his hands, legs and tongue be cut off. Even so, he went on in the company of the governor exclaiming, "I do not deny the Trinity which is in heaven, and I will not reject the Trinity which is on earth. Thus, he suffered the death penalty.¹⁷¹⁶

Constantine summoned the princes of the Romans and said unto them, "You Tiberias and you Heraclius, what do you call me? Do you call me your brother or your king? If you call me "king", I will call you my brothers. If you call me "brother" I shall know you as enemies." They replied, "We do not abstain from calling you our great elder brother, but certainly we will never call you "our king," because we reign jointly with you." However, the Senate, because their eyes had been blinded by bribes, sided with Constantine and cast out the two brothers.

After Theodore, Severus known as Bar Mashqa was ordained as patriarch of Antioch for us, the Orthodox, and a controversy took place between him and the bishops. The reason was that Severus was a

¹⁷¹³ Cf. *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, translated by Cyril Mango and Roger Scott (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1997), 494, and *The Chronicle of Theophanes*, ed. and translated by Harry Turtledove (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), 52, footnote 114.

¹⁷¹⁴ *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, 496, and 507-507; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 101, and Matti Moosa, *The Maronites in History*, entire Chapter 19, pp. 174-194. Moosa discussed in detail the Mardaïtes and the Jarajima, and the claim of the Maronites of Lebanon that they are the descendants of the Marada.

¹⁷¹⁵ He is Justinian II Rhinotmetus (having a disfigured nose).

¹⁷¹⁶ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p.101.

bishop of Amid, but when out of necessity he became a patriarch, he treated matters of the church with harshness. He was a difficult man supported by the caliph of the Tayoye (Arabs). Therefore, many bishops became his adversaries of who were Sergius of Zuqnin and Hananya, bishop of the Monastery of Qartmin (Mor Gabriel) and others. They wanted to ordain a bishop themselves for the Jazira when necessity presented itself, and not the patriarch, according to the common custom. Severus would not agree to such ordination because he was difficult and unrelenting. These bishops were elders renowned in the church and adherents to the ancient canons that gave authority to the metropolitans of the dioceses to ordain bishops. Patriarch Severus claimed that this custom had been abolished since the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451). For this reason, the patriarch of Alexandria ordained bishops for Libya, and the patriarch of Antioch ordained bishops for all the districts under his authority. Moreover, all the patriarchs who occupied the thrones of Antioch and Alexandria themselves ordained bishops. This practice should also be followed now. Because of this, controversy took place between the bishops. The patriarch was prepared to depose all the bishops if he could. Then, the bishops who supported the patriarch assembled in Beit Tellat. When Sergius and his companions learned that the patriarch and his supporting bishops came to declare their condemnation of them, they took the precedence by condemning the patriarch and the bishops in his company. In turn, the patriarch condemned Sergius and the bishops with him. He addressed letters to their dioceses warning people not to have communion with them. He also forbade those who supported them to proclaim the name of the patriarch. The trouble continued until the death of the patriarch.

A severe earthquake took place and destroyed many cities.

In the year 980 of the Greeks (A.D. 669), the winter was very harsh, and there was plenty of snow, ice and cold. Olive trees and vineyards withered over all of Syria and Beth Nahrin.

On Sunday of December 983 of the Greeks (A.D. 672), an eclipse of the sun took place.

In the year 988 (A.D. 677), a frightful morning star appeared, and remained for sixty days from August 28 to October 26.

In the year 989 of the Greeks (A.D. 678), during the third watch of the night, a perfect rainbow appeared in the sky. It was something extraordinary because rainbows did not appear at night. Those who watched it thought that the end of the world was at hand.

In this year, mice multiplied in Syria and Phoenicia and devoured the grains, and famine took place. One year later the locusts came.

In the year 990 of the Greeks (A.D. 679), on the third hour of the Sunday of Resurrection (Easter Sunday), a severe earthquake took place and destroyed the city of Batnan (Sarug), the church of Edessa also collapsed. Mu'awiya ordered it rebuilt because he saw in a dream that Ali was killed and was set up as caliph in his place.

In this year, there were numerous earthquakes in different quarters, which continued for seven years.

At this time the evil heresy of two wills, two substances and two operations in Christ spread among the Chalcedonians. They forced the people to accept it by the power of the sword, which is the same method that the first heresy (of two natures) of the Council of Chalcedon was propagated. *End of the narrative.*

Chapter Fourteen: The letters exchanged between Patriarch Severus Bar Mashqa¹⁷¹⁷ and the Bishops Sergius Zakunoyo and his partisans, concerning the controversy between the two (parties)

The letter of Severus addressed to Yuhanon (John)

To the pious and holy spiritual brothers, our fellow-bishops who are honored by God, and are equal in the service: Yuhanon, metropolitan of the diocese of the East in Persia, and all the holy Fathers with him, who are subject to God and to our lowliness; from Severus, by the mercy of God, patriarch of the Apostolic See of Antioch. Rejoice in the Lord.

¹⁷¹⁷ Died in 665 A.D. See *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 146-147.

I would like to remind you of a matter which is not hidden from your lordship, bearing witness to you before God and his holy and chosen angels, in this moment in which I anticipate the last breath and deliverance of my spirit to God, that you may become my witnesses after my death and defend me to all, that I have not done anything wrong against the rights of the church, and have not wronged anyone. However, I have labored and fought for its safety and its order with all the power in me. I want you especially to do this before the monks, world leaders and bishops should they assemble in a certain council. You are responsible before God on the last day for every addition or subtraction of what you have heard or learned in this respect. More specifically, I shall challenge you, Bishop Yuhanon bar Kipha, Mor Joseph and Mor Sergius, that if you do not relate what you have witnessed in me by your eyes and heard by your ears in this respect, you will be asked to give an answer to God on the Day of Judgment for everything you have detected in me when you came to Arabia. Many times, I summoned Stephen, who is close to me, but he refused to come. I am well aware that after my death, they (the bishops who oppose the patriarch) will circulate false and evil reports saying that I have pardoned and forgave them. They will designate me as the "Blessed" and "the Holy" and pretend that they did not hate me. They will offer oblations and supplications for my soul in order to have the world follow them. Then they will say, "He died and could no more do good or harm."

It should be known to all the people on earth and to the host in heaven, that in my lifetime they (the opponent bishops) did not come to see me, or ask for forgiveness. Therefore, I did not remove from them the anathema that will be upon them until they repent and do what I have written. If they come to me in my lifetime, it would be easier to forgive them and ask them for none of my rights. Now that I am departing (this life), God will ask you for the rights of my struggle if you would accept them, not in conformity with the requirements I am writing here. I am entrusting the judgment to you, to the monks, the clergy and the lay people. An ecumenical council should assemble covering all the districts. To it should be invited experienced people of every rank, and those mentioned dignitaries (his opponents). In addition, you, Mor Yuhanon, it is in your power to pardon and accept anyone proved to have done no wrong or transgressed the canons. Only, censure him for the controversy, and the fact that he had imitated his companions by signing the uncanonical anathema, and that he should declare as false the charges against me. You all know as I do that these things are not true and not confirmed. You, Mor Yuhanon, pardon him. However, when I demand that you substantiate what I am saying in writing, I do so not for fear of the anathema, which even I do not consider an anathema, but to remove the doubts of the faithful and the mockery of the heretics. If this is not done, the whole world will be suspicious of them and me. As to the culprits, they should come with their charges and face each other. Then, he who is proven guilty will be dropped from his sacerdotal office according to the apostolic canons; he who is lawfully proven not guilty will be acquitted and accepted. The investigation should be conducted in public in order that the guilty and the innocent should be known to everyone. You will become an example to the world for your justice and fear of God, that you hate evil and love good, and that you are not biased in your judgment. However, if they rebel and do not execute (what I have said), and do not challenge the anathema in writing, or refuse the investigation of charges against them, forsake them and have no communion with them. You should have no mercy upon them, but leave them die condemned to become food for the kindling fire prepared for the devil and his angels. I have hope in God that their lives would not extend too long after my death, but will follow me. In addition, there, before God the judge of all, I will demand from them of what I have given them. After all, I did not litigate them before people. However, if this matter is left alone, these poor people who are subject to God and my lowliness will deliver me into the hand of God, and also into your hands. If you choose one for the episcopate, it should be done by the consent of the Metropolitan Mor Gabriel and by our Father Mor Iliyya (Elijah).

I wrote to your fatherhood with fastness and brevity because the shadow of death chases me. I beseech you, as a faithful steward of Christ, to remember me always in your prayers, because the place to which I am going to is awful and frightful even for the righteous. The grace of our Lord be with you and with us. Amen.

After the patriarch's death, a group of schismatic bishops in the west, began to declare peace saying that they did not know any patriarch except Severus. They addressed the following letter to the people of Rish 'Ayna:

Therefore, beloved brothers and spiritual sons, the Spirit who laid down the law to which you are subject urges you to pursue peace everywhere. It says, "Seek peace," and, "Seek peace and pursue it."¹⁷¹⁸ We urge to you as you listen to the voice of our lowliness through this letter, to obey God and our king (emperor), and endeavor, great and small, to pursue peace. If everyone showed as much zeal as fighting with his brothers until today, and was tormented by the raging waves of conflict stirred up by the devil, the enemy of peace, we would by now have attained to the cheerful spring and our storm would have turned to a fresh breeze by the help of God. Let then all of us pursue peace and establish it in order to be saved from the raging billows, even though we are still under trouble. Let everyone of us reach out to the other with the concord of the one spirit and one soul, especially after you have read this letter and received information from its carrier concerning what God had done through us. We are continuing our effort in both plain and rugged places. All have become subjects to God and to us. We have become harbingers of peace in all the countries of the west, and among the people (Arab tribes) of Tanukh, Tayy and 'Aqula (Kufa), in the Jazira and Edessa. God made peace by our coming and brought the schismatics into our fold. There was joy among the angels of heaven and in all the church, and sorrow for the enemies who rejoice for our defeat. We have truly enjoyed this peace that was anticipated by everyone, even since the blessed Patriarch Severus was still living. He was somehow angry with us and we were angry with him by the machinations of the devil. In any event, the Lord called him up before this was done in order to administer his incomprehensible judgments and put our own affairs in order.

After his noble death, we did what we were prepared to do that we may have you rejoice in this good endeavor. We wish you peace and safety and urge you to pursue the same. We would like also to inform you about the course we have taken to achieve concord between the two sides of those who belong to us, which was not an easy matter. As to those who defended the mentioned holy and blessed man (Patriarch Severus), and do harm to each other like enemies, we have sought them and made peace with them. We also have entered the name of the blessed (patriarch) into the sacerdotal diptychs, and offered for him oblations and supplications. Furthermore, we offered the prayer of forgiveness before God. We have further accepted all of the clergy whom the holy patriarch had ordained, or ordained by one of the bishops of Persia, or by your bishop, our brother Mor Gabriel. We left each one of them in his own position and consider them as our sons. This, the wisdom of God has done concerning the peace of his church, and the devil was cast away from it. Therefore, you would do well not only by supporting the peace which God has wrought in his church, but also urge Mor Gabriel to pursue peace, that there will be no dissension in the church of God. However, if he assumes another course, encroaches upon a diocese not his, steps on the brothers the bishops, abolishes the canons of the church, and performs uncanonical ordinations, he should immediately desist doing so. He should not neglect to work for peace because God wants to transport him quickly unto himself in order to give him rest. He alone cannot impede peace because the love of peace has filled us all. We embrace the dissenters as brothers, and we consider him (Mor Gabriel) as our brother and colleague. Therefore, if he really seeks peace of the church, let him come quickly unto us because we are waiting for him. You are witnesses of this matter before God who sees everything. Do not hold back the peace of the people of God who are waiting for it. It is about to be realized by the power of him who does everything good. Hurry up then, and let us rejoice by the presence of some of you and of Mor Gabriel in their company. Or, write to us what would make us joyful, that we may turn our attention to your noble affection.

¹⁷¹⁸ See Psalm 34:14.

The letter addressed by the schismatic bishops to Mor Yuhanon (John) and those with him

We, the wretched and the unworthy to be called chief priests, whose names and signatures are appended below, have addressed to you this letter at your request O holy Yuhanon, metropolitan of St. Matthew's Monastery, and through you to the bishops there, even to the whole world. We pledge to accept, by the will of God, everything that would please God and confirm his church for the building up of our faithful brothers. That is to say, we have removed, and will remove, the anathema that we have issued against the holy Patriarch Mor Severus (Bar Mashqa) who is transported unto the Lord. We have allowed, and will allow, his name to be proclaimed in the churches and monasteries with the fathers who have departed (this life) before him, and who were in agreement with him concerning faith and good administration. He will also be remembered in them (churches and monasteries) with honor by all the Orthodox. It is well known that we have accepted, and will accept the ordinations he, the fathers and the brethren bishops who were with him had performed, be they presbyters, deacons or lower dignities. We did this with good conscience, as we have already said, for no reason except to have these schisms and controversies removed from our midst, and that the peace of the churches would prevail everywhere. We have written and affirmed to some everything that would lead to the peace of the church of God, and agree with the canons that we mentioned in brief, for the glory of God and the unity of the people everywhere. We have signed this letter and affixed our seals for the steadfastness of all, at the church of Bishop Eunomius.

Signed: Sergius, bishop of Germanicia; Yuhanon (John), bishop of Phanicus; Stephen, bishop of Busra; Julian, bishop of Tella; Domit, bishop of Harran; Sergius, bishop of the district of Homs; Abraham, bishop of the district of Arzen; Yuhanon, bishop of Circassia; Gabriel, bishop of Rish 'Ayna; Hananya, bishop of Damascus; Iliyya (Elijah), bishop of Ba'lbak; Nonnus, bishop of the Arab tribes; and Severus, bishop of Harar. This was done in the year 995 of the Greeks (A.D. 684).

The letter of Yuhanon (John), Metropolitan of the East, the messenger of peace

To the God-loving and holy in all things: the priests, deacons, holy clergy, archimandrites and honorable periodeutes (chorepiscopi), to the entire venerable monks, the illustrious, the victorious, the leaders, the prudent administrators, and the entire faithful in the districts of Antioch and the sojourners in the district of Beth Qrosta who lead an ascetic life in the holy monasteries, from Yuhanon the weak, by the mercy of God Metropolitan of St. Matthew's Monastery and the Persian countries. May your safety and peace be plentiful.

No doubt, you have been aware of the controversies, the troubles and the dissensions that have taken place between us by the machinations of the traducer (Satan). We prefer not to discuss them here, first, not to scratch the ears of the brothers and second, because we do not want to discuss sorrowful matters while we are in a state of rejoicing. However, we would like to inform your piety of one thing. I was far away in our district in Persia and had not yet journeyed to Rish 'Ayna, where the brothers, the bishops, assembled. I had no idea how great was their intention, and how it was directed towards peace. Hence, is my delay for two reasons, first, I had no idea to what their good intention was directed, as I have just said. Second, I, the weak, was bashful to offer counsel or command, when venerable elders worthy of God's mercy proclaimed the truth. They are able to guide and straighten out not only themselves but us also, even men of knowledge according to the apostolic directives. However, when I learned that the holy Patriarch Mor Severus (Bar Mashqa) had chosen me as mediator for peace, I had no idea how and why he did so. In fact, the western fathers appealed to me in their letters to work for peace. Therefore, I hastened to Rish 'Ayna speaking to them at length concerning peace which is cherished by God. When I noticed that the mercy of God was upon them, that they were blameless and desired this good thing (peace) many folds more than me, we regenerated everything until we accomplished peace. We stamped our seals and signed, we the fathers whose names are appended below:

Sergius of Zakunoyo, chief priest; Yuhanon, bishop of Julan, Joseph, bishop of Mabug (Manbij); Stepeh, bishop of Arabia; Julian, bishop of Tella; Domit, bishop of Harran; Sergius, bishop of Homs;

Abraham, bishop of Arzen; Yuhanon, bishop of Habura; Gabreil, bishop of Rish 'Ayna; Hananya, bishop of Damascus; Iliyya, bishop of Ba'lbak; Nonnus, bishop of the Arabs; Severus, bishop of Harar.

These bishops resolved in writing not only the abrogation of the anathema of the said holy (patriarch), but also that his name and the names of his brothers, the bishops, should be proclaimed in the diptychs, and that his name should be mentioned together with the names of his brothers, the fathers. They have also accepted with good will his ordinations of presbyters, deacons and the ordinations performed by his brothers, the bishops.

After these matters were done according to the will of God and our desire, we conducted the prayer of forgiveness for all the transgressions of the two sides, whether they concerned the anathema, the institution of canons, imprecations, or other matters which would stir up conflict like this one, and whether they were started by the blessed (patriarch) against the fathers, or by the fathers against him. I was the first to recite the prayer of forgiveness according to their request, with the consideration that I represent the patriarch. Then, every one of them (the bishops) recited in turn a prayer of forgiveness for what has happened. In fact, I appealed to them to do so. I want to say in brief that everything, whether by me or by them, was done by the will of God, and that they should investigate this matter in order to seek concord and peace. We have addressed this letter to you, O pious ones, that, from now onward, no one should antagonize or offend his colleague, saying, "I am the patriarch or I am the bishop, things of this nature." If he says so, he will then become the cause of conflict, dissention and dishonor to the word of God, which is active and sharper than any double-aged sword, can cut the soul and the body and cast into the fire of hell.¹⁷¹⁹ Therefore, we return and say, "We will revert to past altercations, such as, who is Paul and who is Apollos." This is what the apostle (Paul) wrote to those who were engaged in conflict for such matters.¹⁷²⁰ We are one in Christ. We would like to be one in the Orthodox faith, in love and charity. This must be accomplished if you obey God and our weakness. It will also be accomplished if you subject yourselves to your administrators in whatever they tell you for the glory of God and for your salvation. For, they keep watch for your sake as if they offer an account on your behalf. Therefore, it is imperative that you listen to them in everything that they may care for your affairs rejoicing and not being compelled. We are all hoping that you will execute this from all your hearts, and for the benefit of your souls. Doing so, you will give rest to our weakness and will please God who rejoices for peace.

This is what we are pleased to write to your affection. Now, if one might be audacious and transgress what we have written, whether a monk, clergyman or a layman, who would not subject himself to his leader, and thereby transgress the word of God for whatever reason, he will be considered alien from us and from the holy church of God. This is our resolution, I, Metropolitan Yuhanon and the holy council of the entire bishops of Syria.

The letter of the council addressed to those (Syrian congregations) in Persia for the same purpose; and the ordination of Athanasius

To the holy and fellow-servant bishops in the country of Persia, to the archimandrites, all the monastics who lead a chaste life, the venerable sage church leaders, the clergy and lay people who live in this country; from Sergius Zakunoyo, Yuhanon, Joseph, Stephen, Julian, Domit, Abraham, Sergi, Yuhanon, Gabriel, Iliyya (Elijah), Hananya, Nonnus, Halphai and Abhai, the weak, and by the mercy of God bishops of the Roman countries. The grace of our Lord be with you, and peace from God our Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ.

The temptations and the hardships which overwhelmed us for the past four years or more, which you have been informed of, and so did all, nay, there are those who have lived them, did not happen because we have sinned or transgressed the canons. They happened because the negligence that overtook us was caused by our sins, or by the temptations that distinguish the lazy from the active. Indeed, the pursuit of

¹⁷¹⁹ Hebrews 4:12.

¹⁷²⁰ 1 Corinthians 3:4-6.

anything must necessarily lead to its exposition, according to the apostolic saying.¹⁷²¹ Such a thing even happens to the saints. The Lord declares saying, "Do you think it is inconsistent to recompense you for your labors and toils?"¹⁷²² As to us, we the weak, it is not for this alone but rather for our sins that we, like the holy youth in Babylon, shout that, "We have sinned and done wrong. No one of us does what is righteous and just, and no one sets up a fence or stands in a hole in order to resist your wrath."¹⁷²³ With these words, we discipline ourselves, receive great consolation, and reap abundantly the fruits of joy. If we are cast into the fire or the water as the divine chanter (David) says, we will make it to dry land with God's help.¹⁷²⁴

Brothers, when we were under discipline we grieved for the dissention that inflicted the churches and monasteries because of the envy of the devil and not by the transgression of the faith. It was done by some persons, as you know. But God, who has foreknowledge of everything, willed by his incomprehensible judgment, to transport unto him the holy Patriarch Mor Severus because of whom the conflict between the two sides, that is those who support him and those who support us. Before he departed this world, he wrote a covenant, as he found fit, and handed it to your Metropolitan Mor Yuhanon to be a mediator to decide between the two parties as he saw fit. We can only ascribe what has happened between us (and the patriarch), whether right or wrong, to the will of God. Indeed, we have not differed over this matter, but rather assembled all of us, i.e. those whose names are put down above. We sent messengers to the metropolitan to come unto us in order to realize peace as he saw fit. When the blessed metropolitan (Yuhanon) learned that he was designated as a mediator, he hastened to come to us as if his invitation was from God. He came to the city of Rish 'Ayna where we assembled awaiting his arrival. With us were the archimandrites of our district and some notables. Upon his arrival, we looked upon him as if he was an angel sent by God, and we exchanged holy kisses. He refused to listen to the reasons of the conflict because his main purpose was peace. Therefore, he closed the page of all that we said and did, and directed our sights to the church. He advised that prayers of general forgiveness should be said for the transgressions of both parties. He was first to offer such a prayer and we followed him. Thus, by his effort, peace prevailed. All of this was done by God as we have previously said.

Now, what quarter and district would not enjoy that peace loved by God? In addition, what city or monastery would not feel proud of it? Or, what society and house would not become its abode? Or, which leader, administrator or people would not call for it or commend it? It is your metropolitan who did and propagated this work in our country. Therefore, if we assembled a myriad of words and attributes of virtue, we would not be able to present a correct picture of the conduct of this man. While we do not neglect others, we will nickname him as the "establisher of peace and love."

Therefore, fathers and brothers, all of you should always imitate him, and follow his example if there is conflict or controversy amongst you. For you have in him, by the grace of God, a good shepherd. Let him be unto you like Christ. Follow him and obey him in everything. God, the Lord of peace and safety, had destroyed the enmity by his body, and we, who were dead, he brought back to life by his Resurrection. He will grant peace and safety to his people and church among the kingdoms of the earth to the end of the world. Amen.

The letter of the Bishops to the Monasteries of the Edessans

First, beloved brothers, we announce to you the tidings of reconciliation and peace granted us by Christ, our peace. It had a very pleasant and effective influence on everyone. It is the peace of which the envious devil had deprived us. He divided us into Judah and Israel, and delivered us to the Babylonian captivity, which confused the tongues, and created a language of controversy instead of peace. He did this that we may continue to weep at the banks of its rivers for life, because we are far from Jerusalem, the city of peace. There on the poplar trees which have no fruit we hung our harps, which play for peace. We could

¹⁷²¹ I have no idea what is the reference to this apostolic saying. May be an allusion to 1 Corinthians 11:19.

¹⁷²² Perhaps an allusion to Acts 26:16.

¹⁷²³ Cf. Daniel 9:5-6.

¹⁷²⁴ Psalm 65:5-12.

not move while we were in a foreign land, or raise praise to the Lord because of the conflict, hatred and animosity before the captors, our enemies.¹⁷²⁵ In fact, they, I mean the devils, heathens, Jews and heretics want us to be held under such circumstances. Therefore, it is not fitting for those who are distant from peace to sing it. We say with utmost courage that it is the proper time to return from Babylonian captivity to Jerusalem, our city of peace. We will then become one people under God and one kingdom, as we all offer him glory in his holy temple. When God has delivered our Zion captivity from Babylon our enemy, we will rejoice like those, and our mouth will be filled with laughter and our tongue with praise. Our enemies will then say, "The Lord had done something great for these people by giving them his safety and peace."

We would like to inform you, however, that by the grace of God, any place we reached and preached peace, the entirety of people from all the districts west of the Euphrates, along with the cities, monasteries and villages, joined us. Also, the people-lovers of Christ, of Tanukh, Tayy, Kufites (Aqla), and all the Orthodox of the west and the Jazira joined us. They became one with us and drove away Satan, and both sides heaved a sigh of relief. We beseeched our partisans to insert the name of the holy Severus in the sacerdotal diptychs and commemorate him, since he was displeased with us and we were displeased with him by the envy of Satan. In addition, we embraced those who dissented from us and who had defended him, as brothers and sons. We did the same in the blessed Edessa and endorsed each one in his own dignity and position, whether he was ordained by the blessed (Patriarch Severus), by our brothers the bishops of Persia, or by Mor Gabriel, bishop of Rish 'Ayna. We will also consider the holy Mor Gabriel as our brother, should he come unto us, despite the fact that he visits dioceses that do not belong to him and performs ordination without apparent canonicity. However, we will not deviate from our goal since our objective is to seek peace. In case he has already ordained some of you as presbyters, we will accept them as our brothers. Therefore, we urge you, beloved in the Lord, to seek peace, imitating Christ, the lover of peace.

Upon receiving this letter, let two or three dignitaries from every monastery, together with the archimandrites, come unto us to the Christ-loving city of Edessa in order to rejoice in the peace of the church of God. However, if you become a cause of conflict, schism, or convulsion of the church of God after all what we have done to accomplish peace, you will appear before the throne of Christ for judgment. God forbid that such a thing will happen to you. May divine grace be with you all. Amen.

Jacob of Edessa copied these two letters by the request of the bishops before he became the bishop of Edessa. Afterwards, the bishops journeyed to Rish 'Ayna where they convened a council with Metropolitan Yubanon (John) of Takrit, and accomplished peace.

Chapter Fifteen: On the death of Mu'awiya, king (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs), and the division of the kingdom; and on the kingdom of the Romans, and the ordination of Athanasius as Patriarch of Antioch

In the year 992 of the Greeks (A.D. 681), which this is the year 63 of the Tayoye (Arabs), (i.e. Islamic Calendar), Mu'awiya passed away in Damascus, having ruled Syria for 21 years.¹⁷²⁶ Of these, 15 years were in the time of Uthman, and the remaining 6 years spent against Ali. The total of his rule was 21 years. He was succeeded by his son Yazid. Yazid ruled three years and six months. He died in the year 995 of the Greeks (A.D. 684). In this year, Mukhtar (Ibn Abi Ubayda) rebelled in Kufa, or Babylon. He was a charlatan, a cheat and a hypocrite. He claimed prophecy and revelation. Because the sons of Yazid were too young, dissension took place among the Hagerites (Arabs). The people of Yathrib (Madina) set up for them a caliph called Abd Allah (Abd Allah ibn al-Zubayr). The people of Damascus and Palestine set up one of Yazid's sons, hoping that he would govern when he reached the age of puberty. Those in Syria and Phoenicia followed Dahhak (Ibn Abi Qays). Thus, each quarter adhered to a certain person.

¹⁷²⁵ Cf. Psalm 137:1-4.

¹⁷²⁶ According to Arab sources, Mu'awiya died in A.D. 680. See Philip Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 193, and *The Chronicle of Elijah bar Shinaya*, 143. According to *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 146, Mu'awiya died in the year 677 A. D.

In the midst of this turmoil, a certain person named Marwan ibn al-Hakam, hailed from Yathrib to Damascus. He gathered the leaders and said to them, "O Qurayshites! Hear me, for I am older than all of you. I have come to reconcile the people of Yathrib with the people of Syria. It is, then, not fitting for the sons of our nation to fight one another, but should subjugate themselves to the person chosen by God. If you think it is acceptable, let us write down the names of three men on three arrows and hand them to a man who knows nothing about them to turn them around by his hand, and then throw one of them into the middle. The person whose name appears on the arrow will be set up as king (caliph). All of them agreed to the idea. The names were written and the lot fell on Marwan, and they set him up as their caliph. Marwan ruled for nine months and then died. The Tayoye (Arab) kingdom was divided into many factions.

While Abd al-Malik, son of Marwan, was proclaimed a caliph, a man, named Abd Allah (Ibn al-Zubayr), was set up a caliph in Babylon. A certain man, Ibn Hubab, rebelled in Rish 'Ayna and ruled it. Nisibin was ruled by a man named Burayda. Umar, son of Sa'id rebelled and controlled Damascus, and Zufar rebelled and controlled Ceresium. When Abd al-Malik saw that he was surrounded by trouble from every direction, and was greatly disturbed by the Marada (Mardaites) in Lebanon, he wanted to conclude peace with the Romans. Emperor Justinian (II Rhinot metus, 685-695) agreed, and peace was concluded for ten years on the condition that Justinian should evict the Mardaites from Lebanon and prevent the robbers from plundering the lands of the Tayoye (Arabs). In return, Abd al-Malik agreed to pay the Romans 1000 dirham, a mare, and a slave every day. One of the conditions stated that Cyprus would be under joint authority of the Romans and the Tayoye (Arabs), and that it should pay the poll tax to both of them. Armenia, Ghorzan, Arzen, and the northern part of Madi, that is Azarbayjan, were subject to the Romans. In the meantime, Justinian evicted the Mardaites from Lebanon and made them dwell in the country of the Romans. They numbered 12,000.¹⁷²⁷

Having insured peace with the Romans, Abd al-Malik began to fight those who rebelled against him one by one. He triumphed over them and captured their cities. Abd Allah ibn Zubayr fled but was pursued by Hajjaj (ibn Yusuf al-Thaqafi) to Makka at the house of prayer (the Ka'ba). Hajjaj set up mangonels, destroyed the wall surrounding the Ka'ba and killed ibn Zubayr, but then he rebuilt the wall.¹⁷²⁸

As to Justinian, he became arrogant and would not share the Tayoye (Arabs) authority in Cyprus, and so invaded the island in the seventh year of his reign. Abd al-Malik reproved him for violating the peace before the expiration of its period. Therefore, Muhammad, the amir (governor) of the Jazira, invaded the country of the Romans and fought them near Caesarea of Cappadocia. The Saqaliba (Slavs) joined the Tayoye (Arabs), and seven thousands of them accompanied them to Syria. The Tayoye (Arabs) stationed them in Antioch and Cyprus. They gave them wives to wed and provided them with food and provisions. In the year 1006 of the Greeks (A.D. 695), the Romans penetrated deeply into Antioch. The Tayoyo (Arab) army attacked them killing most of them and the rest fled.

In this time, Abd al-Malik gathered many canal diggers to make the shallow waters of a certain river flow abundantly. While they labored hard, Abd al-Malik passed away and nothing came out of the project.

In this period, a colossal comet appeared for eleven days. In addition, the winter was very severe with plenty of snow and ice. The River Euphrates and the lakes were frozen, the olive trees dried up in all quarters and the vineyards in some of them. Wine dried up in jars and people became terribly distressed. Cattle, animals, birds and many people perished because of the cold. Afterwards, a huge comet appeared at night for forty-one days. Other comets appeared for seven days beginning in September of the year 995 of the Greeks (A.D. 684). On September 22-23 of this year, the Arabs fought against each other ferociously for many days and thousands perished from both sides. It is said that the number of those killed was 40,000. The fight took place near the River Khazer in the country of Nineveh. Because of this fight, their power weakened and they humiliated each other. This was because of their arrogance and defilement.

¹⁷²⁷ For a thorough analysis of this subject, see Matti Moosa, *The Maronites in History* (Syracuse University Press, 1986, reprinted, Gorgias Press, 2005), entire Chapter 19, especially, pp. 180-186.

¹⁷²⁸ According to *The Chronicle of Elijah bar Shinaya*, 144, the Ka'ba was burned down.

For four years, Bar Mashqa pressured the bishops, from the year 991 to 995 of the Greeks (A.D. 680-684) in which he passed away. In this year, the council, previously mentioned, assembled in Rish 'Ayna and concord was achieved with the dissenting bishops. Athanasius, the commentator and disciple of Severus Sabukht, by whose effort Greek was taught at the Monastery of Qinnesrin, was ordained a patriarch. Athanasius spent his last days at the Monastery of Mor Malke. In the year 995 of the Greeks (A.D. 684), he was called to occupy the See of Antioch and assume the administration of the church.¹⁷²⁹

After Agathon, Yuhanon was ordained for Alexandria.

In this time was renowned Jacob the eloquent, known as Jacob of Edessa. He was later ordained as bishop of Edessa by Patriarch Athanasius the commentator known as Athanasius of Balad (d. 868).¹⁷³⁰

On Jacob of Edessa

Jacob was from the village of Ayndaba in the province of Antioch and the district of Gomya. In his youth, he studied under the pious Father Cyriacus (Quryaqos), the periodeutes (visiting cleric) of his province, the books of the Old and New Testaments and the books of the doctors of the church. Then, he went to the Monastery of Aphtonya (Qinnesrin) where he became a monk and studied the Psalms in the Greek language. He also studied the Scriptures according to the Greek text and became well versed in them. He journeyed to Alexandria where he remained for some time. After gaining a portion of philosophy, he returned to Syria and reached Edessa where he gained wide fame, and became known to everyone. Finally, he was ordained a bishop for the episcopal see of Edessa by Patriarch Athanasius the commentator (Athanasius II of Balad, d. 686). He spent four years suffering hardships from those who uncanonically prevented him from conducting the service, and from those he had evicted from the church of God. And when, for his zeal and fiery conscience, he could no longer endure (these men), he resigned his position, handed it to Patriarch Julian and departed with his two disciples Daniel and Constantine. Before he departed, however, he differed with the patriarch and the bishops over the observation of church canons. However, no one hearkened to him because all of them said that it was necessary to alleviate the observation of canons according to circumstances. Therefore, he burned in front of the monastery, where the patriarch was staying, a copy of the church canons saying, "I burn with fire these canons as superfluous which you trample under foot and heed not."¹⁷³¹

Afterwards, he went to stay at the Monastery of Mor Jacob in Kesum. He wrote two treatises, in one he criticized church leader; in the second he rebuked those who violated the canonical rules. At this time, Habib, an old amiable and meek man was ordained for Edessa, but the monks of the monastery of Eusebuna invited Jacob to come to their monastery and resume teaching the Greek language, which had been suspended. At this monastery, he taught eleven years and commented on the Scripture according to the Greek text. This caused the monks who hated the Greek language to rebel against him. He left with seven of his disciples for the Monastery of Tal'ada. Meanwhile, his pupil Constantine was ordained a bishop for Bithynia, but for some reason he did not join his see and was transferred to Homs. Mor Jacob remained at Tal'ada for nine years, adjusting the Old Testament. After the death of Habib, the zealous people of Edessa led by the elder Athanasius the great, appealed to the patriarch to send Jacob back to them. Jacob returned and administered his see for four months. He left, accompanied by his disciples, for the west (to the Monastery of Tal'ada) to collect his books. At this monastery, he collected his books and sent them back to Edessa, but suddenly passed away. He was buried in the monastery on June 5 of (708), and many miracles appeared on his grave.¹⁷³²

¹⁷²⁹ This is Athanasius of Balad (d. 686). Balad is called today Esi (Old) Mosul between Mosul and Baghdad in Iraq. For his biography and works, see Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, 331-333.

¹⁷³⁰ See previous footnote.

¹⁷³¹ See William Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature* (London, 1894), p. 142.

¹⁷³² For more on Jacob of Edessa, see Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, pp. 334-351.

Chapter Sixteen: On the period of the Roman King (Emperor) Justinian who was deposed; and on Athanasius Bar Gomaya who enjoyed the favor of Abd al-Malik, king (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs); and the events which took place in the church in this period because of the chief priests

Upon Constantine's death, he was succeeded by his son Justinian (Rhinotmetus, 685-695) who was arrogant. At the beginning of his reign, he concluded peace with the Tayoye (Arabs) and then annulled it, as we mentioned in the previous chapter. He afflicted the Romans with many evils to the extent that he almost annihilated all of the prominent leaders of the state. For this reason, they (the leaders) joined forces against him and seized him. They cut off his nose and cast him into prison. Then, a person named Leontius ruled in the year 1000 (more correctly 1007) of the Greeks (A.D. 695-696), and the year 77 of the Arabs, (i.e. Islamic calendar).

In this year Muhammad, amir of the Jazira, executed unjustly the chiefs Simon, son of Nonnus of Halouja, and Mardansha of Nisibin and his son.

In the year 1008 of the Greeks (A.D. 697), the Tayoye (Arabs) began to mint coins, *dinars*, *zuze* and *fulse* with inscriptions only, and no portraits.

In the year 1009 of the Greeks (A.D. 698), the amir Atiyya conducted a census of the strangers and expatriated a great number of them to their countries.

In the year 1010 of the Greeks (A.D. 699), Apsimoros came from Cilicia and drove away Leontius from the kingdom, did not kill him, but reigned in his stead. The plot against him was as follows:

This Apsimoros, who was known as Tiberius, was an army general. When the Slavs rebelled against the Romans, Leontius left them plundering, ravaging and playing havoc in the countries. Apsimoros attacked them, defeated them and subdued them. He became so strong that he revolted and drove away Leontius, saying, "As Justinian (II Rhinot metus) was deposed for his bad conduct, especially for plundering Cyprus and annulling the peace treaty with the Tayoye (Arabs), which caused the destruction of many Roman regions, thus Leontius, who was great and powerful but reverted to bad deeds, is deposed."¹⁷³³

Apsimoros dispatched an army to fight the Tayoye (Arabs). When the army reached Samosata, they killed five thousand Tayoye (Arabs). They pillaged, took captives and then withdrew. Meanwhile, Abd al-Malik, caliph of the Tayoye (Arabs), appointed two captains of the host, for Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia), Mosul, Armenia and Azarbayjan, and made Hajjaj a captain over the countries of Persia and the Tayoye (Arabs). One of these governors, Muhammad ibn Marwan, came to Edessa. The inhabitants admitted him to the city peacefully, and he settled in it. On the next year, Abd al-Malik sent Hajjaj to Iraq and Persia. He killed the Tayoye (Arab) leaders and plundered their homes without mercy. Muhammad ibn Marwan did the same thing in the region under his authority. He collected the Armenian chiefs in one of the churches of Armenia, set it on fire and burned them all. He also killed Anastasius, son of Andrea, the governor of Edessa, and pillaged his house. Despite all these things, the Christian nobles managed the public affairs of some cities.¹⁷³⁴

In the year 1014 of the Greeks (703), the amir Walid ibn Umar died and was succeeded by Harith ibn Ka'b, who was succeeded by Qura ibn Sahrik. Maslama ibn Abd al-Malik was appointed the amir of the region of Qinnessin.

In the year 1005 of the Greeks (A.D. 694), and the year 75 of the Tayoye (Arabs), i.e. Islamic Calendar), an eclipse of the sun took place from the third hour to the fourth hour of a Sunday in October. Dense darkness prevailed and the stars appeared.

In this same year, there was no rain anywhere and the prices of grains skyrocketed. The measurer for wheat was sold for three dinars. People ate the bread of lentils, chickpeas, oats and other grains.

In this period, Abd al-Malik (Ibn Marwan) ordered that crosses be removed and pigs be annihilated.

¹⁷³³ Apsimoros was known as Tiberius III, 698-705.

¹⁷³⁴ Bar Hebraeus says that the nobles managed the affairs of the kingdom of the Arabs. See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 104. Such a treatment of the Armenians is hardly mentioned by Islamic sources.

On Athanasius bar Gomaya

Athanasius, known as bar (son of) Gomaya, was from Edessa. He was intelligent, prudent and expert in church and profane teachings. When his fame spread all over, the Caliph Abd al-Malik heard of him and summoned him unto himself. Having realized that he was intelligent and erudite, he made him an instructor of his younger brother Abd al-Aziz, whom he appointed as governor of Egypt. In addition to the money Abd al-Malik paid him, Athanasius' children received one dinar from the pay of each soldier. In general, all of the countries of the Arab kingdom were placed under Athanasius' administration. The troops in Egypt numbered 30,000 and Athanasius received 30,000 dinars, not to mention the income of other things. In the twenty-one years he spent in Egypt, Athanasius became extremely wealthy. He possessed four thousand slaves, villages, mansions, gold and silver like stones. He was chaste and zealous in the faith. He had three shops in Edessa from whose revenue he commanded to be built a magnificent temple in the name of the Mother of God.¹⁷³⁵ In many places in Egypt, he built churches and monasteries. In the city of Fustat in Egypt, he built two great temples. He also built in Edessa a baptistery and placed in it the image of Christ, which had been sent by Abgar the king. He made a fountain of water like unto that which Bishop Amazonius had made in the old church of Edessa, and decorated it with gold, silver and marble sheets. The reason for the building of the baptistery was as follows: When the Edessans could not pay the whole tribute imposed on them, a certain swindler advised Muhammad, the tribute collector, that if he would take hold of the image (of Christ), the Edessans would be willing to sell their own children and even sacrifice their own lives than let him take it. When Muhammad carried out the advice of the swindler, the Edessans determined to pay everything they possessed, even receive death than lose the image. Finally, and as a result of being heavily pressured, they appealed to the leader Athanasius to pay five thousand dinars towards the amount of the tribute, and keep the image with him until they had paid him back the whole amount. Athanasius took the image joyfully and paid the amount of the tribute. Then he called a skillful artist and asked him to make a copy of the image. He did, and the copy was almost exactly like the original, but he darkened some parts of it make it look old. When the Edessans paid back the money, Athanasius gave them the copy of the image and kept the original. Sometime later, he revealed the truth to the Edessans, and built the splendid baptistery, for which he spent an incredible amount of money, all in honor of the image. Athanasius knew that the original image that had been delivered by the hand of Yuhanon the messenger ended up with him. A few years later, he placed the image in the baptistery.

The Patriarch Dionysius Tell Mahre who wrote down these things, added saying, "I have received information about these things from my maternal grandfather the presbyter Daniel, son of Samuel of Tur Abdin. I personally believe that the image is now held by the Chalcedonians in Edessa which came into their possession since the time of the Greek kings (emperors), and Athanasius bar Gomaya took it from them." This Athanasius was envied by Mansur, a Chalcedonian who was a syncellus of Abd al-Malik in Damascus. When the amir Abd al-Aziz passed away, Sergi son of Mansur accused Athanasius that, "Bar Gomaya has stolen the treasures of Egypt and taken them with him." When Athanasius appeared before Abd al-Malik, he welcomed him with kindness and said to him, "Athanas! We believe that the Christians have this much of wealth. Give us some of it." Athanasius gave him (a portion of it) until he was satisfied. Still, plenty of treasure remained with Athanasius.¹⁷³⁶

In the year 995 of the Greeks (A.D. 684), Athanasius the commentator known as Baladi, was set up as patriarch. After occupying the patriarchal throne for three years, he passed away in September 995 of the Greeks (A.D. 687). He had ordained Mor Jacob as bishop for Edessa. On his deathbed, he instructed Sergius of Zakunoyo, who considered himself a chief priest, to ordain Gewargi (George) a bishop for the Tayoye (Arab) tribes. He obeyed him in November. In the same month, Julian was set up as patriarch of Antioch. Julian and his father were in the army of David the Armenian, which was destroyed by Heraclius. Julian's father lived in the west and married a Syrian woman who gave birth to Julian. His father raised him

¹⁷³⁵ Bar Hebraeus says that this temple was built from the revenue of four hundred guest houses (inns) Athanasius had in Edessa. See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, pp. 104-105.

¹⁷³⁶ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 105.

up alongside him in the army. Then, his father brought him to the Monastery of Qinnesrin where he studied Greek and the Scriptures. He was called "Roman" because of his father. He fell in love with the monastic life and chastity and attained a high degree of perfection, excelling many of his companions. He was so handsome that it was said that he deserved the kingdom (to be an emperor).

In Alexandria after Agathon, Yuhanon became a patriarch, followed by Simon and then by Isaac.

In this time, Sergius Zakunoyo, George, bishop of the Tayoye (Arab tribes), and Jacob of Edessa became renowned for their knowledge. As to Patriarch Julian, he was opposed by some (bishops), and trouble stirred up in the church because of Denha, metropolitan of Takrit and other men from his district. They were Yuhanon of Cercesium, bishop of Beth Garmay, and Joseph, bishop of the Taghlibite (Arabs). These bishops wanted to ordain bishops without the permission of the patriarch, as had been the custom prior to the Council of Chalcedon. Julian disagreed and said, "things should be done as they were in the time of his predecessor." When his side gained more strength, the patriarch ejected Denha, bishop of Takrit from his see and set up another one in his place. He also deposed Joseph, bishop of the Tayoye (Arabs) and set up another one in his place. The blessed Julian solved these problems by the power of God and the help of the emperor, and peace prevailed in the church.

The ordination of bishops was performed by the patriarch according to the canons. The bishops were examined, and some of them, who were proficient in profane sciences, divine teachings and adorned with good spiritual conduct, were chosen to become chief priests.

Having administered the church for 21 years, Julian departed this life in 1091 of the Greeks (A.D. 708). In this year also, the malphono (doctor), the holy Jacob, bishop of Edessa passed away. When the monks of the monastery of Tal'ada sensed that his end was near, and that there was no hope for him to live, they hastened to carry back his books to their monastery before they would be taken across the opposite side of the Euphrates. *Here ends the account of these histories.*

Chapter Seventeen: On the return of Justinian after ten years of exile and assuming the kingdom for six more years; the death of Abd al- Malik, king (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs) and his successors; the Christian Tayoye (Arab) martyrs in this time

In the year 1015 of the Greeks, which is the 19th year of Abd al-Malik, king (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs), he dispatched Maslama to Mopsuestia and captured it. In that year the Tayoye (Arabs) of Kufa and Basra rebelled against Abd al-Malik and fought war against him. Also in that year, Justinian II (Rhinotmetus) escaped from exile and fled to Khagan (Khan), king of the Khazars, and then Khagan rejoiced in him and gave him his daughter as wife.¹⁷³⁷ Then Justinian sought the help of the Bulgarians, (obtained soldiers from them), and marched against Constantinople, Apsimoros fled. Justinian reigned again for six years, after living ten years in exile. He killed Leontius, Apsimoros, and many nobles, and sent others into exile. He divested the kingdom of learned men. He released six thousand Arab captives and sent them back to their countries. In addition, he sent a large army to bring his wife, but the soldiers perished at sea.

When Khagan heard these things, he sent a message rebuking him, saying, "You of little mind and understanding, wouldn't it have been better if you only sent a few soldiers? Did you think that I would have deprived you of her? Nay, and by the life of your craziness, I would have not done so. Send someone to take her back." When Justinian heard this, he was ashamed. He sent, and brought back his wife and his son Tiberius (III) and made him joint emperor.

In the year 1017 of the Greeks (A.D. 706), the Tayoye (Arabs) rebuilt Mopsuestia, which they had recently captured, fortified it with strong walls, and made it a garrison post on the Roman frontier. Abd al-Malik, king (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs), went there and passed away in it. Some are of the opinion that he was killed there. He was succeeded by his son Walid, the ninth caliph, who ruled for nine years and five months. He appointed Mirtat (Murad), son of Sharik as captain of the host of Qinnesrin. He also appointed Qura for Egypt. He sent an army with Maslama and invested Tauna (Adana), a town of Cappadocia. He

¹⁷³⁷ He gave him his sister as wife. She became a Christian and took the name of Theodora, the wife of Justinian I. See George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 125, and A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, 1, 194.

fought against it for nine months, and Justinian sent an army of Romans. However, when they engaged (with the Arabs in battle), they were defeated and about forty thousand of them perished. The Tayoye (Arabs) captured the city in the month of March, and pillaged and looted abundant wealth.

In the year 1021 of the Greeks (A.D. 710), the amir of the Jazira was removed and Maslama replaced him. In the year 1022 of the Greeks (A.D. 711), Maslama captured Turanda, Garguma, Tounada, and other cities in Cilicia on the Roman frontier. He placed a garrison in Tounada.¹⁷³⁸

In this same year, Philippicus (Bardanes, Vardan an Armenian) rebelled and killed Justinian, emperor of the Romans and his son Tiberius, and he himself reigned, A.D. 711-713.¹⁷³⁹

At this time, Walid, caliph of the Tayoye (Arabs), commanded that the Christian captives be killed, and they were killed inside all the churches of Syria.

Philippicus reigned in the year 1023 (A.D. 712, more correctly, 711). He was skillful in the profane sciences. He wanted to reject the Sixth Council and the dogma of Maximus of the two wills.¹⁷⁴⁰

In this year, Maslama, captain of the Tayoye (Arab) host, captured the city of Amasia and many other regions. Abbas ibn Walid captured Antioch of Pisidia and pillaged abundant booty.

After Philippicus reigned for two years and six months, he was rejected by the Romans who blinded his eyes. Anastasius (II) reigned for two years and five months.

In the year 1026 of the Greeks (A.D. 710), Walid, amir (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs) died and was succeeded by his brother Sulayman for two years and six months.

In this year, Sulayman entered the region of Galatia, captured its fortresses and returned with a large booty.

Anastasius sent an army to the western region, but the army rebelled against its leader and killed him. The Romans set up Theodosius (III 715-717) as king (emperor). Anastasius fled to Nicaea, and thus he was deposed and Theodosius reigned in his place.

In the year 1020 of the Greeks (A.D. 719), Iliyya (Elijah) from the Monastery of Gubba Baraya (The Outer Pit Monastery) was ordained as patriarch of Antioch in his own monastery. He was the bishop of the city of Apamea. After serving the episcopate for eight years, he was called to occupy the sublime throne of Antioch of Syria. He transferred Constantine, the disciple of Mor Jacob (of Edessa) from Homs to Edessa after the death of Mor Jacob. He ordained Daniel, who was also a disciple of the holy Mor Jacob, as bishop for Homs instead of Constantine.

In Alexandria after Isaac, Alexander became a patriarch. In this time David bishop of Germanicia (Mar'ash) passed away. He was a good and renowned learned man.

Patriarch Iliyya had an audience with Walid, the amir of the Tayoye (Arabs). Walid welcomed him and honored him greatly. This took place at Hasarta.

In this period, the Christian Tayoye (Arabs) received true martyrdom for the following reason: Muhammad, captain of the Tayoye (Arab) army, despite the countless evils and killing he perpetrated in Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia), further decided to convert the Christian Tayoye (Arabs) to Islam by force. He summoned the chief of the Taghlibite (Christian Arabs) named Maw'id, asked him to deny his religion and proclaim Islam. Maw'id refused to recant, and Muhammad had him cast into a pit filled with mud. After a time, he had him pulled out of the pit and tried to delude him (to accept Islam). When he refused, he had him murdered, and ordered he should not be buried. The body (of Maw'id) remained cast on top of a dung hill, but it did not stink, and no carnivorous animals fed on it. Eustathius of Dara asked for his body, took it and built on it a monastery.

Walid said to the Taghlibite Sham'ala, the confessor, "Inasmuch as you are a chief of the Tayoye (Arabs), you disgrace all of them when you worship the cross. Therefore, do what I will and become a Muslim." The blessed Sham'ala said, "Your whole kingdom is nothing but dust compared to what Christ

¹⁷³⁸ This must be al-Tuwana of al-Baladhuri. See Ahmad ibn Yahya al-Baladhuri, *Kitab Futuh al-Buldan*, 1, ed. Salah al-Din al-Munajjid (Cairo: 1956):190.

¹⁷³⁹ See Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 127, and A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, 1, 194.

¹⁷⁴⁰ Cf. Ostrogorsky, *Ibid.* 153, and A. A. Vasiliev, *Ibid.* 230.

had promised us. I am chief of all the Tayoye (Arabs) of Taghlib, I am afraid lest I become the cause of the destruction of all of them. If I deny Christ, they will deny him also." When Walid heard these words, he commanded that he be dragged outside face downward. He swore that he would have him eat his own flesh, but the noble Sham'ala remained resolute. Walid ordered a piece of his thigh cut off, roasted on fire and shoved into his mouth. Even so, he kept living, and the wound was still shown on the body of this true martyr.

In this time, the Chalcedonians of Constantinople made Germanicus, bishop of Cyzicus, their own bishop. Shortly afterwards, however, they deposed him when they discovered that he was of the heresy of Mani. Others defended him and considered that he had been wronged. All this happened because of the confusion of the Chalcedonians and their demonic jealousy.

In the year 1016 of the Greeks (A.D. 705), plague spread and one third of the inhabitants of the earth perished because of it. In the next year, a severe earthquake took place and the village of Sarin and many other places were destroyed. In April of this year, there was severe cold that caused olive trees and vineyards to dry up.

In this same year, fierce fighting ensued between the western Tayoye (Arabs) and the eastern Tayoye (Arabs) on the banks of the Tigris River, and the eastern Arabs were defeated.

In July of the year 1019 of the Greeks (A.D. 708), a marvelous phenomenon took place. Meteors were seen shooting constantly at night in the sky from south to north, a thing which had not been heard of for generations. The holy fathers, especially Jacob of Edessa and Moses bar Kipha (d. 903) wrote about this phenomenon saying, "What would natural scientists say who senselessly claim that they (the meteors) are only dense air, and that when it rises it collides with fire and burns?" Now, one should ask them, "Where does all this dense air rise from, and where it was hiding?" However, as they could not answer, they said that the Lord does what he wills. The analysts of this phenomenon said that these meteors symbolized the Tayoye (Arabs) who had at this time invaded the countries of the north killing, burning and devastating them and their inhabitants.

In this time Walid, amir (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs), commanded that sorcerers be killed. They (Arabs) tied them to pieces of wood and cast them into the water. Those who floated were killed (by the Arabs), and those who sank died (were saved from torture).

In the year 1022 of the Greeks (A.D. 711), Walid commanded that public accounts should not be written in Greek but only in Arabic, for until this time, all public accounts were written in Greek.¹⁷⁴¹ Now Walid hated the Christians, and destroyed their churches. The first church he destroyed was the Great Church at Damascus, and built a mosque on its site. He did the same in many other places.¹⁷⁴²

On February 28, 1024 of the Greeks (A.D. 713), a severe earthquake took place that destroyed many places in the districts of Antioch, Aleppo and Qinnasrin, especially the churches and temples. In this year, the plague spread. In May of this year, an incredible number of locusts swarmed; also, a hurricane uprooted the trees and destroyed the buildings. In April of the year 1025 of the Greeks (A.D. 714), there was a severe, freezing cold, which made the leaves of the trees and vines wither and fall off.

In this period, Philippicus, king (emperor) of the Romans, evicted the Armenians from the regions under his authority. They found refuge with the Tayoye (Arabs) who stationed them in Melitene, which was the fourth Armenia. They multiplied in these regions and allied themselves to the Tayoye (Arabs) against the Romans. This indicated the maladministration of the Romans who were given to a reprobate mind, filled with lack of understanding all because of their hatred of the Orthodox. *End of the narrative.*

Remark¹⁷⁴³

Let it be known to those who might read this book with good spirit, appreciation of the labor of writing it, and affection for knowledge, that it has been laboriously gathered and methodically arranged,

¹⁷⁴¹ *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, 524.

¹⁷⁴² *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, 524.

¹⁷⁴³ Found on page 453 of the Edessa-Aleppo Syriac Codex.

from the books of trustworthy historians, most of which are found in this our book. It is especially derived from the histories of our Father Mor Jacob of Edessa, whose entire history has been incorporated here. For he had systematically configured the festivals and computation of the years from Adam, that is, from the beginning of the temporal world to this time. We have incorporated here his entire history together with the indispensable parts, with the help of the one who is sought by everyone.

However, here ends the history of the holy (Jacob of Edessa), whose labors have ended at this time, as he was transported to everlasting life. After him, we find no one who was more engaged in such configuration and computation of years displaying the passing of generations. Like a pillar set up in the middle of the house, and from every direction it is known that the roof of the house stands firm because of it, likewise, these configurations and the computation of years fixed in the middle of the chapters of this book, display, as in a picture, the image of every epoch and the significance of events, and when, where and how they took place. Here is the reason that awakened my simplicity. For where the holy (Jacob of Edessa) ended, there Mor Mikha'il (Michael) began. He appealed to be aided by divine grace, which is abundant in all and for all, to enable him to finish what is left, the same way he had compiled and written from the beginning until now.

Therefore, anyone who reads (this book) should know that where the blessed Jacob ended his configuration and computation of the years or, in the year 1021 of the Greeks (A.D. 710), there began the Patriarch Michael. He did record and compute the number of years from the year 1022 (A.D. 711) until the year 1506 (A.D. 1195), a total of 484 years during which these things were written.

Let anyone who loves accuracy investigate this matter. He will notice that although the blessed Jacob departed this life in the year 1019 of the Greeks (A.D. 708), yet we have said that the years are written down in the chronological table until the year 1021 of the Greeks (A.D. 710). One can assume that, after his death, one of Jacob's pupils recorded the numbers of these two years and added them to the work of the deceased Jacob, or, the date of his death in 1019 (A.D. 708) is inaccurate.

He who reads (this book) let him pray for those who participated in it, especially the weak and sinful Michael and his parents. (Michael here is Michael of Urbish who transcribed this book).

Chapter Eighteen: On the second siege of Constantinople by the Arabs; and the story of the founding of Byzantium related at the beginning of the history of Dionysius (Tell Mahre) which also contains a chapter on church affairs in this period

In the year 1026 of the Greeks (A.D. 715), after the death of Walid, king (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs) and Sulayman's rise to power, Maslama invaded the country of the Turks.¹⁷⁴⁴ He captured abundant spoils and returned. In the year 1027 of the Greeks (A.D. 716), Maslama went to the country of Asia and captured Pergamum, Sardis¹⁷⁴⁵ and other regions, spoiled them and then returned. In the same year, Sulayman urged Maslama to go against Constantinople. Maslama assembled 200,000 soldiers and 5,000 ships for the transportation of men and provisions. He collected 12,000 beasts,¹⁷⁴⁶ six thousand camels and six thousand asses to carry provisions for the camels and fodder for the mules. The camels were loaded with arms and the equipment of the mangonels (engines of war), and made ready sufficient food for them for several years. He appointed over them a captain, Umar ibn Hubayra. Sulayman swore that he would never quit fighting against Constantinople until he seized it or ruined the land of the Tayoye (Arabs). With them went 30,000 men called Mutawa'yin (volunteer warriors). They were divided into two divisions; one went by sea and the other by land. When they entered the country of the Romans, they began to burn down the churches and shed blood. In just one location, they slaughtered 6,000 men. Meanwhile, dissension took place among the Romans who turned against their king (emperor) Theodosius. Now Leo, the captain of the Roman host, was with Theodosius. When the Tayoye (Arab) army reached the city of Amorium, Leo met with them and promised to help them capture the city. In return, Maslama promised Leo that when he

¹⁷⁴⁴ *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 159-160, and *The Chronicle of Elijah bar Shinaya*, 156.

¹⁷⁴⁵ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 107 says it was Rhodes. He is right. See Philip Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 212.

¹⁷⁴⁶ Bar Hebraeus says twelve thousand artisans. See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 107.

seized Constantinople, he would make him the king (emperor) of the Romans; Leo returned to Constantinople. Meanwhile, the Tayoye (Arabs) captured one city after the other and pledged the inhabitants' safety. Then, King (Caliph) Sulayman came marching with 12,000 warriors and laid siege against Chalcedon in order to prevent provisions from reaching Constantinople. When Theodosius learned of Leo's pledge to Maslama, he shut up Leo's family in prison (in Amorium), and ordered his men to guard them strictly. When Leo learned of this, he went to Sulayman asking him to provide him with 6,000 warriors. He besieged Amorium, and its inhabitants were afraid of him. However, when he drew near the wall of the city, Leo told them upon oath that his deal with the Tayoye (Arabs) was fraudulent. (They believed him) and handed him the members of his family. He dismissed the Tayoye(Arab) warriors after giving each one of them twelve dinars. He went up with some Romans to Constantinople. The Roman soldiers met him and were pleased with him, set him up as their emperor, and delivered into his hand the son of Theodosius. Leo entered Constantinople and Theodosius left the city. He received the tonsure and became a cleric.

Leo reigned in the year 1028 of the Greeks (A.D. 717), which is the year 98 of the Tayoye (Arabs Islamic calendar). When Maslama learned that Leo had reigned, he rejoiced thinking that he would deliver the city (Constantinople) to him. However, Leo frustrated him, and began to fortify the city and store provisions in it. When Maslama learned that Leo had deceived him, he crossed the sea with his army and ships and encamped on the other side of Constantinople. He was with 4000 men in the rear when the Bulgarian whom Leo had hired, attacked him and killed many of his men. Maslama himself escaped with great difficulty and reached the Great Camp that was pitched on the western side of Constantinople, opposite of the Golden Gate. He dug in the back a trench for his troops between his camp and the city opposite the towers. The Tayoye (Arabs) were surrounded by the sea on the right, and on the left side where their ships had docked; they were boarded by 10,000 men and Egyptian sailors who were set up to guard the ships against the Romans. Maslama stationed 20,000 men between him and the towers, and another 20,000 stationed on the side opposite of Syria. The battle ensued between the Tayoye (Arabs) and the citizens (of Constantinople), as well as those who were in the towers, and between the ships in the sea. On the other side were the Roman Sicilians who made it difficult for the Tayoye (Arabs) to come out in a group of less than 2,000 men if it was necessary. Then, the Bulgarians rushed upon the Tayoye (Arabs) and killed many of them. Indeed, the Tayoye (Arabs) feared the Bulgarians more than they feared the citizens inside the city. Meanwhile, winter came upon them and they were afraid to escape. First, they feared their king (caliph), second, they feared the sea, and third, they feared the Bulgarians. The shadow of death appeared before their eyes, but Maslama kept deceiving them saying that gifts were coming for them from the king (caliph). Meanwhile, the Tayoye (Arabs) suffered greater tribulation from the outside than from the Romans on the inside. They were so afflicted with hunger that they ate the bodies of the dead, and even their own refuse. Some of them even ate each other. The measure of wheat brought sixteen dinars. Meanwhile, the Tayoye (Arabs) searched for soft stones, which they chewed with pleasure. They even ate the bitumen of the ships.

While the Tayoye (Arabs) were thus greatly suffering, their amir (caliph) Sulayman died after reigning for two and a half years. He was succeeded by Umar¹⁷⁴⁷ who tried to rescue his people from the Romans. He sent a messenger to investigate their condition, but Maslama provided him with false report. He addressed letters (to the caliph) saying that his fighting men were in good shape, and that the city (Constantinople) would soon fall into his hands. When the messenger learned that Maslama had provided false information, he asked him to send with him an army contingent, but the contingent could not leave because of the wintry condition. Furthermore, Maslama did not tell the army of the death of Sulayman. Nonetheless, the Romans who were on the wall shouted to the Tayoye (Arabs), saying, "Your king (caliph) is dead." Upon hearing this, the Tayoye (Arabs) were frightened. In the meanwhile, the caliph's messenger came with an order to Maslama to retreat. Another order was sent to the army to leave in case they disobeyed Maslama if he refused to retreat. When Maslama tried to hide the order, the men clamored against him, but consequently, both sides rejoiced.¹⁷⁴⁸

¹⁷⁴⁷ He is Umar II ibn Abd al-Aziz 717-720.

¹⁷⁴⁸ Cf. *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, translated by Cyril Mango and Roger Scott, 550, and Philip Hitti, *History of the Arabs*,

As to Umar, king (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs), he bought 2000 horses and mules, and sent ten dinars to each one of the men as subsistence money for their safety. He¹⁷⁴⁹ was greatly grieved over their condition. Then, when the Arabs began to retreat, the Romans rushed upon them, killed many of them and burned their ships by fire. Consequently, a great number of Tayoye (Arabs) perished by sea storms. The city (Constantinople) was saved.

The Founding of Byzantium, known today as the City of Constantinople

In ancient times, the kingdom of the Romans was ruled by many kings (emperors). One ruled Italy, another ruled Macedonia, and still another ruled Thrace. Byzos was the ruler of Asia and Thrace. He wanted to build a capital for himself in a fortified location. He summoned an expert artisan and commissioned him to search for a suitable place for the new capital. The artisan explored many places but did not succeed in finding the right one. He became tired of searching and was greatly distressed. He threw himself to the ground to find some rest. He picked up a stick and a string and wrapped them with his red garment. He placed them next to him and slept. Behold, a hungry eagle was soaring in the sky. He eyed the red garment and thought it was a piece of meat. He dived down and snatched it. Because of his great force, his claws sank deeply into it. The artisan woke up at the sound of the eagle's wings that had snatched the garment and soared high with it for fear of the man, and perched in some place. Then, he released his claws from the garment and flew off. The artisan went to the place where the eagle had perched, and found the garment and the stick over which it was wrapped. The artisan continued his sleeping on that spot. In a dream, he saw a person saying, "Plan the city here." When he woke up, he marveled at the dream. He began to walk through the place and contemplate it. He found it to be suitable for living and in accordance with the king's desire for its spaciousness and impregnability. It was surrounded by sea on three sides, which contained sweet water in abundance. He went to the king and informed him about the location. The king was pleased and said that the choosing of the spot was done by God, and then he went to see it. When he saw the location, he commanded the city to be planned on it. The length of the location was ten miles and its width was from sea to sea. The artisans began to build the city, but before the building was completed, Byzos died and his brother Antos reigned instead of him. Antos was concerned about the city's building and its ornamentalations. The city was called Byzantium, which a compound name of Byzos and his brother. In the time of Alexander, all the Roman countries were subject to the authority of one person.

When the believing Constantine (the Great) reigned and defeated the tyrants who opposed him, he, likewise, desired to build a city worthy of his kingdom. He saw that Rome, although large and fortified, was too far from the Roman provinces. Then Byzantium was suitable more than any other location; he ordered it to be expanded two more miles toward the west in order that its length would measure twelve miles. He completed its rebuilding and decorated it with many ornaments. The city was built on seven hills, and between two of those hills was a harbor for ships having two fortified towers. From one tower to the other an iron chain was laid down to prevent the ships from coming in and going out without permission. The city was surrounded by sea on three sides, and on the western side was land. Constantine also had a colossal wall, a distance from it called *Macrontikos*, that is, the long wall to connect between the two seas. A spacious length of land extended between the wall and the city. The width of the city from sea to sea on the eastern side was four miles, and the depth of the sea there was unfathomable. The city of Byzantium was founded in the twelfth year of Manasseh.¹⁷⁵⁰ After year 970, it was rebuilt by Constantine who called it Constantinople after his name.

Up to this point, we have recorded in our book, written in our language, (the Syriac language), the names of the chief priests who were set up in the four holy Sees of Rome, Alexandria, Constantinople and Antioch. We derived their names from nations and sources in the Roman and Greek languages, although their authors are Chalcedonians. From here onward, my book will have no names of the Chalcedonian

202-204 and 212.

¹⁷⁴⁹ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 108, says that Umar send 20,000 equestrians to them (the troops).

¹⁷⁵⁰ The thirteenth king of Judah who reigned in the first half of the eighth century B.C.

bishops who were set up in the Sees of Rome or Constantinople. It will be restricted to the names of the bishops who were set up in the Sees of Alexandria and Antioch because they were Syrian or Coptic Orthodox for two reasons: First, is due to the expansion of the kingdom of the Tayoye (Arabs) into Syria and Egypt where Syrians and Copts lived. Furthermore, there was no need or benefit from searching the Chalcedonian chief priests who hated and persecuted the Orthodox. Second, is that the Chalcedonians were greatly corrupted by the heresies which afflicted them as we have previously explained, and will further explain. Our Fathers and the holy historians of the church realized that, by holding two natures, two wills, two substances, two operations and two Christs instead of one Christ, the Chalcedonians had greatly augmented their corruption. Thus, they completely overlooked them and never used their language or book as they did earlier. Furthermore, no Orthodox educated men remained in their districts. These then, are the reasons for not putting down the names of their chief priests in our histories, except for sporadic occasions here and there according to necessity. We will, by the help of God, collect from their books what is suitable for a testimony. We will be concerned, indeed, we have determined to interpret their writings correctly as much as possible, and to the extent which will enable our weakness to collect and put down chronologically in this book the facts that had been confirmed and attested to by many trustworthy writers.

Chapter Nineteen: On Umar, king (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs) who hated the Christians, and his unexpected death; and on Yazid who succeeded him; on Leo, king (emperor) of the Romans, and the entrance of Mor Iliyya (Elijah) into Antioch and his death; and on the ordination of Athanasius

Since he began to reign, Umar (Ibn Abd al-Aziz, 717-720) mistreated the Christians for two reasons: first, his intention to magnify the Islamic Shari'a (law), and second, for the failure of the Tayoye (Arabs) to capture Constantinople, that a great number of them perished. This stirred up his hatred of the Christians whom he antagonized in different ways. He was jealous for the spreading of their teachings believing that he feared God and shunned evil. Yet, he tightened the grip on the Christians to force them to embrace Islam. He issued a decree exempting from the jizya (poll tax) every Christian who converted to Islam. He also resolved that the testimony of a Christian against a Muslim (in a court of law) would not be accepted, nor should a Christian assume an office in the state. Moreover, he forbade Christians from raising their voices in prayer or ring a church bell, or from wearing garments of green color. He also forbade them from riding saddled horses. Furthermore, he decreed that if a Tayoyo (Arab, Muslim) killed a Christian, he should not be charged with murder but only pay blood money amounting to five thousand dirhams. He also forbade the offering of vows to the monasteries and churches. He even confiscated parts of the revenues of the churches and the monasteries, and of the poor. He commanded that Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims) should not drink wine or other drink.¹⁷⁵¹

In the year 1034 of the Greeks (A.D. 723), in the month of February, Umar died. He was succeeded by Yazid (the son of Abd al-Malik) who ruled for four years.¹⁷⁵²

In the region of Qinnasrin there were set up as chiefs: Mirtat after Forwart followed by Nadir, then Nadir, followed by Muhammad, who was followed by Laith.

A Tayoye (Arab) man from Hira named Yazid ibn Muhallab, rebelled against Yazid, and attracted the people of Hira, Kufa, Basra and the country of Persia. Yazid ibn Abd al-Malik dispatched an army from the west, from the Jazira and Mosul and engaged him in a battle west of Babylon. Muhallab was defeated and killed, and his followers scattered.¹⁷⁵³

Yazid, (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs), commanded that the images or pictures of every living being, people or animals, be obliterated from the temples, walls, wooden panels, stones and books.¹⁷⁵⁴

¹⁷⁵¹ For some of Umar's mistreatment of the Christians, see *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, translated by Cyril Mango and Roger Scott (1997), 550.

¹⁷⁵² *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 155, and *The Chronicle of Elijah bar Shinaya*, 154.

¹⁷⁵³ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 109.

¹⁷⁵⁴ Bar Hebraeus adds that they took down the images of the saints and the kings from the churches and houses. See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 109.

In this time, the Tayoye (Arabs) captured the strong fortress of Shayzar in Cilicia.

In this period, Leo, the Roman emperor, stirred up persecution against those who lived in his country but did not hold his same belief (meaning those who did not agree with the Council of Chalcedon).¹⁷⁵⁵ Many of them fled to the country of the Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims). Some Jews embraced Christianity, were baptized and called "neophytes," or "the new citizens."

In the year 1037 of the Greeks (A.D. 726), Yazid died having reigned four years and a half. He was succeeded by Hisham, the thirteenth in number of the caliphs, who ruled for nineteen years. No sooner had he become a caliph than he began to overburden the people with excessive taxes. He made canals for the water to flow from the Euphrates River above Callinicus (al-Raqqa) to irrigate the crops and plantations. The income derived from them was more than all the tribute and taxes collected from his dominions.

In this year, the Tayoye (Arabs) attacked Neocaesarea in Pontus, and destroyed it. In this year, they also invaded the land of the Turks led by Jarrah (Ibn Abd Allah), captain of the host.¹⁷⁵⁶ They seized one great city, and gained abundant spoils, then departed.

As we have previously said, Patriarch Julian was succeeded by Iliyya (Elijah), who was the bishop of Apamea.

In the first year of Yazid, which is 1034 of the Greeks (A.D. 723), Patriarch Iliyya entered the city of Antioch with honor accompanied by monks and bishops. He consecrated there a new church, which was built by his effort. This event took place 230 years since the Patriarch Mor Severus had departed it. During this period, not one of our Orthodox patriarchs had entered it until Mor Iliyya, who entered it in the time of the Tayoye (Arabs).

In the next year, 1035 of the Greeks (A.D. 724), the holy Mor Iliyya consecrated another church in the village of Sarmada Uluna in the province of Antioch. He suffered much from the wicked and heretic Chalcedonian inhabitants. In this year, Patriarch Iliyya died and was buried in his Monastery (Gubba Baraya). He died on October 27, having served the episcopate for fourteen years and the patriarchate for fourteen years. He lived 82 years. May his memory be a blessing.

In the year 1036 of the Greeks (A.D. 725), Mor Athanasius was ordained as patriarch for the See of Antioch. He was the abbot of the Monastery of Gubba Baraya. In February of this year, died our Father Gewargi (George), bishop of the Tayoye (Arab) tribes. In addition, in the year 1037 of the Greeks (A.D. 726), Patriarch Mor Athanasius, achieved a unity with the Armenians by the effort of Iyawannis.

In the year 1029 of the Greeks (A.D. 718), a severe earthquake took place. Then, in the year 1031 (A.D. 720), locusts swarmed during the crop season and devoured the grape vines, figs and olives. As a result, wine became scarce.

In this time, a Syrian man from the district of Mardin deceived the Jews, claiming to be the Christ. To other people, he said he was an apostle sent by Christ. He collected large amounts of money, but then he was arrested by the governor, and confessed his crime.

In the year 1032 (A.D. 721), water fountains dried up because of the scarcity of rain and snow, and in many places, people were in terrible distress. They had to walk as far as seven miles or more to draw water. Some places were desolate of people, and crops were extremely scarce. These events took place in the months of August and September. In April of the next year, swarms of locust devoured the crops. Provisions became scarce which afflicted both people and beasts.

In the year 1036 of the Greeks (A.D. 725), plague broke out in many localities, especially in Beth Nahrin, and many people died.

At this time Leo III (717-741), emperor of the Romans, following the example of the Tayoye (Arab) caliph (Umar ibn Abd al-Aziz), had the images removed from the walls and wooden panels. He also took down the images and pictures of the saints and kings that hung in the churches and in homes.¹⁷⁵⁷ This action caused a vehement sedition in the kingdom, and many opposed the emperor openly. *End of the narrative.*

¹⁷⁵⁵ See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 109.

¹⁷⁵⁶ *The Chronicle of Elijah bar Shinaya*, 154.

¹⁷⁵⁷ The reference here is to the Iconoclast Controversy. See Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 138-147, and A. A. Vasiliev,

Chapter Twenty: On the union made by Patriarch Athanasius (III) with Iyawannis (John IV Odznetzi), catholicos of the Armenians; the spread of the heresy of Maximus, and the abrogation of the phrase "You who was crucified for us" from the Trisagion in this period.

We have formerly discussed the heresy of Maximus (of two wills in Christ) and how Constantine (IV Pogonatus, 668-685) introduced it into the church of the Romans (Byzantines) after it had been obliterated by his father. Now we want to discuss the rift, which took place between them (the Chalcedonians in 727) on account of this heresy (two wills) which led to the abolition of the phrase, "You who was crucified for us." This heresy was maintained in the land of the Romans since the time of Constantine (Pogonatus) but was not at all known in Syria. Now, (the year 727) it was planted by the captives and plunderers who accompanied the Tayoye (Arab) armies and lived in Syria. Those who were corrupted by this heresy were the inhabitants of the metropolises, their bishops and leaders of whom was Sergius, son of Mansur, (perhaps father of St. John of Damascus). Sergius harassed the believers (anti-Chalcedonians) in Damascus and Homs not only to drop the phrase "You who was crucified for us" from the Trisagion, but also coaxed many of us (anti-Chalcedonians) to accept his heresy. Also, corrupted by this heresy, were the Sees of Jerusalem, Antioch and Edessa and the Sees in other cities since the time of King (Emperor) Heraclius. However, the monks of Beth Marun (the Monastery of Marun), their bishops and a few other people did not accept this doctrine (two wills), but all the inhabitants of the cities and the bishops accepted it. Many quarrels and anathemas took place because of it. The Chalcedonian followers of the Monastery of Marun reviled the followers of Maximus by calling them Nestorians, heathens and Jews, telling them that, "You do not confess that Christ is God, that he was born of a Virgin and that he was crucified and suffered in his body. However, you say that he was a simple man and a special person who was separate and remote from God, that he feared death. For this reason he cried, 'Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me: nevertheless not as I will, but as you will,' as if there were two wills, one for the Father and one for the Son, that there were in Christ two divided and separate wills opposing each other." The followers of Maximus reviled the followers of Marun (the monks of the Monastery of Marun) saying, "You do not confess the same faith of Chalcedon and the *Tome* of Leo, that you do not believe that in Christ there are two independent natures with their properties and operations preserved. For if there were two natures in Christ, it follows that there should also be in him two independent wills and operations. But, you confess the doctrine of Cyril (of Alexandria) and Severus (of Antioch) who maintained that in Christ there was one person and one nature, and that one is his operation, power and authority." They also called them Severians, Jacobites, and Theopaschites.¹⁷⁵⁸ These (the monks of the Monastery of Marun and their followers) soundly answered those (the followers of Maximus) saying, "If Christ is known in two natures, with their properties and actions preserved, as is stated in the *Tome* of Leo and the decision of the Council of Chalcedon, it is imperative also to believe in two wills, two operations, two persons, nay, also two Sons and two Christs." In all fairness, these two groups should not have assailed each other because both of them held identical faith, the faith of Leo and the Council of Chalcedon.¹⁷⁵⁹

The congregation of Aleppo split into two hostile groups: one followed their bishop who held the same belief as that of the Maronites; the other joined the followers of Maximus. The fight of these two groups was over the possession of the great cathedral, which was built by Acacius, bishop of Aleppo. Many times, they beat each other in the church. When the governor witnessed the altercation, he ordered that each group should have one-half of the church: the eastern part went to the bishop and the followers of Marun, the western part went to the followers of Maximus. A wooden partition was erected in the middle of the church, and a wooden altar was also set up in the western part. However, the altercations continued between the two groups. At the time of conducting the service and offering the oblation, the members of each group raised their voices in order to disturb the other. Many times, they threw away the oblations of

History of the Byzantine Empire, 1, 251-259.

¹⁷⁵⁸ Those who attribute suffering to God.

¹⁷⁵⁹ See Matti Moosa, *The Maronites in History* (Syracuse University Press, 1986, reprinted Gorgias Press, 2005), 101-102.

each other and broke their crosses, nay, they without shame held the beard of the bishop and spat in his face. Even their women dared enter the sanctuary and drag the priests outside the church. When the governor realized that the partition of the church did not stop the altercations, he ordered that the partition in the middle of the church be removed and the entire congregation become subject to the bishop. He threatened those who disobeyed his orders to be punished and their heads and beards shaved off. Still, many did not obey and were tortured and their beards were shaved off. Then he ordered that the Eucharist should be celebrated every day by two priests: one from each group and offer it to his own congregation. The two groups agreed to this arrangement. In fact, they did what had never been done before, as two priests celebrated the Eucharist together on the same altar with two cups and two patens. However, to avoid the one from striking the other, the governor placed Muslim men at the sanctuary carrying whips. They sat there until the service ended. Finally, the people of Aleppo were ashamed of the indecorous behavior of the two groups. They evicted them from the church and became followers of Maximus.¹⁷⁶⁰

Weep, O Mountain of Sasson for the faith of Gregorius the Parthian held by the Armenians, as they say. Although it is the same faith that we (the Syrian Orthodox) hold, yet because of the customs they practiced, or because of negligence that spoils everything, neither they nor we were concerned, after the rift caused at Chalcedon, about the differences between them and us. The monks of Bar Aigore¹⁷⁶¹ in the district of Miyafarqat lived in the neighborhood of the said mountain. Every time a bishop of the mountain passed away, they went to see the catholicos of the Armenians¹⁷⁶² saying, "We are of the faith of Gregorius and no one in the Jazira is of this faith of the Armenians except our monastery." The catholicos believed them and ordained for them the bishop who they presented as their candidate. He also addressed a letter to the Sassonians who accepted the bishop because of their ignorance.

At this time, a presbyter from Miyafarqat named Bar Hadh Bshabo went to Hayyan of Tanukh. Both of them addressed a letter to the Catholicos Iyawannis (John Odznetsi), saying, "The monks of Bar Aigore oppose the Orthodox faith because they are followers of Julian the Phantasiast. Iyawannis was disturbed and astonished at the audacity of these men. He addressed a letter to the Patriarch Athanasius (III) asking him to define his faith. He also urged him to work for the union of the Syrians and the Armenians. Several letters were exchanged between the patriarch and the catholicos, and the presbyter (Bar Hadh Bshabo) was never tired of delivering the letters of the patriarch to the catholicos and to Gabriel, the bishop of the Sassonians. Gabriel, who was the archimandrite of the Sassonians' monastery, duped the Armenians into believing that the Syrians held that the body of Christ is susceptible to corruption as Severus (of Antioch) and Jacob (Baradaeus) confessed. Because of this, the Armenians were shocked and began to entertain doubt, for they knew only one kind of corruption. After the great toil the presbyter exerted, God moved the hearts of the patriarch and the catholicos to assemble a council. But, when they agreed that the council should convene in Arzen, the captain of the Armenian host delayed them from leaving for Arzen. However, the patriarch chose six bishops and dispatched them to the catholicos. When they arrived, the catholicos rejoiced and summoned his bishops to the meeting. Gabriel was also summoned to the meeting, and the bishops began their deliberation. When they found out that Gabriel was a disciple of Julian the Phantasiast, they asked him to anathematize him, but he declined to do so. They tore up his stole and expelled him according to their custom. As the Armenian and the Syrian bishops continued their deliberation of the term "corruption," the wicked Gabriel had already planted in the ears of the Armenian bishops the idea that the Syrians maintained that the body of our Lord is corruptible. Since they knew of no other corruption except that which occurs to the body when the soul departs it, they were distressed and resentful. The Syrian

¹⁷⁶⁰ Matti Moosa, *The Maronites in History*, 102.

¹⁷⁶¹ It is most likely that the term *aigore* is the plural of the Syriac *aigore* meaning roof of a house. These Armenian monks were called so because they worshipped demons on the flat roofs of their monastery, and supposed that demons had influence at the beginning and end of a month. In other word, they were demoniacs. See *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary* of R. Payne Smith, ed. by J. Payne Smith (Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1903), 3.

¹⁷⁶² This Armenian Catholicos is John IV Odznetsi, the philosopher. See *Chronique de Michel le Grand; Patriarche des Syriens Jacobites; traduite par la premier fois sur la version Armenienne du pretre Ischok par Victor Langlois* (Venice: Mekhitarist Publishing House, 1868), 253 and footnote 11.

bishops, however, presented to them proof from the holy books and from nature, but they were not satisfied. They only wanted testimonies from the Old and the New Testaments showing the corruptibility of the Lord's body. However, the catholicos, who was well versed in the Scriptures, desired meticulously to have the union achieved through his good offices. Meanwhile, the bishops presented the words of St. Paul in Acts saying that, "The fact that God raised him (Christ) from the dead, never to decay,"¹⁷⁶³ indicated that corruption occurred to his (Christ) body once before, and that it would not be corrupted again because he resurrected with an impassible and incorruptible body. We expect this same when "The Lord Christ will transform our lowly bodies so that they will be like his glorious body."¹⁷⁶⁴ When they brought the Acts of the Apostles in the Armenian language, they found that this passage was exactly the same as it occurred in the Scriptures, with nothing more or less. At this, the catholicos tremendously rejoiced. He asked his bishops about the phrase "never to decay," to which they gave no answer, but submitted to what had been written in the Scripture. They reformulated the doctrinal passages that needed rectification in a manner that satisfied the two sides of the Syrians and the Armenians. However, they compromised a little lest they relapse to the former disputation. They resolved that anything that does not mar the truth refutes the vicious teaching of the heretics. In this manner, they achieved the union between them. The Syrian bishops were first to celebrate the Eucharist and offer the communion to the Armenians. They confirmed their union in one faith and recorded it in a document signed and sealed according to the instruction of the Holy Spirit. They deposited a copy of the document in Syriac with the Armenians, and a copy in Armenian with us, the Syrians.¹⁷⁶⁵

The Armenian catholicos was distinguished and highly commended for his knowledge and works of mercy and piety. He was generous and loved by everyone. Because of his holiness, they looked upon him as an angel.

The document drawn up by the Armenians and the Syrians upon their union

In the year 1037 of the Greeks (A.D. 726), which is the year 135 of the Armenian Calendar, you the bishops whose names are appended below, came to me, I the Catholicos Iyawannis (John) of Great Armenia, from Syria by order of Mor Athanasius, patriarch of Antioch:

Constantine, bishop of Edessa, Simon, bishop of Harran, Theodore, bishop of Mar'ash (Germanicia), Athanasius, bishop of Miyafarqat, Simon, bishop of Dara, for the purpose of making union between us and you, that is, between Syria and Armenia. We requested you, according to the canon, to define your faith, and you did and delivered it to us. Then, we ordered that a council be assembled by the venerable bishops in the district of Apahounis in the village of Mahsar (Manazgird, Manazkirt). We arrived there by order of the Holy Spirit, I, Iyawannis, catholicos of Great Armenia and the bishops in my company. They are:

Halphai, bishop of Arkiws; Theodore, bishop of Armen; Sahak, bishop of Mamigonians; Rasko, bishop of Basean; Sergis, bishop of Dephtis; Theorius, bishop of Bezounis; Theodore, bishop of Asamounis; Abel, bishop of Amatounis; David, bishop of Erestounis; Gregorius, bishop of Asarounis; Nozon, bishop of Asibogen; Joseph, bishop of Artsrounis; Gregorius, bishop of Wanand; Narkisos, bishop of Khorkhorounis; Esai, bishop of Golten; Iyawannis, bishop of Gnounis; Gewargi, bishop Rotakay; Joseph, bishop of Bakratounis; Mikha'il, bishop of Bagrevand; Jeremiah, bishop of Apahounis; Solomon, bishop of Mrina; Gabriel, bishop of Arzen; Khrou, the doctor (learned man) of Armenia; David, bishop of Sophrin; Salmon, archimandrite of the Monastery of Makenis; Raphael, the archimandrite; Simon, the doctor; Iwannis, the chorepiscopus; Gregory, bishop of Taron; Sahak, the chorepiscopus of Matines; and Sergis, bishop of the Sanasyane. Along with these bishops were presbyters and monks whose names we found no need to put down. Among them was also the illustrious, the son of the free, our compassionate brother Hakim, son of Abu Hakim.

¹⁷⁶³ Acts 13:34. Check Psalm 16:11 which says, "You will not let your Holy One see decay."

¹⁷⁶⁴ Philippians 3:21.

¹⁷⁶⁵ Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Abbeloos and Lamy, 1 (Lovain, 1872), 299-305.

We discussed the doctrinal document you sent us, and found that it contained genuine faith no different from the faith of the holy Apostles and the Orthodox fathers. Therefore, we accepted the form of the faith contained in your document addressed to us. In turn, you requested a copy of our faith, and we have appended it below:

We believe in the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, one nature of the Godhead, and three *qnume* (hypostases, persons). The Father is the head and the cause of the Son and of the Holy Spirit: by birth with respect to the Son, and by procession with respect to the Holy Spirit. We do not say that the Holy Trinity is one person and one hypostasis; it is one nature, one dominion, one will and one natural act of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. We further believe that the Word, the only Son of God, dwelt in the womb of the immaculate and holy Virgin and became completely man. He took from us body, soul and mind without being changed in what he was, as he said, "I the Lord do not change,"¹⁷⁶⁶ but was united without division or change. Because he is God the Word, and he is in the bosom of God, he was conceived in the womb of the Virgin and was born of her without breaking the seal of her virginity. Thus, she is called the Mother of God because the one who was born of her is true God. He was united hypostatically with our body and became incarnated. He is one in the divinity and the humanity: one Son, one Lord, one *qnumo* (hypostasis), one Christ, one nature of the incarnate Word of God. We confess that he is the Word of God who did miracles as God, and suffered the human things as a man. Because he is perfect God and perfect man, and the incarnate Word of God, he took everything that belongs to us, save sin. As God, he made miracles, and like us, he grew in stature.¹⁷⁶⁷ He is perfect in his divinity, and fulfilled the redemption as God. He hungered and thirsted like a man, but he has quenched all those who thirst. He tired from walking. He slept like a man, but like God, who protects Israel with a watchful eye, he did not slumber.¹⁷⁶⁸ He suffered and died in the body, which is susceptible to death, but being God, he was beyond passion. On the third day, he rose from the dead by his body, which he took from the Virgin, but without being subject to corruption or death. He ascended to heaven and sat on the right hand of his father. And he will come with the same body to judge the quick and the dead, he whose kingdom has no end.

This is the faith, which we received from the Lord, the Apostles and the fathers. It is the faith handed down to us by the three Councils of Nicaea, Constantinople and Ephesus.

The anathemas drawn up by these Councils

1 Who does not confess that the consubstantial Holy Trinity is one nature, one Godhead, three *qnume* (hypostases) and three adored persons, and they are equal and perfect, let him be anathema.

2 Who does not confess that the Word of God has been truly incarnated from the Holy Virgin, that he took from her a created and finite, that is, limited body, or in other words, he took a body, soul and mind; but who say that Christ was manifested in an imaginary and a not real form, let him be anathema.

3 Who says that the Word of God did not take a body subject to death, sin and corruption, but took a body like the body of Adam before the fall, and by grace was not subject to sin and corruption, let him be anathema.

4 Who does not confess one nature of the divinity and the humanity, that is of the incarnated Christ who is a union of the divinity and the humanity, in an incomprehensible and ineffable manner, without the mixture or division or confusion of the two (natures), let him be anathema.

5 Who does not confess that Christ is one that is God and man, but divides him saying that God is one thing and man is another thing, let him be anathema.

6 Who does not say that the body of Christ is subject to corruption and not glorified since he was in the womb until the resurrection, contrary to what the prophets, the Apostles, and the father doctors say, that he became incorruptible, glorified and perfect after the Resurrection, let him be anathema.

¹⁷⁶⁶ Malachi 3:6.

¹⁷⁶⁷ Cf. Luke 2:52.

¹⁷⁶⁸ Psalm 121:4.

7 Who does not confess that the personal body of Christ is impassible and subject to death by its nature, but say that it is passible and subject to death by virtue of the divine nature, let him be anathema.

8 Who does not confess that Christ suffered in the body the human passions, save sin, but says that he suffered in his divinity, or says that his body did not take a part in the human passions, and that the corruptible body endured these passions, let him be anathema.

9 Who does not believe that Christ endured sufferings in an incorruptible manner, or attributes corruption to the passions, and does not say same as the prophets, Apostles, and the Orthodox fathers said, let him be anathema.

10 We anathematize all heresies and what is written about them by so and so, and we accept the testimonies of the holy fathers.

Brothers, we have written down this to confirm and preserve the union between both of us, especially, you who represent all of Syria, its bishops, chorepiscopi, and presbyters whose name are fixed above. We who represent all of Armenia have written this down before the Living and Quickening God and his holy angels, in order to be a seal and a confirmation of the faith that is the union between you and us until the end of the world. Having been convinced of all the deliberations, we have endorsed and stamped our seals as a manifestation of the truth. *End of the narrative.*

Chapter Twenty-One: On the death of Leo, king of the Romans; on Hisham, king (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs); on Iyawannis (John), catholicos of the Armenians, and Athanasius (III), patriarch of Antioch and Alexander, patriarch of Alexandria; and on an audacious person named Bashir.

In the year 1038 of the Greeks (A.D. 737), some Egyptians rebelled against the Tayoye (Arab) governor. A large group of Tayoye (Arabs) attacked the rebels and killed a great number of them. Those who escaped the massacre, fled on ships through the Red Sea.

In the year 1039 of the Greeks (A.D. 738), Maslama, commanding a huge army, invaded the county of the Turks. The war lasted for forty days. When the Tayoye (Arabs) realized that they could not win against the Turks, they left their equipment behind and fled.¹⁷⁶⁹

In this period, the Turks turned their attention outside their own country. In the year 1042 of the Greeks (A.D. 731), they invaded Ardogin (Azarbayjan) under Tayoye (Arab) control, and occupied several villages and cities. Maslama, captain of the Tayoye (Arab) host, met them with a huge army and thousands fell on both sides. The Turks stopped seizing the rest of the cities under (Tayoye) Arab control in which they dwelt, but they established a foothold in the cities, which they captured. The Tayoye (Arabs) signed peace with the Turks.¹⁷⁷⁰

The Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims) penetrated the Roman districts under the command of Mu'awiya, son of Abd al-Malik. They attacked the city of Gangra, whose inhabitants fled before the Tayoye (Arab) army, but the Tayoye (Arabs) tore down its walls and destroyed it. Then, they besieged the city of Nicaea, and after forty days of fighting, destroyed its walls. The Romans fled on ships as the Tayoye (Arabs) captured it and destroyed it.¹⁷⁷¹

In this year Hashim, the Tayoye (Arab) commander, ordered all Roman captives who had been seized by the Tayoye (Arabs) to be killed. He did this because he heard that Leo had killed the Tayoye (Arab) captives, but this was not true.¹⁷⁷² There was a controversy concerning Eustathius and his companions who had been martyred in Harran as to whether they were martyrs or not.¹⁷⁷³

¹⁷⁶⁹ *The Chronicle of Elijah bar Shinaya*, 156, and *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 159.

¹⁷⁷⁰ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 110.

¹⁷⁷¹ *The Chronicle of Elijah bar Shinaya*, 157-158, mentions that Mu'awiya ibn Hisham entered the territory of the Romans.

¹⁷⁷² Bar Hebraeus, *Ibid.* 110.

¹⁷⁷³ See *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, 571, footnote 2. On p. 573, Theophanes says that Eustathius was son of Patrician Marianos.

In this year (733), Leo III married his son Constantine to the daughter of Khagan, king of the Khazars. Then, he placed the crown over his head and was proclaimed an (emperor).¹⁷⁷⁴

Mu'awiya, son of Hisham (the Umayyad caliph, 724-743), invaded the Roman country and captured Karsianon (Charsianon in Cappadocia).¹⁷⁷⁵

In the year 1053 of the Greeks (A.D. 741-742), Leo died after ruling twenty-four years, and his son Constantine succeeded him.¹⁷⁷⁶ (He is Constantine V Copronymus 741-775). Shortly afterwards, Artabasdos, his son-in-law, rebelled against him, and he went to Constantinople and sat down in the palace. Constantine, who was outside the city, fled and found refuge with the Anatolians who promised to help him. He came with them to Amorium of Phrygia, and wintered there. Then Artabasdos assembled an army and went to fight against him, but he was defeated and fled.¹⁷⁷⁷

In the year 1056 of the Greeks (A.D. 745, more correctly 743), Hisham, the Tayoye (Umayyad Arab) king (caliph) died after ruling for nineteen years. He was succeeded by Walid, the son of Yazid, (the son of Abd al-Malik).¹⁷⁷⁸

Walid ill-treated the family of Hisham and plundered their palaces. He had Abbas, son of Walid, dominate the kingdom. When Abbas saw that the wealth of the state was as huge as an ocean, he desired to usurp the kingdom. He charged Walid with every despicable conduct with the intention of attracting the Arab notables towards him, but the king (caliph) trusted him as himself. When Walid was in the desert, Abbas tried to rule himself. However, the Tayoye (Arabs) rejected him because he was the son of a slave girl, while they hated Walid for drinking wine and for doing other wicked things. Therefore, they proclaimed his brother Yazid as king (caliph) in Damascus. He sent an army and they overtook Walid, son of Yazid, while he was unaware of their coming in the desert. They cut off his head, fixed it on a spear, and they hung up beside it a wine jug.¹⁷⁷⁹

Afterwards, many including members of the ruling family rose up intending to control the kingdom. This resulted in constant conflict and warfare, and each one had with him troops who were his followers. In the West rose up Yazid, who was the source of all evil. Another one was Sakasi, and still another one was Sulayman ibn Hashim. In the Jazira rose up Bistam, who was of the Yahsiyya (sic) heresy.¹⁷⁸⁰ In Mosul was Sa'id ibn Hudhayl, the chief of another heresy (sect) called the Murji'a.¹⁷⁸¹ They were in the region of the Persians, Abd Allah ibn Umar, the king, occupied Wasit, Marwan was in Armenia, Ibn Sargi in Khurasan, and Abu Hudhayl was in Africa.

While this confusion increased among the Tayoye (Arabs), their affairs became also confused, and chaos was all over the regions. Five months after he began to reign, Yazid was inflicted with an ulcer in his body and died.¹⁷⁸² He was succeeded by Ibrahim his brother.¹⁷⁸³ He was a pleasant man to meet and his natural disposition was good. He was prized for his many charities. A few days later, he died (744).¹⁷⁸⁴

In the year 1048 of the Greeks (A.D. 737), a certain man whose name was Bashir from Pergamum, a Roman by race who in appearance looked like a Hagerite (Arab). He went to a Roman person in Harran and told him of a trick which he was about to play. He asked the man to go and slander him to Sulayman, son of Hisham, and tell him that he was Tiberius, son of Constantine, who was thought to have been dead for

¹⁷⁷⁴Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 110, and Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 139.

¹⁷⁷⁵*The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, 567.

¹⁷⁷⁶*The Chronicle of Elijah bar Shinaya*, 159

¹⁷⁷⁷Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 147-148.

¹⁷⁷⁸See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 111.

¹⁷⁷⁹Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 111.

¹⁷⁸⁰Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 111 does not mention this heresy.

¹⁷⁸¹The Murji'a is a sect of Islam, which appeared in the Umayyad period. They held that a believing Muslim who commits a sin and does not declare it should not be considered an infidel, but his judgment should be suspended for the time being. See Philip Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 247.

¹⁷⁸²Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 111, says that two months after he began to reign, an ulcer broke out in Yazid's body and he died.

¹⁷⁸³*The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, 580.

¹⁷⁸⁴According to Bar Hebraeus, *Ibid.* 111, he reigned for two months.

some time.¹⁷⁸⁵ When Sulayman heard the story, he believed the man whose name was Theopitus. He thought that he had in hand something significant. He swore to Theopitus to reward him graciously if he delivered the fake Tiberius to him. When he delivered the charlatan to him, Tiberius first began to deny he was Tiberius, having noticed that Sulayman took the subject seriously. Finally, however, he said, "I am he." Sulayman wrote to his father Hisham informing him about this Tiberius. When Hisham heard this, he wanted to magnify his son to the Tayoye (Arabs), for the son of the king of the Romans had fallen into his hands. He commanded (his servants) to array the man in purple, and had him brought to him. The fake Tiberius pretended to be the Christ. When he entered Edessa, he had the audacity to go to the altar and take by hand the offering from the Table of Life, according to the custom of the kings of the Romans. Then he went through the rest of the cities. When he reached Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia) he stirred up great trouble among the Romans, that even Leo himself was afraid of him. However, those who knew him said that he had become a heathen. He called upon the Jews to bring up his ancestors to him by sorcery, and he commanded the chief sorcerer to tell him what his end would be.¹⁷⁸⁶

On a Sunday night of November 1040 of the Greeks (A.D. 729), a severe earthquake took place, and plague broke out. In the year 1050 of the Greeks (A.D. 739), an earthquake took place in Constantinople and most of it collapsed.¹⁷⁸⁷ In March of this year, so much rain fell that it was said that floodgates of heaven opened day and night. The waters gathered around Edessa, and its falls fell down so that the eastern gates were opened by the force of the flood, and the city was about to perish.

One year after union was made between the Syrians and the Armenians, Iyawannis (John Ozdentze), catholicos of the Armenians passed away in the year 1038 of the Greeks (A.D. 727). In that year also died Alexander, patriarch of Alexandria, who was succeeded by Cosmas, who lived a short period and then departed this life. In the year 1037 of the Greeks (A.D. 728), Denha, the catholicos of Takrit, died. In this year also died Mor Athanasius (III), the patriarch of Antioch. The bishops set up Iyawannis (John), bishop of Hawran, from the Monastery of Eusebona as a patriarch. Athanasius, bishop of Miyafarqat, and the rest of bishops attended the election of the patriarch.

When the bishops assembled to elect a patriarch, they were plagued with disagreement. Finally, they decided to choose the names of three candidate bishops and cast a lot for them. They trusted the old Athanasius Sandeloio (al-Na'aal, cobbler), bishop of Miyafarqat, to take charge of the balloting due to his old age, and because they thought that he was of good intentions. Athanasius wrote down the names of three candidate bishops in three ballots and placed them on the altar. In fact, he did not write down three names on three ballots as the bishops believed, but the name of Iyawannis only on all three of them. The bishops, who trusted Athanasius Sandeloio did not object, and agreed to have the three ballots placed at the holy altar. A person who had no knowledge of the whole matter was called to draw a ballot, and the name of the bishop written in it was to be chosen as patriarch. Therefore, when the name of Iyawannis, which had been written by Athanasius on the three ballots was drawn, all the bishops accepted him as the winner. But Athanasius Sandeloio objected, knowing that it was a trick (played by him), or perhaps it was a coincidence. Again, the bishops wrote down the names of three candidates on three new ballots and placed them on the altar. Another person was called to draw the ballot, and he pulled the same name of Iyawannis. The balloting was repeated three times and each time the name of Iyawannis was drawn.¹⁷⁸⁸ The bishops were astonished and said that this was the finger of God. Patriarch Dionysius (Tell Mahre), however, said that this was not the stratagem of Athanasius Sandeloio, but the work of the divine Providence that the same bishop won three times. He went on to say that, God does not allow tricks to act in the case of divine mysteries. Indeed, no sparrow falls into the trap without his permission.¹⁷⁸⁹ *Here ends the narrative about kings.*

¹⁷⁸⁵ According to Theophanes, Bashir claimed to be Tiberius, son of Justinian. See *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, 570.

¹⁷⁸⁶ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 110, relates this story with some divergence, so also does Theophanes briefly. See *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, 570.

¹⁷⁸⁷ *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, 572.

¹⁷⁸⁸ *The Chronicle of Elijah bar Shinaya*, 159, and *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 176 which is very brief on this subject.

¹⁷⁸⁹ Matthew 10:29, and Luke 12:6.

Chapter Twenty-Two: On the period of Constantine, son of Leo, when the Tayoye (Arab) kingdom was divided; and on the setting up of a Chalcedonian Patriarch in Syria by order of the king (caliph) of the Arabs, and the conflict between the Orthodox bishops and the patriarch

After the death of Yazid and his brother Ibrahim, many sought power in order to rule the Tayoye (Arab) kingdom. Marwan¹⁷⁹⁰ went forth from Armenia and engaged in battle with Sulayman on the banks of the Euphrates River, killing about 12,000 of those known as *ṣokonoys* (subordinates, lackeys), and Sulayman fled to Rasafa.¹⁷⁹¹ Marwan came to Damascus and reigned there.¹⁷⁹² He carried off the royal treasures known as Dhu al-Cari' (sic), which formed loads for three thousand camels. He came to Harran, but the westerners complained against him because he did not make his dwelling with them.¹⁷⁹³

Marwan was passionately fond of hoarding gold. He severely oppressed the people, while his troops inflicted them with many wicked things. They beat them, plundered their possessions and violated their women before their husbands. He came to Emessa (Homs) and took it after four months of siege.¹⁷⁹⁴ He destroyed its wall and pounded the sculptures into dust with hammers. He also destroyed the wall of Ba'lbak.¹⁷⁹⁵ Then he came down to the country of Athor, known as Nineveh, and to the country of Parthia, that is to say, Asphahan.

Then, Abd Allah ibn Ali¹⁷⁹⁶ and a mighty army of Khurasan pitched their camp on the River of Athor (the Zab River in Iraq). Marwan, puffed up by arrogance, came and engaged in battle with Abd Allah ibn Ali (Abu al-Abbas), and Marwan was defeated.¹⁷⁹⁷ After he was defeated, Marwan and his followers disappeared and could not be found. In fact, Marwan fled to Busir in upper Egypt where he was killed, and his head and insignia were sent to Abu al-Abbas (the first Abbasid caliph).¹⁷⁹⁸ The Romans began to plunder his camp. It is said that he was despoiled of seven hundred camel loads of gold and silver money. He, his son, and his son-in-law came to Harran in disgrace, which he had made the center of his state.

At this time there went from Constantinople Ashkirash, captain of the Armenian host, he attacked Melitene, and looted the entire country. Most of the Romans and the Armenians who were living there entered into the country of the Romans. Constantine¹⁷⁹⁹ went to Constantinople and blinded the eyes of Artabasdu the tyrant, and succeeded in administering the state.¹⁸⁰⁰ He had a son, Leo, from the daughter of King Khagan.¹⁸⁰¹ Therefore, peace prevailed in the entire Roman territory because the Arabs were occupied in fighting each other.

After Marwan returned to Harran, Patriarch Iyawannis prepared fifty camels loaded with great gifts, and went to see him. Marwan welcomed him with alacrity and provided him with a decree empowering him to administer all church affairs. However, the bishops, instead of rejoicing, were filled with envy, anger and fear. They began to set traps to snare the patriarch. Since the See of Tur Abdin was then vacant, the men of

¹⁷⁹⁰ He is Marwan II (744-750), the last Umayyad caliph. He is nicknamed Marwan al-Himar (the ass) for his perseverance in war. Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 111, says that he was nicknamed Himar al-Jazira (the wild ass of the Jazira), because he loved the flower of the crocus, which is called 'flower of the ass.'

¹⁷⁹¹ Theophanes sets the number at 20,000, and Sulayman fled and found refuge in Damascus. See *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, 580.

¹⁷⁹² *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 174-176, and *The Chronicle of Elijah bar Shinaya*, 160.

¹⁷⁹³ *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, 580.

¹⁷⁹⁴ Theophanes says that at Emesa, Marwan impaled 12,000 Arabs of the Kalbite tribe. See *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, 583, and footnote 3.

¹⁷⁹⁵ Heliopolis See Theophanes, *Ibid.* 584.

¹⁷⁹⁶ Abu al-Abbas, a descendant of Abbas, the uncle of the Prophet of Islam.

¹⁷⁹⁷ According to *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 179.

¹⁷⁹⁸ See Abu al-Hasan al-Mas'udi, *Muruj al-Dhahab was Ma'adin al-Jawhar*, III, ed. Muhyi al-Din Abd al-Hamid, (Cairo, 1938), 163 and Philip Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 285.

¹⁷⁹⁹ Constantine V Copronymus 741-775.

¹⁸⁰⁰ George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 148. In his *History of the Byzantine Empire*, 1, 260, Vasiliev says that Constantine severely punished Artavodus (Artabasdu) but does not mention blinding him.

¹⁸⁰¹ He is Leo IV Chazar that is the Khazar, 775-780.

the district nominated a certain Dionysius, a protégé of Athanasius Sandeloio to be the bishop of Tur Abdin. Others, acting like mad dogs and pressured by Sandeloio, wanted him for this position. However, David, bishop of Dara, and Sarguna, bishop of Mardin, did not want this Dionysius. David said, "I want Dionysius to be (ordained a bishop) for Harran, even if all the people of the earth are with Sandeloio." However, the bishops disagreed, and when the patriarch investigated the matter, the bishops kept silent. He realized that the reason for their objection was sheer envy. Therefore, he summoned Dionysius in order to ordain him as bishop.¹⁸⁰²

Meanwhile, Quriqa (Quryaqos, Cyriacus), bishop of Sijistan, had a wicked teacher called Bar Salta from Rish 'Ayna. Both of these men wrote down a spurious book entitled *The Revelation of Enoch* in which they inserted passages pointing to Marwan and his son after him. The book was presented to Marwan by one of his sorcerers, and upon reading it, he felt happy like a child. He asked Quriqa to interpret it for him, and he interpreted it according to the desire of the king (amir). Because of his extreme joy, Marwan asked Quriqa to put his requests to him. Quriqa said, "I am the bishop of Sijistan, and since your enemies in it are many, you may, if you desire, transfer me to Tur Abdin because the position of its bishop is vacant. Moreover, I want to be near to you." Marwan sent a message to the patriarch saying, "Do not ordain a bishop for Tur Abdin until you receive my order." Thus, this door was open for the wolves. Quriqa wanted to be bishop of Tur Abdin, Abai, bishop of Arzen also wanted the same position, and still Gabriel and many other bishops wanted to be bishops of Tur Abdin. Thus, the eastern bishops trampled on the truth in order to split the church. Since they realized that they had no legal cause to lean on, they were afraid that the patriarch might anathematize them. Indeed, the church canons instituted that, "No bishop of a diocese anywhere, should be ordained without the approval of the metropolitan of that diocese." Therefore, the patriarch became angry because they were ordained without the knowledge of their metropolitan, Paul, but Quriqa was agitating in order to seize another see. In the meantime, the monks of St. Matthew's Monastery complained against the patriarch accusing him, unjustly, that he was the one who ordained them. When the subject was discussed in a council which assembled at Muraiba near Rish 'Ayna, the witnesses of St. Matthew's Monastery were condemned together with Bacchus, bishop of Nineveh, who himself had ordained them without the authorization of the metropolitan. In addition, Stephen was condemned who had been ordained by the governor's authority. Members of the council pledged to accept what was agreed upon by the Patriarch Iyawannis, by Athanasius, bishop of Miyafarqat, by David, bishop of Dara, by Timothy, bishop of Edessa, and the rest of the eastern and western bishops who were thirty in number. As to the case of Quriqa, bishop of Sijistan, it was overlooked for fear of the governor at that time. The patriarch declared in public the condemnation of Quriqa and those who participated with him, with the knowledge that many of the people of the district did not support him. As he was acting rashly and haphazardly, the tyrant who helped him died, and Quriqa sought refuge with Athanasius, bishop of Miyafarqat, who was his enemy in the past.

Severus, bishop of Amid from the Monastery of Zuqnin, grew old and his body became fragile and his sight dimmed. Some bishops suggested that he should retreat to the solitude of his monastery. Others objected to them. Abai, bishop of Arzen whose congregation had abandoned him, bribed the son of Marwan to write to the patriarch to appoint him a bishop for Tur Abdin, but the congregation of Qartmin (the Monastery of Mor Gabriel) tried in every way to have him appointed for Amid. The patriarch did appoint him for Amid, but did not appoint for Tur Abdin either Gabriel or Quriqa. When Dionysius saw this, he departed without being ordained. Prior to this time, however, the patriarch had divided the See of Amid into two dioceses and gave five districts to Isaiah, bishop of Ashpharin, with the rest to be administered by Severus. The people of Amid were disturbed and said, "We will not allow our district to be split, but we prefer to have one bishop, whether Severus, Abai or anyone else. Consequently, they agreed to have one bishop. Since Isaiah was a pupil of Athanasius Sandeloio, he became suspicious of the patriarch, and because of his influence, he and some bishops separated themselves from the patriarch. Thus, began the

¹⁸⁰² See Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, 1, 307-311 translated by Abbeloos and Lamy.

problems of Sandeloio with Patriarch Iyawannis. The Patriarch became hard pressed and did not know to whom he should listen, to the king (caliph), the bishops or the people. He became tossed by the wind not because of the faith but because of the love of leadership. Thinking that he had become forlorn from fear of God that prevailed in the church, Athanasius Sandeloio turned to more wickedness. He was more concerned with disturbance, altercation and sordid complaints against the patriarch. In the meantime, the patriarch himself was in conflict with Athanasius (Sandeloio).

In the year 1056 of the Greeks (A.D. 745), Walid, king (caliph) of the Arabs, ordered that the tongue of the patriarch whom the Chalcedonians had set up in Syria be cut off, and banished to Yaman (Arabia Felix). The reason was that the metropolitan publicly reproved the impiety of the Tayoye (Arabs).¹⁸⁰³

In December of this year, severe freezing took place and the great rivers froze up so that they could be crossed over. The fish heaped up like mounds and died on the shores. Because of scarce rain, severe famine took place, and plague broke out. The farmers and landowners sought work just for bread to fill their stomachs, and could not find one to employ them. Constant earthquakes took place here and there, even in the desert of the Arabs; the mountains drew close to each other. In the Yaman, the number of monkeys increased so much that they forced the people to abandon their homes. They even devoured some of them.

In June of that year, a sign appeared in the sky in the form of three pillars of fire. It reappeared in September. In the following year, there appeared to the north of sky something like a half moon. It moved slowly to the south, then returned to the north, and fell down. In middle of the month of March of the same year, the sky was filled with something like fine dense dust, which covered all quarters. In the ninth hour, pitch darkness occurred which covered the rays of the sun. At the end of January, scattered comets were seen in the sky, and from every direction, they intersected each other vehemently as if they were engaged in a fight. Amidst them was seen at night in the center of the sky a colossal pillar of fire. In addition, a huge comet was seen near the Milky Way that looked like a moon and remained for four days. Many believed that these signs symbolized wars, bloodshed, and the chastisement of people. Actually, these chastisements began, first of which was the plague which broke out everywhere, especially in the Jazira where five thousand souls were its victims. In the west, the victims were countless. In the region of Busra, twenty thousand perished every day. Moreover, famine worsened and villages became desolate. Grain owners mixed animal dung with the seeds of grapes, ate it and made bread out of it. They ground acorn and made bread out of it. They even chewed the hide of goats and sheep. Yet despite this mighty wrath, people did not repent. Indeed, the distress was not removed until they repented. Even Marwan, who did not believe in God, repented, and circulated a decree all over the Tayoye (Arab) countries asking them to repent.

Meanwhile, an earthquake occurred in Damascus for several days and shook the city like tree leaves. Among its buildings was a fortress which had been built by al-Hajjaj ibn Yusuf (al-Thaqafi of al-Ta'if in Hijaz), who spent a great deal of money in building it. It was destroyed and overturned from its foundation as more than eighty souls perished inside it. A great number of the citizens of Damascus perished. Furthermore, thousands of people perished in the Ghota (the orchards of Damasus) and Darayya. The cities of Busra, Yawa (Nawa), Dar'a Ba'lbak and Marj Uyun were destroyed, and the water spring of the latter turned into blood. Finally, the waters receded when the citizens of these cities repented and offered constant supplications.

On the sea, an extraordinary storm took place where the waves appeared as if they were rising to heaven like water boiling in a cauldron, and from them emanated raging and doleful voices. The waters surged beyond their usual limits and destroyed many coastal villages and cities. In the region of Balqa', that is Moab, a fortress built on the sea shore and inhabited by Tayoye (Arabs) from Yaman, was uprooted from its foundation and thrown three miles away.

The earthquake also destroyed the city of Tiberias except for one house, which belonged to a man named Isa. It also destroyed thirty synagogues of the Jews. Many wondrous things took place. Marvelous

¹⁸⁰³ Theophanes says that it was the metropolitan of Damascus whose tongue Walid ordered to be cut off. His account is too lengthy compared to the few words of Michael Rabo. See *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, 577-578.

public baths, which had been built by Solomon, son of David, tumbled down. They housed a fountain with laxative water. It had been adorned with wondrous artistic images, and provided with means of rest for those who sought healing. On the spot, there were earthen jars arranged in an artful order, and on each of them was inscribed how many drinks should be taken in order to purge the belly. Each patient selected the jar according to the quantity he needed. All of these magnificent things were destroyed.

A village near the Mountain of Tabor was uprooted with its buildings and houses and cast away a distance of four miles, yet not one stone of its building fell off. No human being or animal, not even one rooster perished. The water fountain near Jericho was pushed away from its location for a distance of six miles.

The city of Mabug (Manbij) was destroyed during the celebration of the Eucharist. Many great churches and many city walls fell down, and the victims thereof were countless.

In Constantinople, the statues of emperors and a great number of buildings fell down. The same thing happened in Nicaea and other cities.

In this period, their Patriarch (the Chalcedonian) Constantine, evicted Germanus from the church and ordained Anastasius.

In this time (A.D. 745), Marwan, king (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs) ordered the Chalcedonians, and they ordained Theophilact Ibn Qanbara as their patriarch. Theophilact was from Harran and the caliph's goldsmith.¹⁸⁰⁴ He obtained from the caliph an order and troops to persecute the Maronites. When he arrived at the Monastery of Marun, he harassed its monks to accept the doctrine of Maximus (two wills in Christ) and desist from reciting the Trisagion with the phrase *You who was crucified for us*. Tormented by affliction, the monks promised Theophilact that on the next day they would submit to his order. Now, there was an old monk in the company of Theophilact whom he loved. This monk entered the church of the Monastery (of Marun), and striking the altar with his fist, he cried, "Unclean altar, tomorrow you will become holy." At that moment, he was stricken by divine justice and became possessed by a demon. He remained tormented all night long before he finally died. Ibn Qanbara became extremely grieved over the death of the monk and was seized with fear. He wanted to carry the body and leave, but the monks would not let him do this fearing that he would accuse them of killing him. Therefore, he left the body for the monks of the monastery to bury and left without accomplishing his purpose. The Maronites remained, as they are today, consecrating for themselves a patriarch and bishops from their monastery. They are distinguished from the followers of Maximus for their belief in one will in Christ and for reciting the Trisagion with the phrase *You who was crucified for us*. However, they accept the Council of Chalcedon.¹⁸⁰⁵

Then, Ibn Qanbara came to Mabug (Manbij) and tried to force the Chalcedonians in that city to accept the doctrine of two wills in Christ and desist from reciting the phrase, *You who was crucified for us*. He betrayed them to Marwan who fined them 4,000 dinars, and the trouble that had happened among them in Aleppo happened to them in this city, too. Finally, Andrew, the Maronite, came, obtained an order from the Caliph (Marwan), and built a church for the Maronites in Mabug (Manbij). The Maronites became separate from the followers of Maximus, and many disgusting and abominable things happened between the two groups.¹⁸⁰⁶

Chapter Twenty-Three: Contains the letters exchanged between Patriarch Iyawannis and Athanasius Sandeloio and the rest of the bishops concerning the events of this period

Having cast aside the fear of God, Athanasius Sandeloio resorted to the Caliph of the Tayoye (Arabs), Marwan. He slandered the Patriarch (Iyawannis) for collecting 150,000 dinars from Takrit and the East, and that he did not ordain bishops unless he charged them money. He also accused him of indulging in sexual immoralities and magic, things that even the sorcerers avoided discussing, let alone practicing. He even spread the report about him that he was living with a woman wearing the raiment of a nun, and

¹⁸⁰⁴ Theophanes calls him Theophylaktos, a priest of Edessa. See *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, 583.

¹⁸⁰⁵ See Matti Moosa, *The Maronites in History*, 89 and 114-115.

¹⁸⁰⁶ Matti Moosa, *The Maronites in History*, 114-117.

practicing fornication with other women, too. The patriarch assembled a council in Harran and summoned Athanasius three times through David, bishop of Dara, to attend, but he declined. When he refused to attend, the patriarch anathematized him. In addition, the Bishops David, Sarguna, bishop of Mardin, and Gabriel anathematized him. Along with him was anathematized Quriqa (Cyriacus). The schismatic bishops were Athanasius Sandeloio, bishop of Miyafarqat; Bacchus, bishop of Nineveh; Athanasius, bishop of Rish 'Ayna; Quriqa; Isaiah and Yuhanon (John). The rest of the bishops in the East and the West were loyal to the patriarch who suffered great hardships with avid courage. He was cast into prison and beaten. He was fined twelve thousand dinars to be paid to the tyrant caliph, but did not slacken in his adherence to justice. Still, Athanasius Sandeloio would not desist from doing harm to the patriarch. In fact, he accompanied Marwan to the East in order to launch more charges against the patriarch, but the Lord stopped him as he was looted on the way and returned discomfited and barefooted. In him was fulfilled the prophecy of Micaiah son of Imlah who said to King Ahab, "If you ever returned in peace, then the Lord has not spoken through me."¹⁸⁰⁷ Likewise, the Lord took revenge against the caliph who was defeated and fled in disgrace.

When patriarch Iyawannis heard what happened to the caliph and to Sandeloio, he left his monastery without the caliph's command. For the caliph had forbidden him to leave Harran until he had sent two bishops to Sandeloio to negotiate with him, and receive the said amount of money. Therefore, the patriarch kept his peace waiting for things to improve, but the Lord chastised his adversaries. Gabriel, whom Quriqa ordained as bishop for Sijistan outwardly and for Tur Abdin inwardly, became a stumbling block for him. However, although Quriqa initiated this trouble, the monks of St. Matthew's Monastery were the ones who provoked him tremendously. Indeed, they were accustomed to create trouble because of the bishops. In addition, Severus Bar Mashqa created similar trouble through Sergius of Zuqnin, who was ordained a bishop for Ascopolis with the support of the bishops of Mosul who frequently antagonized each other because of the metropolitan. In fact, they wanted this one to be for Takrit and another one a bishop for Nineveh, as has been previously said.¹⁸⁰⁸

The monks of the St. Matthew's Monastery were central in this conflict. In fact, no patriarch was set up for whom they did not create conflict until the time of Patriarch Julian the Roman, who resisted them when they opposed him, and ejected them from their sees and ordained other bishops in their stead. Julian summoned Bishop Denha of Takrit by force and had him dwell in the tower of the monastery. In his severe (disciplinary actions), he went in (the tower) and held Denha by the throat. He dragged him to the ground and stepped on his neck by his foot saying, "You are called Denha (brightness), but actually, you are darkness for rebelling against me." He left him in detention for life, but when Iliyya (Elijah) became patriarch, he restored him to his see. However, the conflict on account of the metropolitan had ended since the time of Patriarch Julian. No one dared demand other than the See of Takrit, which had been regulated by the Patriarch Athanasius Gamolo.

At this time, Athanasius Sandeloio stirred up trouble because of Isaiah. As the bishops' agitation intensified, the Patriarch Iyawannis kept silent in the isolation of his monastery, but the bishops spread the rumor that he did not want peace. Therefore, a council of the bishops of the Jazira assembled in the village of Tarmana in the district of Cyrus, in the year 1063 of the Greeks (A.D. 752), and made peace between Patriarch Iyawannis and Athanasius Sandeloio. Sandeloio threw himself at the feet of the patriarch weeping and asking forgiveness, but no sooner had Sandeloio reconciled with the patriarch than he reverted to his hypocrisy. He sought refuge with Abd Allah, brother of the caliph (Marwan). He bribed him and instigated him against the patriarch until he obtained from him a *systaticon* (letter of commendation) as a metropolitan without the endorsement of the patriarch and the bishops. Afterwards, the caliph commanded a council to assemble in Tella where the bishops were forced to proclaim Sandeloio a metropolitan. Upon learning of Sandeloio's wickedness, the believers separated themselves from the bishops who endorsed him and considered them heretics. Meanwhile, the congregation of David, bishop of Dara, forced him to

¹⁸⁰⁷ 1 Kings 22:28.

¹⁸⁰⁸ Cf. Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, translated by Abbeloos and Lamy, 311-315.

anathematize in writing with his signature, what happened in Tella. They also forced him to anathematize Sandeloio and those who supported him, and they did not accept him until he carried out their demands.

When the bishops saw that their dioceses had been split, they assembled and addressed a letter to the patriarch through Constantine, bishop of Samosata, informing him of what happened in Tella, and that they confirmed him in his Patriarchal See. When the blessed patriarch learned of what had happened, and witnessed that the dignity of the patriarchate was protected, he, because of old age, desired not to disturb the peace of the church, but accepted the appeal of the bishops. He forgave them and issued a proclamation of peace to be read in every quarter.

The Patriarch's Proclamation

To the venerable, holy brothers and colleagues; David, bishop of Dara; Yuhanon, bishop of Callinicus; Tamriqa (Theomariqa), bishop of Harran; Sarguna, bishop of Mardin; Timothy, bishop of Edessa; Stephen, bishop of Cercesium; Severus, bishop of Melitene; Athanasius, (bishop of Amid); Theodotus, (bishop of Arzen); Stephen, bishop of Tella; Abraham, bishop of the Qubi Monastery; and Yuhanon, bishop of the Jazira; who are assembled in the city of Tella together with the old and venerable Athanasius; Iyawannis the weak and patriarch by the mercy of God, to you who have in the Lord the law of love and peace, I constantly ask for your holy prayers.

My soul has greatly rejoiced, O wise in God and in divine matters, and by the news of peace, love and tranquility that were carried by our dear son, mediator and harbinger of peace, the Bishop Stephen, who has trusted and chose to be your representative to us. He has related to us your goals that are conducive to the peace of the church and ridding of hatred and enmity planted by Satan amongst us. This happened while we said no word lest, as human beings, our speech might be maliciously interpreted. Stephen also informed us of what you have achieved with the spirit of brotherhood and love for the cause of the peace of the church, and for annihilating conflicts and disturbances. Despite that I am far away from you, I did protect my position and my see. You have shown great concern for honoring my old age as good sons with good will who, in turn, anticipate to be honored by their successors. Because Athanasius does no more depend on the caliph, but submitted himself to your desire and longing for peace, and because you have cast aside the former disturbing matters that you may not suffer by remembering them, or you might revert to them, I have also done the same. I have put before my eyes my Lord Christ and remembered his love for humankind. I have overlooked matters not in the least lesser than what you have done, left everything and strengthened my spirit, and I, all of me, became one. As you chose the blessed, friendly affection established amongst you, I, by the grace of God, have become an instrument of peace and love as I had learned, and will remain so until the last breath, not only in regard to Mor Athanos, Athanasius and Isaiah, but to every person great or small. I do not harbor feeling of hatred or suffer for what happened. However, I have forgotten everything for the sake of Christ and his church, and consider it as if it had not happened at all, although the problems were many. If it were not for old age, I would have proceeded on my own will to meet those who are with you and who have antagonized me. I would have offered them the kiss of peace and pardoned them. Now I give pure peace to you and to all those with you who sought and will seek peace, but he who is the cause of dissension and suspicion will bear the judgment whoever he is. As to those (bishops) whom you have ordained, whether they were ordained for Amid, or in the case of Quriqa and Gabriel, and requested us to issue a decision in their behalf, I would like to have their matter left to a general council. I suggest this to avoid doubt that might be entertained by your brothers, the venerable bishops of the west, not because they do not want what you want or resolve, but just to avoid their doubts. Moreover, if this does not sound good to you, we do not want to force you lest we impede the reconciliation of the church of God. For this is the spiritual resoluteness that man disparages his own affairs in order to correct the affairs of others. I am well aware that my life is short. So, you should read what I have written to you with love in all your churches, and that all of you should raise thanks to God who turned our sorrow into

joy and broke down the middle wall of partition,¹⁸⁰⁹ and saddened the opponents who rejoiced to have us defeated. God, who has removed our distress and turned it into rejoicing, he himself will take care of his church and us. He will remove from it conflict and dissension by the prayer of the holy apostles who have laid down its foundations, and the prayers of the venerable fathers who suffered great tribulations for its sake, and magnified it by their learning, and particularly, by the prayer of the Mother of God, Mary. Amen.

The weakness of this letter is shown by the fact that the (Patriarch Mor Iyawannis) had become very old, and that for the intention of honoring the peace of the church, he condescended so much to the bishop, who deserved to be punished for offending the blessed (patriarch) and the holy church.

After receiving this letter, which contained peace, the bishops at Tella agreed to it and resolved in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, his Father and his Holy Spirit, the following:

We, bishops of the Jazira, who signed below next to our names, have assembled in the Church of St. Cosmas and Damian in the city of Tella in the year 1036 of the Greeks (A.D. 752), urged by God. We resolved forgiveness for everything that has some time ago happened, whether in the East or in the West. We have abrogated what is unlawful, whether it is the anathematization of our brothers the Bishops Athanasius and Athanas and their companions, or other matters that caused disturbances. We accomplished peace between the two sides according to the canons and the principles of the Apostles, and to the desire of our blessed patriarch. As we concurred by the power of the Holy Spirit, we decided that anyone who opposes this concord or attempts to invalidate it, whether he is a patriarch, a bishop or holds any other church office, is anathematized. We have written down this decision and agreed to declare that Mor Athanasius, bishop of Miyafarqat is the bishop of the Jazira. We have confirmed for him the metropolitan see as one of us, and agreed to proclaim his name, and he would proclaim the name of the patriarch which all of us proclaim.

Having met in (the Spirit of) God with our brothers the bishops in the city of Tella, and annulled everything which is unlawful, I, David, bishop of Dara, have agreed to what is written above, and fixed my signature. All the bishops did the same: Timothy, bishop of Edessa; Theomariqa, bishop of Harran; Yuhanon (John), bishop of Callinicus (al-Raqqa); Stephen, bishop of Cercesium; Mor Abda, bishop of Armenia; a certain one representing Yuhanon (John), bishop of Sarug; Constantine, bishop of Samosata; Severus, bishop of Melitene; Athanasius, bishop of Amid; Stephen, bishop of Tella; Yuhanon (John), bishop of Rish Kipha; Theodotus, bishop of Arzen; Sarguna, bishop of Mardin; Abraham, bishop of the Qubi Monastery; Theodotus, bishop of the Senkelous Monastery; and Athanasius, by the grace of God, bishop of the Jazira.

At Tella, the decision was abrogated by the power of God and the mediation of our brothers, issued by me (David, bishop of Dara) concerning the brothers, the bishops, for different reasons, whether mentioned in this document or not, in agreement with what has been written above. Qura, bishop of Tur Abdin and Hisn Kipha; Isaiah, bishop of Aspharin; Athanasius, bishop of Rish 'Ayna; and Yuhanon (John), bishop of St. Matthew's Monastery also signed. Yuhanon, bishop of St. Matthew's Monastery further wrote: I have signed on behalf of myself and of the bishops Joseph, Yuhanon (John) and Zachariah who are from the Monastery of St. Matthew.

It seems that the bishops assembled at Tella were under pressure. In fact, they reestablished what they had demolished at Harran, where they were anathematized by Athanasius Sandeloio. Moreover, the bishops of St. Matthew's Monastery who were ejected at Muraiba were accepted, and without shame launched the same accusation, of which they were charged against the patriarch. In them were fulfilled the words of the apostle, "You who abhors idols, do you rob temples?"¹⁸¹⁰ Furthermore, Theodotus, bishop of Arzen, whom Athanasius (Sandeloio) accused of every kind of defilement, now began to praise him and call him the "Pillar of the Church" just because he took his side. In this sense, we conclude that his opposition of the patriarch was unfair. However, because of his passionate love of leadership, and that he was confirmed by the power of the Sultan, he showed some humility and surrendered the matter to the bishops.

¹⁸⁰⁹ Ephesians 2:14.

¹⁸¹⁰ Romans 2:22.

The bishops themselves decided to restore the deposed bishops to their positions. They also decided that the bishops, who were ordained instead of them and retreated to their monasteries, should retain their episcopal ranks as long as they live. Thus, Gabriel of Qartmin was ordered to go to Sijistan, or else be deposed. Meanwhile, they overlooked Qura. They laid down these canons as if they added wormwood to honey. Despite all this, however, the church enjoyed some respite. Afterwards, Sandeloio built a church in Miyafarqat and decorated it.

Chapter Twenty-Four: On the murder of Marwan and the unification of the kingdom of the Tayoye (Arabs); on Constantine, king (emperor) of the Romans and the council he convened in Constantinople known as the Seventh Council, which abolished the worship of Icons and anathematized Iyawannis (John), son of Mansur of Damascus, and George of Cyprus; the church of the Orthodox in which Satan, because of hatred, was wreaking havoc; and the conflict stirred up by Athanasius Sandeloio.

After his defeat on the road in disgrace, Marwan (nicknamed al-Himar, the last Umayyad caliph), was embarrassed to go to Harran. Therefore, he loaded his treasure on three thousand camels and went to Ascalon on the coast. Abd Allah ibn Ali pursued him, and he fled. Abd Allah sent an army to pursue him and they found him encamped on the Nile near Siwan (Aswan), on the frontier of the Nubians. A battle ensued between the two sides and Marwan was killed. His head was cut off and with his insignia were sent to the caliph, and Abd Allah (Abu al-Abbas al-Saffah the first Abbasid caliph, 750-754) became the sole ruler of the entire Tayoye (Arab) dominion.¹⁸¹¹

In the year 1063 of the Greeks (A.D. 752), the wife of Constantine V, who was daughter of Khagan, king of the Khazars, passed away and Constantine remained unmarried according to the custom of the Roman emperors. Three years later, some unscrupulous men tried to depose him. They pretended that they had affection towards him, and advised him to take a wife. However, since Constantine had no idea about their intentions, he said to them, "I will take your advice although I do not ignore the tradition of the Romans. I still say that the emperors should not be slaves to lust. So, if you think that my son should reign in my place, I will accept your counsel." These men sensed that he had discovered their intentions. Therefore, they advised him to have his son Leo, reign and he would continue to administer the state as long as he lived because he was prudent and hard on the enemies. Thus, he remarried.

In the year 1063 of the Greeks (A.D. 752), Constantine attacked Melitene and set up mangonels (engines of war) against its walls. Finally, he gave a pledge to the Tayoye (Arab, Muslims) living in it and left them on their own. He attacked Claudia and all the villages of Fourth Armenia and took their people captive.

In the year, 1066 of the Greeks (A.D. 755), and the year 135 of the Tayoye (Arabs, Islamic Calendar), Abd Allah Abu al-Abbas (al-Saffah) died after having reigned for four year and ten months. When Abd Allah ibn Ali heard of the death of Abu al-Abbas, he began to reign over the Persians and the Tayoye (Arabs). However, before his death, Abu al-Abbas designated Abu Ja'far (al-Mansur) to be his successor. Meanwhile, Abu Ja'far was preparing to go to Makka to perform the pilgrimage. Thus, conflict ensued between him and Abd Allah ibn Ali. Ibn Ali began visiting the cities and acting as if he was the real caliph. Abu Ja'far sent against him an army commanded by Abu Muslim (al-Khurasani) and defeated him. Abu Muslim, however, rebelled against Abu Ja'far attempting to usurp the caliphate. In fact, he even attempted to abduct the caliph. Abu Ja'far sent against him a certain man named Isa who deceived him and led him to Abu Ja'far, and he had Abu Muslim killed. Under Abu Ja'far, the affairs of the state settled down and were unified.¹⁸¹²

¹⁸¹¹ According to Arab sources, Marwan was killed as he sought refuge from the Abbasids in a church at Busir in Egypt. His grave is seen to this day. See Philip Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 10th ed. (Macmillan: St. Martin's Press, 1970), 285. Theophanes says that the sons and relatives of Marwan made their way from Egypt to Spain, which is highly questionable. See *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, 588.

¹⁸¹² *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 196; *The Chronicle of Elijah bar Shinaya*, 160-164; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 113, rather summarizes

While Abd Allah (al-Saffah), king (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs) was encamped in a region in the west, he heard a mighty tumult in the camp, and all the people were yelling and rushing to the graveyard. He, accompanied with few men, went to see what thing had happened with his own eyes. When they went, they saw eight men risen from their graves. Some were up to their breasts, others to their backs, and still others to their knees. Some of them wore beards dyed with henna according to Tayoye (Arab) custom. Many of those who went up to see what happened recognized them. However, when they talked to them, they did not utter a word. While the people were wondering (at the sight), the army commander ordered that they should be left alone and no one should approach them that day. He hoped to hear from them later about the truth of what had happened to them. It was then that everyone remained home that day with the exception of the men who were placed to guard them. On the next day, people came to see them but found them mute. Therefore, the army commander ordered that they be reburied. The people, astonished, returned to their houses.¹⁸¹³

On Sunday of February 1065 of the Greeks (A.D. 754), a pitch dark occurred so that people could not find their way when they left church. Torches were lit up and the darkness continued for three hours. This phenomenon recurred in April for three days, but the darkness was not as dense as the one that took place in February.

In this year, plague broke out everywhere, especially in Athor, that is Mosul. In this year also, and before sunrise, the comet known Sayf (Sword), appeared in the east toward the western part of the sky.

In this same year, Emperor Constantine convened a council of Chalcedonian bishops in Constantinople who hailed from the provinces of Rome, Dalmatia, Hillade, Cilicia and Sicily to discuss the subject of the veneration of icons. They decided that icons should not be venerated at all. They called this council the Seventh Council. Some of the bishops objected that the council was not canonical because it did not produce a definition of the faith. The Chalcedonians abhorred this emperor and nicknamed him the Iconoclast because he convened a council to abolish the veneration of icons. The council anathematized Iyawannis and George, bishop of Damascus, and George, bishop of Cyprus, because they adhered to the faith of Maximus. Constantine, however, was wise in his thinking and sound in his faith, and for this reason, the Chalcedonians hated him.

After pretending to be humble by conforming to the decisions of the council at Tella, Athanasius (Sandeloio) reverted to his intransigence. He ordained a person named Isaac as bishop for Harran without the approval of the patriarch or the bishops. It was said that Isaac was an expert in chemistry, and therefore, he was favored by Abu Ja'far. Finally, he became a stumbling for Athanasius. Some bishops, however, disliked what Athanasius had done. They blamed him for his audacity to ordain a bishop without the endorsement of the patriarch and the bishops, despite all the anathemas instituted at Tella. When the bishops fell into his grip, he treated them harshly. He accused Timothy, bishop of Edessa, alleging that he found with him letters containing assaults against Athanasius and against the amir Muhammad. He delivered the letters to Abu Ja'far who summoned Timothy unto him. When Timothy appeared before 'Aabi, or 'Aafi (governor of Mesopotamia), he defended himself courageously. He told (the governor) that the accusers should be punished unless they determine who the person was with whom the letter was found. When they failed to do so, the governor realized they were liars, and acquitted the bishop. In addition, Athanasius (Sandeloio) slandered David, bishop of Dara, to 'Aabi, but 'Aabi scolded him severely saying, "Don't say anything bad about David, I will not believe anything against him."¹⁸¹⁴ Apparently, 'Aabi greatly loved David. However, Sandeloio's (Athanasius) intention was to control these two bishops in order to

most of these events. Cf. *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, 588.

¹⁸¹³ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 112.

¹⁸¹⁴ In the Garshuni (Arabic written in Syriac letters), of 1759 version London, MS Arabic 4402, fol. 275, the translator Bishop Shuqayr of Sadat writes the name as 'Aaki. So does Rev. Chabot who writes it as Aki. See J. B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, II, 519, note 5. However, in his Arabic translation of *Michael's Chronicle*, Bishop Gregorius Saliba Shamoun of Mosul writes it as 'Aabi. See *Tarikh Mor Mikha'il al-Suryani al-Kabir*, 2 (Dar Mardin, Halab, 1996): 413. He is perhaps Muqatil ibn Hakim al-Akki, governor of the Jazira. See *The Chronicle of Zuqnin*, 180, note 7 by Amir Harrak.

accomplish his objectives in the church without fear. David had ambition to occupy the see of Harran, which immensely offended Athanasius. Therefore, he ordained another bishop for Harran. Furthermore, the city of Bishop Timothy (Edessa), was the Episcopal Bishopric of Beth Nahrim (Mesopotamia) since the time of Mor Addai (Thaddeus the Apostle), and someone else had usurped it uncanonically. However, when Sandeloio usurped the office of a metropolitan, he also dreamed of usurping the office of the patriarchate. He arrived in Nisibin with Gabriel, of the three tongues. When Gabriel failed to obtain his desire from the patriarch, he turned against him, joined Athanasius, and his partisans. As much as it was possible, Athanasius gave Gabriel a small part of the district of Tur Abdin, and the remainder was given to Quriqa. This is why Athanasius forced these two bishops to concur and sign. However, the bishops of the Jazira assembled with Athanasius (al-Na'aal) without David, bishop of Dara, and Sarguna, bishop of Mardin, who separated themselves from him because he visited the churches without the patriarch's permission. When Athanasius entered Dara, the congregation would not receive him. On the contrary, they insulted him, and he departed the city immediately. When he won the leadership, he tried to depose the bishops chosen by the patriarch, and when he failed to depose David and Sarguna, he poured his wrath on Constantine, bishop of Samosata, and on Iliyya (Elijah), bishop of Sinjar. Instead of Constantine, he ordained Plotinus. In addition, instead of Iliyya the sage and learned, from the province of Mosul and not from his own province, he ordained the contemptible Joshua, who trampled upon the anathemas which his colleagues had instituted at Tella. *End of the narrative.*

Chapter Twenty-Five: The beginning of the reign of Abu Ja'far, king (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs); the death of Patriarch Mor Iyawannis; the sedition created by the wicked Isaac; the election of Patriarch Gewargi (George) who was banished; and the building of the city of Baghdad which became the capital of the Arab kingdom

In the year 1066 of the Greeks (A.D. 755), Abu Ja'far ruled over the Tayoye (Arabs). Constantine, king (emperor) of the Romans went forth against Theodosiopolis of Armenia, which the Armenians call Garnoikagak, the Tayoye (Arabs) call Erzerum, and the Greeks call Calloincla. He seized it, took its people into captivity, and left it in a ruin.¹⁸¹⁵ He placed a garrison in the fortress of Bamak and returned to Constantinople. At Abu Ja'far's command, Melitene was rebuilt as it had been in the past, and he placed in it and a garrison. He also commanded that Theodosiopolis of Armenia be rebuilt, and he placed a garrison in it.

In the year 1071 of the Greeks (A.D. 760), the Tayoye (Arabs) subjugated Africa. In this time, too, they subjugated the country known as Tabaristan. It was bound on the north by the Caspian Sea and on the east by Dorqniya, which is Jurjan, on the south by Media and a portion of Parthia, and on the west by Daylam. This land had plenty of high mountains, tall trees and thick woods. Its entrances and outlets were very rugged. From east to west, it was forty farsakhs (parasangs) long, and from north to south twenty farsakhs wide. It had plenty of munificent resources, meadows, valleys and all kinds of trees. In addition, the five walled cities were subjugated by the Tayoye (Arabs), and Mahdi moved from al-Rayy (not far from Tehran) and settled in the city of Nisapur located to the west of Marw (Marv).

In addition, in the year 1073 of the Greeks (A.D. 762), Abu Ja'far built a city on the River Tigris above Ctesiphon, and called it Baghdad, and he dwelt in it.¹⁸¹⁶ In the year 1074 of the Greeks (A.D. 763), a man named Muhammad rebelled against Abu Ja'far. He was from Yathrib, (al-Madina) and a descendant of Fatima, daughter of their Prophet, and Ali's cousin.¹⁸¹⁷ All the Tayoye (Arabs) followed him, but Isa, the captain of the host, went against him and slew him in Yathrib, the very city of the Prophet.

In the same year, the Khazars went forth and took 50,000 captives from Jurjan. Also in this time, the Tayoye (Arabs) subjugated the region of Kabul of the country of India.

¹⁸¹⁵ Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 149.

¹⁸¹⁶ *The Chronicle of Elijah bar Shinaya*, 165.

¹⁸¹⁷ He is Muhammad, surnamed Nafs al-Zakkiyya (the pure soul). See Philip Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 290.

Abu Ja'far overburdened all nations with various taxes, and he doubled the tribute on the Christians. He also had the Jaramiqa driven from their country.

In the year 1080 of the Greeks (A.D. 769), the Magians in Persia rebelled against the Tayoye (Arabs), and set up a chief for themselves. A (Tayoye) Arab army went forth against them, and the Tayoye (Arabs) were defeated. The Magians became strong enough to establish a kingdom for themselves, but a very strong army went against them, and the Magians were defeated. About 40,000 of them perished and their chief was killed. Their hopes were shattered, and they were again subjugated by the Tayoye (Arabs).¹⁸¹⁸

In this time, (A.D. 752) Emperor Constantine carried into captivity the people of Claudia¹⁸¹⁹ and stationed them to the interior of Constantinople. When he heard that they desired no union with the Romans, he summoned some of them and asked them the reason for their aversion to the Romans. They said to him, "We never had communion with those who accept the Council of Chalcedon, and divide Christ into two natures." The emperor commanded them to provide him with a copy of their faith, so they wrote down their faith and offered it to him. When it was read to him, they found it sound, profitable, and in agreement with the teachings of the fathers. He and the distinguished men of his kingdom praised it and endorsed it, and through this group (people of Claudia), the emperor officially attended a meeting for the purpose of achieving union with the inhabitants of Melitene, by the mediation of the captives in Syria. However, some people from their church (the people of Claudia), tried to thwart the effort of the emperor but failed. The emperor endorsed the definition of the faith by us, we the orthodox.

In the year 1073 of the Greeks (A.D. 762), swarms of locusts devoured the crops, and hail fell down and destroyed the plants. It is said that one hailstone weighed eight pounds.

In the year 1076 (A.D. 765), a severe earthquake took place in Khurasan (northern Iran) that even one of the mountains moved away from its place for a distance of three miles. Because it was formed of earth, it was shattered into pieces. In May of this year, a comet appeared in the zodiac of Aries (Ram) next to the sun, which was in the zodiac of Taurus. It looked something like a pillar whose tail extended toward the south, and it moved for twenty days lower than the sun. It remained under the rays of the sun for three days and then moved behind the sun for forty days. Fear gripped the people because of this spectacle. In addition, the colossus that the Magians worshipped was uncovered in the desert.

In October of the year 1066 (A.D. 755), the holy Patriarch Iyawannis passed away, and was buried in the village of Babraya on the Euphrates River. He served the patriarchate for sixteen years. Abu Ja'far, caliph of the Tayoye (Arabs), commanded the bishops to set up Ishaq (Isaac), bishop of Harran, as patriarch. We should explain here how he had such strong relations with Abu Ja'far. At this time, Isaac was an inmate of the Monastery of the Phorkasians in Edessa. He was visited by a sojourning monk and Isaac was gracious unto him. The monk, wishing to recompense Isaac, asked him to bring him a little bit of lead. Isaac brought the lead, and the monk melted it (in water). Then, he took something out of the bag he had with him and cast it into the lead, and the lead was transformed into gold. Exceedingly enchanted, Isaac asked the monk to teach him this art.¹⁸²⁰ The monk said that a certain man had given him only a little bit of gold, but Isaac did not believe him. He followed him, pushed him into a pit and dropped on him a big rock, which killed him. He thought that he could find in his saddlebag a book that would teach him this art, but found no book or lead except that bag, and he regretted what he did. Because of that lead, he struck a friendship with Athanasius Sandeloio, who ordained him as bishop for Harran, hoping that he would teach him the art of alchemy. For the same reason, his relations with Abu Ja'far were strengthened through 'Aabi, governor of the Jazira. Therefore, after the death of Mor Iyawannis, he forced the bishops to set up Isaac, unlawfully, as patriarch. The bishops assembled in Rish 'Ayna and declared him, uncanonically, as patriarch. Isaac obtained a decree from the caliph (Abu Ja'far) that he should be accepted by everyone. It authorized him to travel through the lands in order to gather ingredients of alchemy and teach the caliph this art. However, after a long travel through the lands, the caliph summoned him, examined him and discovered

¹⁸¹⁸ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 114.

¹⁸¹⁹ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 113.

¹⁸²⁰ This is the art of alchemy. It is a medieval chemical science meant to transform base metals into gold.

that he had no knowledge at all. He ordered that he be strangled and his body thrown into the River Euphrates.¹⁸²¹

Thus, what Isaac did to the sojourning monk, the same happened to him. Then, the caliph (Abu Ja'far) instructed the bishops to set up Athanasius Sandeloio as patriarch.

When Sandeloio became uncanonically a patriarch, he obtained a decree from the caliph (confirming him in his position). When he arrived in Harran, he wanted to ordain Abdun, a disciple of Isaac, a bishop. In fact, he had before promised to ordain him a bishop. Based on this promise, Abdun concurred with Sandeloio and informed the caliph that Isaac knew the art of alchemy but refused to teach him. For this reason, the caliph was wrathful and had him strangled. When Abdun accompanied Sandeloio to Harran, the congregation refused to receive him or Sandeloio. Rather, they committed an improper act by entering Sandeloio's chamber and strangling him. The people believed that their act was done by order of the caliph. Then, the monks of his monastery carried his body and deposited it in an urn in their monastery with honor. This was the end of Sandeloio.¹⁸²²

Let us now discuss the holy Gewargi (George) from the village of Ba'altan in the neighborhood of Homs. George studied, in the Monastery of Qinnésrin, the Scriptures in both the Greek and Syriac languages. He was appointed as secretary to Mor Theodore, bishop of Samosata. Theodore found him a man of chastity, wisdom and piety. He predicted, saying, "I feel deep down in my heart, that God will offer this man a high dignity in the church." He then said to George, "You should take care of the monastery in which you were raised because it is declining." Then, when Sandeloio passed away, the bishops assembled in Mabug (Manbij) in December of the year 1070 of the Greeks (A.D. 760), (to elect a patriarch). The candidates were David, bishop of Dara and Yuhanon (John), bishop of Callinicus (al-Raqqā). Each of these dignitaries endeavored to win the honor of the high dignity (the patriarchate), to the exclusion of any other name by all means. When the name of George was mentioned, they summoned him, as he was still a deacon. The bishops welcomed him having learned of his knowledge and intelligence, except David, bishop of Dara and Yuhanon, bishop of Callinicus, who were filled with envy. They said, "We do not raise someone from the dunghill to the throne." However, when the people of Mabug learned that these two bishops objected to (George) because of envy, they reviled them with harsh words. The bishops, however, and with godly zeal, ordained George despite the objection of the two bishops. After the council dispersed, the bishops of the Jazira went home. As they crossed the River Euphrates they, instigated by Satan, ordained Yuhanon, bishop of Callinicus as patriarch, and the church was split. However, the faithful of Callinicus drove Yuhanon away and did not proclaim his name as a patriarch all his life. While George visited the western region, Yuhanon was playing havoc with the eastern region. Meanwhile, a section of the Jazira submitted to George. However, the confusion continued for four years until the death of Yuhanon in 1074 (A.D. 763). He was succeeded by David, bishop of Dara, who harassed George.¹⁸²³ *End of this and the former narratives.*

Chapter Twenty-Six: On the period of the death of Constantine, king (emperor of the Romans; and on Abu Ja'far, king (caliph) of the Tayoye that is Arabs, and on the imprisonment of Gewargi (George) in Baghdad for nine years

In the year 1080 (A.D. 769), the Tayoye (Arabs) went up with wrath against the Valley of Germanicia, which is Mar'ash, because they heard that they had become spies for the Romans. They carried off the people of the country into captivity, took them away and settled them in the land of Ramlah. This they also did with the natives of Samosata.¹⁸²⁴

¹⁸²¹ Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, 315, 317, 319.

¹⁸²² Bar Hebraeus, *Ibid.*

¹⁸²³ Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, 319-327.

¹⁸²⁴ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 114, says that the Arabs did this because they heard that their spies had been enslaved by the Romans.

At this time, the Africans rebelled and killed the Tayoye (Arabs) and the Persians. Abu Ja'far sent against them Yazid to fight them. In the battle, Yazid killed 30,000 barbarians (Africans), and he subjugated all of Africa.¹⁸²⁵

In the year 1083 (A.D. 772), Abu Ja'far built a city by the side of Callinicus, and he called it Raphqa; no one had ever seen such handicraft as was displayed on its gates.¹⁸²⁶ When Harun (al-Rashid) reigned, he built a wall for the city behind the first one.

In this same year, Abu Ja'far marched from Babylon to Beth Nahrin, Syria and Palestine, and he appointed Musa bar (ibn) Mus'ab the Jew, a governor of the Jazira, and Musa bar (ibn) Sulayman for Qinnasrin. Both of these men were wicked and harsh. Abu Ja'far gathered all the silver and gold into his treasure house, that no dinar or one *fals* (less than a piaster) could be found except with businessmen. Because of the severity of the affliction, people began to dig up graves to sift the earth and rinse it with water, hoping to find a piece of silver, gold, or other precious metals in order to pay the taxes. In this way, the oppression of the people became worse. On top of this oppression, pestilence broke out in Syria, Beth Nahrin and Athor (Mosul). The afflicted person would first feel headache and then died. Then followed a famine of great severity, not only because of the shortage of wheat, but also because of lack of money. Moreover, there were no jobs for the poor. The churches, the monastery and homes were plundered. The price of an ox and donkey was one piaster. The price of five bushels of wheat was one piaster, and the price of youths and maidens was five piasters. Three years after this calamity, Abu Ja'far, king (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs), who was the source of evil, died in the Ka'ba in the year 1087 (A.D. 776), having reigned for twenty-one years. Ibn Mus'ab, members of his family, and Musa, governor of Qinnasrin were arrested. The whole world heaved a sigh of relief from tribulation.¹⁸²⁷

Twenty-five days before Abu Ja'far's death, on September 19 of that year, Constantine, king (emperor) of the Romans, died, having reigned for thirty-four years and five months. Abu Ja'far al-Mansur died on October 7, 775.¹⁸²⁸ *End of the narrative about kings and the church.*

In the year 1080 of the Greeks (A.D. 769), a woman was found in the country of Bukhara who never ate food, had never suckled at the breast, or had a need for a drink. Mahdi (775-785), bar (son) of king (caliph al-Manaur, heard of her and brought her to Baghdad. He examined her case and found it true and beyond nature. Something like this was never mentioned by ancient chroniclers or sages of any country.¹⁸²⁹

A certain Christian named Cyrus, denied (Christianity) for some reason. Later, however, he repented and returned to it. Abbas laid hands on him and judged him. When the man did not consent to Abbas's choices (to reembrace Islam), he had his head cut off and his body thrown into the fire.

Abu Ja'far increased the taxes, and people were distressed.¹⁸³⁰ They began to dig up tombs hoping to find money. While they were digging the tombs of ancient pagans in Nicomedia, they found in the underground burial chamber the (mummified) body of Nicodemus, with it was deposited plenty of gold, emeralds and red jewels which glowed in the dark. The people informed Emperor Constantine of this discovery, and he sent men to see it. They saw plenty of gold and precious stones. The emperor, acting graciously, took nothing from these things. He sent artisans to block the entrance of the place, and they piled up on it a huge mound of earth lest it be opened again. Constantine said, "Is anything more shameful than to see living men in need of the dead? It is our duty to honor the dead."¹⁸³¹

In the year 1076 (A.D. 765), the bishops assembled at Sarug, and reconciled Patriarch Gewargi (George) with David, bishop of Dara. Despite the reconciliation, David did not desist from his wickedness

¹⁸²⁵ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 114.

¹⁸²⁶ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 114.

¹⁸²⁷ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 115.

¹⁸²⁸ See Philip Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 294. Constantine V died on September 18, 774/775. See *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, 619.

¹⁸²⁹ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 114.

¹⁸³⁰ According to *The Chronology of Elijah bar Shinaya*, 167, al-Mansur came to Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia) and oppressed the people with harsh demands.

¹⁸³¹ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 115.

or shrink from his malice, but went to Abu Ja'far, king (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs). He sneaked into the presence of Malik, secretary of Abu Ja'far, king of the Tayoye (Arabs), and slandered Patriarch Gewargi (George) saying that, "He became a patriarch without your command, and the annoyed us with his demands. And when we asked him the reason he did not obtain a decree from the caliph (Abu Ja'far), he said, 'I do not want the name of their messenger (Muhammad) to enter my chamber.'" Abu Ja'far became furious and sent soldiers to bring the patriarch to him. Upon appearing in the presence of the caliph, Abu Ja'far ordered him to take off his clothes and stretch his hands. The blessed (patriarch) called on the Virgin in the Greek language saying, "Theotokos, (Mother of God), help me." Asking what he was saying, a person, who hated the patriarch, said to the caliph that, "He is blaspheming." The patriarch was whipped three lashes and his blood flowed on the floor. Then the caliph said to him, "Why didn't you request a decree?" The patriarch said, "I did not want to annoy anyone, especially since I was forced to accept leadership (the patriarchal office)." The caliph said, "And why didn't you want the name of our Prophet to enter your private chamber?" The patriarch was surprised and said, "Indeed, the name of your Prophet is in all of our chambers and on our purses. It is inscribed on the dirhams (drachmas) and the dinars, so, how would I say such a thing?" When the caliph perceived his courage and intelligence, he realized that he was maliciously delivered unto him. He told his secretary to take him to his house with honor, and ask him whether he knows the art of alchemy. He began to honor him, and meantime, cajole him. However, the patriarch said to him, "I know nothing about alchemy, and I believe that it is not known even today." The patriarch remained in his house for three days eating neither bread nor drinking water. Finally, he was thrown into prison in Baghdad. The caliph assembled the bishops and commanded them to set up another patriarch. They said, "This is not possible." The caliph threatened to banish them to China. They were afraid, and mentioned the name of David (bishop of Dara), as their leader (patriarch). Most of them, however, fled and did not subject themselves to the caliph. Those who succumbed for fear neglected their congregations and dioceses. The caliph, then, offered David a decree and a mare in order to go around and force the believers to accept him. David, however, was received with contempt by everyone, and the bishops he ordained were driven out (by their congregations), but he was not ashamed, as it is written, "Are they ashamed of their loathsome conduct? No, they have no shame at all."¹⁸³²

At this point, confusion and disturbance prevailed in the church of God. Instead of priests, deacons and other sacerdotal ranks, the Persians encircled the Table of Life with arms, swords and iron rods forcing the people to partake in the defiled communion of David. This also was done to other bishops who offered the sacrifice (Eucharist). As to the bishops who were loyal to Mor Gewargi (the patriarch), they were persecuted and forced to dress up with the white vestments of laymen when they traveled from one village to another. Meanwhile, the blessed (patriarch) remained in prison in Baghdad for nine years enduring all kinds of continuous torments. He penned in prison several splendid treatises and many *madrashes* (hymns) inspiring orthodox teachings. After the death of Abu Ja'far, the prisoners were released, and the saint patriarch was let out of prison. *End of this narrative.*

Here ends Book Eleven containing the events of 145 years. (922 to 1087) During this period, thirteen kings (emperors) reigned in the Roman kingdom, five in the Persian kingdom, twenty Arab kings (caliph), fifteen patriarchs of Antioch and eleven patriarchs of Alexandria. This Book consists of twenty-six chapters.

¹⁸³² Jeremiah 6:15, and 8:12.

BOOK TWELVE

WITH THE HELP OF GOD, WHO PERFECTED THE HOLY APOSTLE, WE BEGIN BOOK TWELVE OF THE BOOK OF HISTORY. IT BEGINS IN THE YEAR 1088 OF THE GREEKS, WHICH IS THE YEAR 157 OF THE KINGDOM OF THE ARABS, WHO ARE THE TAYOYE, THE YEAR 6260 FROM ADAM, THAT IS, THE BEGINNING OF THE CREATION, AND THE YEAR 758 OF THE NATIVITY OF THE LORD

Chapter One: On the beginning of the reign of Leo IV, king (emperor) of the Romans; and Mahdi, king (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs); and the release of Mor Gewargi (George) the holy and martyr patriarch¹⁸³³

In the year 1088 (A.D. 777), Leo, son of Constantine, reigned over the Romans.¹⁸³⁴ Twenty-five days later, Mahdi, son of Abu Ja'far, ruled the Tayoye (Arabs). Both released the prisoners who were taken captive by their fathers.

Mahdi opened the treasures of his father and scattered them like with a winnow fork. Not only did he squander them on his troops, but also on his jawari (slave women), for he was lecherous and loved entertainment. He was attracted to magic and divination, and the forecast of fate. Therefore, King (Emperor) Leo IV sent to him the 'Book of Jannes and Jambres' which contained the whole system of sorcery of the Egyptians, and the magic they did in front of Moses.^{1835 1836}

In the year 1090 (A.D. 779), Mahdi came to Aleppo, and the Tanukhians (Arabs of the tribe of Tanukh), who lived in tents round about Aleppo, went out to meet him. They were riding Tayoye (Arab) horses, and were decked in ornaments. Then it was said to him, "All these are Christians." Seething with anger, Mahdi commanded them to embrace Islam. Under severe torture, five thousand men became Muslims, but the women were saved. Some of them (Tanukhians) are still in the churches of the west, as testified by one of them named Laith. Afterwards, Mahdi went to the land of the Romans and encamped on the River Phuramon in the country of the city Arabisus. He sent his son Harun (al-Rashid) to spy the land of the Romans, and Mahdi returned to Syria and went to Jerusalem to worship.¹⁸³⁷ His son captured a fortress called Semalus, and after pillaging it and its surroundings, he returned.¹⁸³⁸

In the year 1092 (A.D. 781), the Tayoye (Arabs) attacked the country of Ephesus and carried away about 7,000 captives. At the same time, Emperor Leo dispatched an army, took some Syrian Orthodox captive and settled them in Thrace.¹⁸³⁹ A Chalcedonian historian said that Leo abhorred icons and never permitted their veneration. Like his father, he cleaved to the Orthodox (non-Chalcedonians).

In the year 1092 (A.D. 780-781), Leo died and was succeeded by his son Constantine (VI). Because he was only twelve years old, his mother Irene administered the affairs of the kingdom, and her name was mentioned next to his.

In the year 1094 (A.D. 783), Mahdi sent his son Harun, accompanied by two captains of the host, against the Roman country. Abd al-Malik laid siege against Nacolea, but his army was defeated and he fled in disgrace. Meanwhile, Bournike killed about ten thousand Romans, and Harun went against the royal city. The Romans made a cunning plan and shut in the Tayoye (Arabs) on the River Sangarius, the mountain being on one side and the river on the other side. The Tayoye (Arabs), facing a great difficulty, sued for

¹⁸³³ The Chapters of Book Twelve are not numbered in the Syriac text. The numbering is mine.

¹⁸³⁴ He is Leo IV, 775-780 called the Khazar because his mother was the daughter of Khagan, king of the Khazars.

¹⁸³⁵ See 2 Timothy 3:8-9. This is the only place in the Scriptures where St. Paul mentions these two men by name as having opposed Moses.

¹⁸³⁶ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 116.

¹⁸³⁷ *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, 624.

¹⁸³⁸ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 117. Cf. *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, 624-625.

¹⁸³⁹ *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, 623.

peace. Irene, in her womanly thinking, agreed to three years peace, and the Arabs were out of this dilemma.¹⁸⁴⁰

After one year, Ali rebuilt the city of Hadath.

In the year 1095 (A.D. 784), Mahdi died and was succeeded by his son Musa (al-Hadi), who reigned for two years.

In 1097 (A.D. 786), a massive Roman army went out and reached the city of Hadath which the Tayoye (Arabs) had recently built on the frontier, its inhabitants fled. The Romans destroyed all of its walls and buildings.

In July, Musa (al-Hadi), caliph of the Tayoye (Arabs) died, and was succeeded by his son Harun, called al-Rashid.

After Patriarch Gewargi (George) spent nine years in the prison of Baghdad, Mahdi assumed the government and set the prisoners free. When the patriarch left prison, Mahdi commanded him not to perform the duties of the patriarchate, or even call himself patriarch. Then, the blessed patriarch went to Takrit and was received by the congregation as an angel of God. He then passed through Mosul and the towns of the Jazira, and was welcomed everywhere with great honor until he reached Antioch. In that year, he deposed the bishops who were ordained by David, ordained ten other bishops, and left others to administer the affairs of the church as was necessary. He also deposed Plotinus who was ordained by Sandeloio, and restored Constantinus to Samosata. Shortly afterwards, Constantinus passed away and the people of Samosata asked for Plotinus to be their bishop, and the patriarch sent him back to them.

Two years after his traveling and building new churches, some men slandered him to the amir (governor) of the Jazira that he did not abide by the rules of the Commander of the Faithful (the caliph). The amir was angry and summoned him from Harran to Callinicus. However, before the patriarch appeared in the presence of the governor, Bishop Theodosius, who had ejected Sandeloio, entered into the governor's presence and explained that these men had falsely slandered the patriarch. He calmed down the governor. When the blessed (patriarch) went into the presence of the governor, the governor debated him, but he defended himself astonishingly well to the satisfaction of the governor. Theodosius, who was a friend of the governor, translated the discussion into Arabic. He praised the patriarch saying that he was a good man and a saint, and those who accused him of imposing heavy burdens on the churches, were liars. The governor was greatly satisfied, and the patriarch left triumphant. He went on administering the affairs of the church of God until the end of his life.

In Alexandria, Mina was patriarch for 40 years. He was succeeded by Iyawannis.

In 1095 (A.D. 784), the Edessans rebelled against their Metropolitan Zachariah for many reasons, most specifically that he did not censure his brother Simon for his evil conduct. When he did not obey, the Patriarch Gewargi (George) ordered him to leave Edessa, and he was accepted by no one.

In May of the year 1096 (A.D. 785), Patriarch Gewargi assembled a council on the account of Yuhanon, metropolitan of Takrit, whom the Edessans charged with contemptible behavior. Yuhanon, however, claimed that they (the Edessans) were lying. The patriarch sent with him four bishops to investigate, so that if the metropolitan proved to be innocent, he would absolve him and reconfirm him (in his position). When the bishops reached Balad, Yuhanon Kiony deserted them and fled to St. Matthew's Monastery. He ventured to ordain three rebellious bishops to support him and disobey the patriarch. When the bishops perceived his audacity, they excommunicated him and the bishop he had ordained. Then, the patriarch ordained Joseph a metropolitan for Takrit, and Zachariah of the Monastery of Qartmin (the present Monastery of Mor Gabriel), for Edessa. Zachariah was ejected by the troublemakers in Edessa. *End of the account.*

When Mahdi began to reign over the Tayoye (Arabs), he sent a man named Muhtasib to destroy the churches, which had been built under the Tayoye (Arab Muslims). He also commanded that Christian slaves be sold. Thus, several churches were pulled down and the slaves fled. The church of the Chalcedonians in

¹⁸⁴⁰ See Philip Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 299.

Aleppo was demolished. He stirred up persecution against the Manicheans wherever they were found, and many Tayoye Arabs, Muslims) were killed for embracing the heresy of Manichaeism and never recanted. The region called Paddana Rabtha (al-Faddan al-Kabir) which teemed with Manicheans was demolished. Some Christians also suffered for being charged with embracing this heresy. People from the country of Goumaye were betrayed by a Persian, and were also captured. The reason was that they refused to give this Persian a residence in their village of Hinan, which waxed him angry, and he turned against them. He accused them of being Manicheans, while he was well aware of the severe punishment imposed on the Manicheans in Baghdad. He cast eight of their notables into prison, three of whom died under torture, and the other five were released, being saved by the Lord.

In the year 1095 (A.D. 784), flying locusts called the Kalbite came and destroyed the crops, and the entire Jazira was filled with them. After destroying the wheat, barley and other crops, they laid eggs in the plains and the mountains. After one month, the eggs hatched and the young locusts began to creep. They climbed the walls of the houses, the city walls, and crept into the homes through windows and doors. They filled everything, even water jars, water-skins, beds, tables and utensils. When they entered a house from the southern quarter, they went out the northern side going in the direction of Harran. They devoured everything, whether herbs, trees, woolen garments or the clothes of men. They particularly spread into Edessa, Sarug and Hisn Kipha. After devouring everything in the Jazira, they passed over to the west. There they devoured all the crops, vineyards, trees and all kinds of wood. Indeed, no one could tell of this bitter scourge that I have witnessed. Glory to the Lord of all! This severe plague lasted three years and was followed by plenty of vegetables, bread, wine, oil, all kinds of grain and the like.¹⁸⁴¹

Chapter Two: On how and when the controversy began in the Church concerning the expression "We break heavenly bread."

Some blamed Patriarch Quryaqus (Cyriacus) for creating the controversy in the church concerning the expression "we break the heavenly bread," but they were wrong. In fact, doubt has been raised about this expression since the time of Patriarch Gewargi (George), as attested in his letter to the deacon Gouriah from the family of Beth Na'ar in Edessa. In this letter he says, "Dear Son: In reply to your letter concerning the initiation of this expression, of how and when it entered the church, when some doubted it, and when it was rejected, I would say to you that our great Lord God and Savior Jesus Christ handed over to us three sacraments: the Sacrament of Baptism, the Sacrament of Sacrifice of his body and Blood (the Eucharist), and the Sacrament of Ordination of Priestly Ranks. For each of these Sacraments, he instituted a symbol. The symbol of Baptism is breath, that is, when he (Christ) breathed on his disciples and said to them, 'Receive the Holy Spirit. If you forgive anyone his sins, they are forgiven; if you do not forgive them, they are not forgiven.'¹⁸⁴² Therefore, those who breathe on the water of baptism, whether chief priests or priests, do so in order that the sacramental breath permeates the water, and the baptized person will then receive the Holy Spirit of the second birth. With respect to the Sacrament of the Service of his Body and Blood (the Eucharist), he took bread by his holy hands, broke it and gave his holy disciples. The mystery is consummated in the prayer, which follows that of 'Holy, Holy, Holy,' for the effect of the same power given by Christ, which is the power of Almighty God, is perfected in this Sacrament performed by people who are weak. As to the laying on of hands, which pertains to the priestly Sacrament of Ordination, Luke says at the end of his Gospel, 'He lifted up his hands and blessed them, when he was taken up into heaven.'¹⁸⁴³ This holy tradition is performed in the holy church for those who come to accept the priesthood whether they are chief priests, priests or deacons. It is consummated by the right hand of God the Father who is Jesus Christ, and by us, the lowly. Now, if we confuse these rules and introduce other traditions of our innovation, we will be transcending the boundary of the divine Sacraments. Therefore, we should not breathe after the recitation of the prayer that follows the first one, concerning what is peculiar to this

¹⁸⁴¹ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 118.

¹⁸⁴² John 20:23.

¹⁸⁴³ Luke 24:50.

Sacrament. Likewise, we should not lay hands on those ordained after the recitation of the last prayer, after the laying on of hands which follows lifting them up. In addition, if we breathe for the second time in the case of Baptism, we will be deviating from the Sacrament handed to us by our Savior. In this manner, too, if we repeat the prayer of the breaking of the bread, we would be doing something alien to tradition. For the Gospel does not say, 'He brake and blessed, and brake and blessed, and gave to his disciples,' for this repetition is not compatible with that power which perfects everything."

"As to your inquiry of when this (expression of we break the heavenly bread) began in the church, I have no knowledge about it. However, regarding when it was rejected, I know that from everlasting to everlasting it was rejected by the saints clothed by God. For the Holy Spirit caused this Sacrament of the Body and Blood of God the Word to be perfected by James, the first bishop, and Mark the evangelist. Moreover, the Egyptians and the Alexandrians testify that the expression 'we break the heavenly bread, in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit,' does not exist in the liturgy of St. Mark, son and pupil of the head of the holy Apostles (St. Peter), from whom he received his divine evangelism and the entire sacraments. This is also attested to by the Greeks, foremost of whom are the holy doctors (learned men) who celebrated the Eucharist according to the liturgy of James, the chief priest. Furthermore, the expression, 'we break the heavenly bread in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit', does not exist in the liturgies of Basil, Gregory, Timothy or Severus. Indeed, neither the liturgy of the Apostle James, nor other liturgies contain this expression, for all of these fathers wrote in Greek. It does not even exist in the Greek versions (of the liturgy). Since it does not exist in the liturgy of St. James and in other liturgies, this means that the liturgy has been complete (perfect) forever and ever."

"As to me, I have not forced anyone to recite or not to recite this expression, not because I am aware that it should not be recited, but in order not to give the opportunity to the troublemakers who are not concerned with building up the church. In fact, they insist on destroying it because of their love of leadership. Thus, they use it (the expression of we break the heavenly bread) as a means of dissension and for attracting the simple. Woe to us, then, if bread which has come down from heaven is found in our faith which is not the Son and God, the Word. And, if we break (the bread) in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, it would be necessary for another Son, who is not the bread which came down from heaven, to exist."

"As to your question about when this expression entered the church, we say, two traditions have been handed down in the case of this sacrament, the first is holy, and the other is not. The holy Apostles determined that the sacrifice (Eucharist) be celebrated during the holy days of fasting (Lent) with the exception of Saturday and Sunday. They also instructed that the rite of '*Rshum Koso*' (blessing of the cup) could be celebrated during the other days of fasting because the people had received the communion in the evening. As he blessed the chalice, the officiating priest would say, 'Blessed is the cup of grace in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit.' Then he puts in the cup a forgiving *gmurto* and hallows it.¹⁸⁴⁴ This is a holy tradition. The *gmurto* will then sanctify the chalice, which has not been yet sanctified, and it is known as 'the Cup of Thanksgiving.' However, it is not one of sacraments our Savior mentioned and which point to his divinity, nor is it in conformity with any aspect of his Incarnation."

"The other tradition introduced by the impious Deodore, enemy of the truth and adversary of Christ, is not holy. He set up what he called *qurobo* (oblation), which is not close to God but far away from him. Deodore says, 'We break heavenly bread in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit.' Nevertheless, I say that those who reiterated the expression 'we break heavenly bread,' are simple people who are as far from the idea of Deodore as heaven is far from earth. However, if one scrutinizes it carefully, he will find that it has the same efficacy. Who is then the Lamb of God other than that living bread which came down from heaven? John the Baptist, who uttered this expression, professed saying, 'This is the Lamb

¹⁸⁴⁴ Literally, *gmurto* is a live coal. In the Syriac liturgy, it is a particle of the consecrated bread in allusion to Isaiah 6:6, whose lips were touched by the angel with a live coal on the altar. It is interpreted as a type of Christ. See R. Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary* (Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1903), 72.

of God who takes away the sins of the world.¹⁸⁴⁵ As I said earlier when I compared these two expressions 'We sacrifice the Lamb of God before the Holy Trinity,' and 'We break the heavenly bread in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit,' that they are not different from each other. However, according to his impious belief, Deodore divides Christ with an evil mind. Those, (the simple people mentioned above) out of ignorance, derived this expression from the rite of *Rshum Koso* (the Blessing of the Cup), because it harmonizes with it, and because it is a sanctification of an unsanctified cup. However, here it does not fit because it means that we break heavenly bread, which is the Son of God and his Word. Moreover, when this expression says that 'we break bread in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit,' it, in fact, considers the heavenly bread remote from the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. As someone (an officiating priest) says that so and so is baptized in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, it is the same as saying that the heavenly bread is broken in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. For that heavenly bread is considered outside the scope of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. I personally did not tell anyone to recite or not recite this expression 'we break the heavenly bread,' lest I give the opportunity to those who try to split the church by their impiety, and the rest of the letter." *End of the narrative.*

Chapter Three: On the period of the reign of Harun, king (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs); and on Constantine, king (emperor) of the Romans; and on the death of Patriarch Gewargi (George), and those who succeeded him in the church of the Orthodox, and the rest of events which took place in this period and are written down in this book

When Harun (al-Rashid), king (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs) reigned (798-809), he sent Abd al-Malik to rebuild the city of Hadath. Abd al-Malik prepared two thousand wagons. The churches located west of Sanja were demolished and their stones were used to build the wall (of Hadath). In addition, the church of Kesum and its fifteen temples were demolished.¹⁸⁴⁶

In September, Malshouf (sic) entered the land of the Romans and carried many into captivity. Then Sulayman, governor of Hadath, entered the Roman country to pillage and took many captives. In February, his son Job attacked the region of the seacoast and looted great spoils.

In the year 1104 (A.D. 793), the Qaysites fought with the Yamanites in the country of the west. It began in Palestine and extended to Emessa (Homs). Many were captured on both sides. In the same year, Abd al-Malik entered the country of the Romans and carried off many captives, and departed. Then, his son Abd al-Rahman, entered the Roman country and captured one fortress in Cappadocia called Rabasa. Nine men died from thirst before surrendering the fortress to him. When the Tayoye (Arabs) captured it, they took great spoils including precious vessels.

In this period, it was intimated to Constantine (the VI), emperor of the Romans, that Elpidius, the governor of Sicily, claimed to be an emperor of the Romans, and that he was cohabiting with his mother.¹⁸⁴⁷ When Constantine wanted to blind his eyes, Elpidius fled to the Tayoye (Arabs). Constantine commanded that his mother should never again be called 'Queen', and informed all his subjects. Then, he cast Elpidius' sons and wife into prison,¹⁸⁴⁸ and Elpidius swore to the Tayoye (Arabs) to hand Sicily over to them. He drew an alliance with Sulayman supported by oath. Accordingly, Sulayman led 40,000 men and marched with Elpidius under the condition that they would subjugate the entire Roman land. However, winter came upon them as they entered the province of Simisun. Four thousands of them perished, and the rest found refuge with the Romans, who treated them with human kindness and never harmed any of them. In January, the Tayoye (Arabs) departed the region (of Simisun), but the feet of a great number of them became ulcerated because of the snow. I saw about four hundred of them in Edessa. Subsequently, Constantine

¹⁸⁴⁵ John 1:29.

¹⁸⁴⁶ The stones of these churches were transported on the above-mentioned wagons. See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 118.

¹⁸⁴⁷ Theophanes does not mention that Elpidius had sexual relations with the queen. See *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, 628, and footnote 3 on p. 629.

¹⁸⁴⁸ *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, 627.

reconciled with his mother Irene, and decreed that she should be again addressed as a 'Queen.' Her name as queen was proclaimed everywhere except in the country of Armenia, whose nobles refused to do so because of the oaths they had sworn, so the tyrant king killed them.¹⁸⁴⁹

In addition to his evil actions, Constantine trampled upon a Christian tradition, and unashamedly took another woman as wife while his first wife was still alive. Thus, he was held with contempt by the people.

In the year 1100 (A.D. 789), a *Haruroye* named Walid¹⁸⁵⁰ went forth with five thousand men and came to Nisibin. He killed its governor, looted the merchants, and imposed on every Christian twenty-five *zuzze*.¹⁸⁵¹ The Tayoye (Arabs) feared him especially when he began to roam here and there killing the Tayoye (Arabs). After defeating the army of Abd al-Malik and emptying the highways from travelers, Yazid resisted him and killed him.

In the following year, Harun (al-Rashid) left Baghdad and came to dwell in Callinicus (al-Raqqa), a city on the Euphrates bank. He built in it homes for its inhabitants and for his leading men, and Callinicus became a second Babylon. He brought to it two (water) canals: one from the Euphrates, the other from Sarug. He bought the waters of the villages of Sarug from their owners, dug a new canal for them, and planted many gardens.

In 1108 (A.D. 797), Harun, king (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs), went forth to the country of the Romans. When passing by Edessa, the Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims) slandered the Christians to him that they were spies of the Romans, especially that the Roman emperor performed every year the prayer in their church. The Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims) appealed to Harun to pull down their great church and not allow them to ring a church bell. Harun consulted Yahya, his Vizier, who advised him wisely that he should not do so. He had the accusers beaten and expelled.¹⁸⁵²

At this time, some wrote that a certain man from Thrace was digging in some place. He found an urn in which there was a corpse, on the urn was inscribed, 'Christ will be born of a virgin, and I now do believe. However, the sun will shine over me if what I said is fulfilled.'¹⁸⁵³

In 1097 (A.D. 786), The Edessans separated themselves from their Bishop Zachariah the Second, who came from the Monastery of Qartmin (Mor Gabriel). He was opposed by the clergy and the nobles, but not the common people of the congregation. When Patriarch Gewargi (George) heard of this incident, he transferred Zachariah out of Edessa.

When the blessed Gewargi was traveling on the road, he felt sick and his pain increased when he reached Claudia. He went to the Monastery of Mor Barsoum (near Melitene, Malatya), where he died in the year 1101 of the Greeks (A.D. 790), and his holy body was buried therein.

In June of that year, a council of bishops assembled in Badaya the Less in the plain of Harran and elected Joseph from the Monastery of Gubba Baraya (a patriarch). He was handsome and of pleasant features. However, when they engaged in discussion with him, the bishops found him to be simple (unlearned), and decided to send him back to his monastery. The bishops were split on his account. Some wanted him, and others rejected him. Finally, they ordained him unwillingly for fear of the monks of his monastery who were known for their love of quarrel. When Joseph was ordained, Zachariah, bishop of Edessa, brought him forcefully to Edessa to reconcile him with its congregation. He and the patriarch stayed in the church of Mor Cosmas outside Edessa, and the Edessan paid the patriarch a visit. After a prolonged conversation with him, the Edessan did not submit to the patriarch or even accept Bishop Zachariah. Then

¹⁸⁴⁹ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 119.

¹⁸⁵⁰ Walid ibn Tarif al-Sahri. See Abu Ja'far ibn Jarir al-Tabari, *Tarikh al-Umam wa al-Muluk*, 6 (Cairo: Matba'at al-Istiqama, 1939), 46. He receives his epithet from *Haruriyya* which is another name of the Muslim sect of Kharijites. The Kharijites are called so because they seceded from Ali ibn Abi Talib and fought him (in 656), when he agreed to an arbitration with Mu'awiya who had challenged him for the office of the caliphate. They maintained that Mu'awiya was only a governor and not on par with Ali who was caliph par excellence. Their cry was that 'Arbitration belongs only to Allah.'

¹⁸⁵¹ A coin equivalent to five piasters.

¹⁸⁵² Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 119.

¹⁸⁵³ This passage is almost identical with the one related by Theophanes. See *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, 627.

the patriarch left dejected, and did not enter their city. The bishops appealed to him to travel to Baghdad to receive a decree of investiture (from the caliph). Meanwhile, he gave permission to Yuhanon (John), who was until then taking care of the villages, to administer the city of Mabug (Manbij), which was until then administered by another bishop. When Patriarch Joseph accomplished his business in Baghdad, he visited on his way back the churches of the East (Mosul). He passed away at the Monastery of Mor Atanous above Tellbsam in December 1103 of the Greeks (A.D. 792). He ordained only one bishop for Ba'lbak named Anthimus.

In the year 1104 of the Greeks (A.D. 794), the bishops assembled in Harran, and on August 15, ordained Cyriacus (Quryaqos) from the Monastery of Bizona, as patriarch. Cyriacus was eloquent and pure, body and soul. Bishop Zachariah took him to Edessa, whose congregation received him like an angel of God. He entered the city with great pomp, and the people loved him. However, when he brought up the case of Zachariah whom they had rejected, the congregation displayed disobedience. The patriarch tried his utmost to reconcile them with Zachariah but they did not want him. Subsequently, the patriarch set apart four sections of the diocese of Edessa and placed them under the jurisdiction of Zachariah to administer in his lifetime. However, after his death, they would then be returned to the diocese, and the diocese would become one unit like before. The Edessans accepted this arrangement provided the patriarch should choose whomever he liked and ordain him as their bishop. Then, the patriarch departed the city. A short while afterwards, he ordained for them Basil from the Monastery of Qinnestrin. Realizing that, as a responsible leader, he was succeeding in his management and organization of the church, and that there was nothing to disturb church affairs, Patriarch Cyriacus thought that things would keep running in this manner. He decided to abolish the use of the expression 'we break the heavenly bread,' and he imposed on the clerics whom he ordained a condition not to use this expression. However, he forgot that before him Patriarch Gewargi did not abolish it but left its use to the discretion of the bishops in order to avoid a schism of the church. Because of this expression, trouble began in the church. In the year 1106 of the Greeks (A.D. 796), a council met in Beth Bati in the province of Harran. After deliberation, the bishops resolved that each bishop should use this expression or not according to what he saw fit, lest those who did not use it should entertain suspicion concerning it. Then, they issued forty canons regarding the revisions, which the patriarch had proposed in this council. Some bishops, however, opposed him secretly. Among them was Severus, bishop of Samosata, who had not agreed to the election of the patriarch in the first place, and the patriarch, in turn, was angry with him. When the patriarch visited Severus' diocese to correct some of the mistakes that had been committed because of Severus' negligence, Severus accused him that he had come only to find a charge against him. Therefore, he did not open for him the door of the church. However, when the patriarch presented to the governor his decree of investiture, the governor ordered Severus to open the door of the church. The patriarch entered the church, ascended the pulpit and excommunicated Severus. He passed from village to village excommunicating Severus. Severus gathered the bishops, the presbyters, the monks and the congregation, and went to see the patriarch in his monastery. The patriarch forgave him, and peace prevailed.

Chapter Four: On the period of the fall of Emperor Constantine and his mother and the reign of Nicephorus; on the things done by Harun, king (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs) at this time; on the treasure which was found in Edessa; on the trouble stirred up by the monks against Patriarch Cyriacus, and the union he consummated with the Julianists and its annulment.

When Constantine trampled upon the law and was held with contempt by the people, the Tayoye (Arabs) began to plunder the Roman countries unopposed, and the Romans contemplated deposing him. Instead of desisting from doing evil, Constantine increased his wickedness. Obsessed by debauchery, he took the daughters of the nobles and corrupted them. When he went forth to fight the Bulgarians, he reached Thrace where he indulged in drunkenness and debauchery. The nobles informed his mother of his behavior, and she promised to depose him. Upon his return, she had him blinded and she became the sole ruler. She appointed the eunuch Aetius a chief patrician, and made him second in command (in the

kingdom). When the Tayoye (Arabs) invaded the country of the Romans, Aetius defeated them. In the next year, they invaded the Roman country the second time and were victorious. They also invaded it the third time and were victorious. Then, the Romans wished to make Nicephorus, the Logothete (auditor), a Cappadocian, their king (emperor). When Irene heard of this, she ordered to have him blinded but Aetius the eunuch hid him and wanted to reign himself. He asked Irene to offer him the crown, but she refused, and he became wrathful. Irene informed Nicetas, the patrician, about the intention of Aetius, so Nicetas and the patriarch took counsel with the Senate, and it pleased them to make Nicephorus king. He reigned in the year 1114 of the Greeks (A.D. 803), and he honored Queen Irene and Aetius the eunuch, but they plotted to kill him by the hands of certain monks. When the plot was revealed, Irene was sent into exile to Athens, where she became a nun, and died there. Nicephorus did not harm the monks, and recompensed Aetius for what he had done.¹⁸⁵⁴

At this time, Harun, king (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs), built a city in Lesser Armenia near Melitene called Zubatra. While he was engaged in building the city, Saturecius (captain of the host of the Romans) attacked the country of the Peloponnesus, which had belonged to the Tayoye (Arabs) for a long time, subjugated it and established a garrison in it. He returned carrying off with him a great number of Tayoye (Arab) captives, sheep, horses and camels.¹⁸⁵⁵

As to the treasure that was found in Edessa, Dionysius Tell Mahre said, as we mentioned in Book Two, that the wife of Rasafya had buried this treasure when the king of Persia asked her to go with him to Persia. The house in which the treasure was buried belonged to the Rasafya family. Later, however, it was owned through inheritance by the family of Tell Mahre. Evidently, a man from the Goumayan family (in Edessa) had married a woman, and the ownership of the house went to Silvestrous, who was born by that woman for the Goumayans. He left it as an inheritance to his sons with a treasure. However, the sons, being used to riotous living, squandered their inheritance. They heard that beneath their house was a hidden treasure and began to dig in order to find it. Behold, they truly found a treasure under their house, but because they were infantile and had no discipline, they did not behave wisely and devoted themselves even more to riotous living, horses and hunting dogs. Then, when the report about them reached Harun, king (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs), he had them captured and imprisoned in Callinicus. He sent his own eunuch to Edessa to seize whatever they sold of royal things, including objects in the form of snakes and scorpions of silver filled with gold dust. However, these wretched, infantile men, thinking that these objects were filled with dirt, threw them away and sold the silver. This was obviously known. The eunuch seized their freeborn women and their mother, an aged woman. He took from them what remained of the jars, cases of gold, silver, valuable jewelry and Roman money, and he shut up each one in a separate chamber. He also imprisoned their virgin sister in a separate chamber on the fourth floor of the house of a Chalcedonian man and set Persians to guard over her. She kept awake hearing that they might come to defile her. However, hearing the sound of feet, she thought that the guards had come to rape her. She wrapped her face with a napkin, threw herself out of the window, and was found in the street. She died the next day. Fear fell upon the eunuch, and Harun himself was sorry for her death. He released her brothers and gave them back one-fifth of what was their own property.¹⁸⁵⁶

In the year 1109 (A.D. 798), Patriarch Cyriacus convened a council for the purpose of achieving union with the Julianists. It was attended by their leader Gabriel. When Gabriel realized that the doctrine of Julian was foolish, he and his partisans were convinced of our own (Orthodox) faith. Nevertheless, they could not bear themselves to proclaim the name of the holy Severus (patriarch of Antioch, d. 538), although they accepted his writings against Julian. They would not even condemn Julian by name. Patriarch Cyriacus, in consideration of the circumstance, overlooked these matters and hoped that they (the Julianists) might

¹⁸⁵⁴ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 120. The account of Theophanes concerning these events is more detailed and different in many aspects. For example, he says that Irene was banished to the island of Lesbos where she died. See *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, 655-658.

¹⁸⁵⁵ Bar Hebraeus, *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁵⁶ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 119-120.

later come to agree with him. As to the office of the patriarchate, they decided that Gabriel should be the patriarch of the Julianists, his name should be proclaimed in our church, and the name of Patriarch Cyriacus proclaimed in their own churches. In the case of the death of either one, the living one would become the sole head of the entire church. Then, Patriarch Cyriacus offered the communion to Gabriel and his companions, and on the next day, Gabriel celebrated the Sacrifice (Holy Eucharist).

Some bishops, however, were displeased with Patriarch Cyriacus because of the idea of union. Therefore, the council resumed its meeting and Gabriel attended. The bishops demanded that he excommunicate Julian, but the patriarch objected to their demand saying, "It is not required of us to enter with them into such matters, for we do have administrative examples of ancient church leaders." Then, taking Gabriel aside, the bishops asked him to excommunicate Julian and endorse Severus (of Antioch). Gabriel replied, "Know my brothers, if I had not turned my face completely against Julian, the people would not have obeyed me, and I would not have led them to join you. Now, if you wish to win me alone, I will excommunicate Julian. However, if you wish to win the entire congregation, you ought to know that there are those who, out of ignorance or because of ancient custom, find it difficult to have him excommunicated openly. If you force them to accept his excommunication, they will turn backward, and the whole union which we have achieved will collapse." He reasoned at length with them, but they would not yield. They insisted that Julian be excommunicated at the pulpit. Gabriel found out the reason of their recalcitrance. He rose up, and, shaking (the dust) of his garment, said, "I have realized now that the truth which you claim is not by God or for his sake, it is because of your hatred of your leader (the patriarch), in order that peace would not be accomplished through him. You should know that God will demand of you the blood of the people for which you are impeding their salvation." Thus, the union failed because of the malice of the bishops, and the machination of the foe (Satan). May God overcome him and foil his wiles, and keep the Orthodox community safe from them. Amen. *End of the narrative.*

Chapter Five: On the beginning of the reign of Nicephorus, emperor of the Romans; on Harun, king (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs); on the separation of the Gubbites from patriarch Cyriacus, and the miracle which occurred in Mabug (Manbij), and the rest of events which took place in this period

In November of the year 1114 (A.D. 803), Nicephorus reigned over the Romans. He was an administrator and a mighty man. It is said that he was of Tayoye (Arab) origin. It happened that a man from Yaman named Jabala ruled over the Christians of Yaman.¹⁸⁵⁷ When Muhammad called the Tayoye (Arabs) to Islam, Jabala and his companions were made Muslims at the hands of Umar ibn al-Khattab, and he accompanied Umar to Makka. When Jabala was present with Umar at the masjid, a man who was called Fazara trod on him. Jabala turned and smote him and broke his nose. Fazara complained to Umar who said to Jabala, "Either you reconcile with the man, or hand to him your nose that he may break it." Jabala said to Umar, "How can a king like me permit a lowly man like this one to strike him? Umar said, "Although you are more honorable than he is in kingship, you are only equal to him in Islam." Jabala said to Umar, "Leave me until the morning, so that I might think of one of the two things you mentioned." In the night, Jabala and his companions fled to Cappadocia, and they became Christians again, and from him was descended this Nicephorus who reigned. When Abd al-Malik, who was chosen to fight the Romans, heard this, he said to Elpidius, the Roman who handed Sicily to the Tayoye (Arabs), "Tell me, who did you leave amongst the Romans who deserve the kingdom?" Elpidius said, "A rich man who descends from the emperors." Abd al-Malik asked, "Is there anyone else?" Elpidius said, "There is an intelligent man who fasts and prays named Nicephorus." Abd al-Malik said, "He is the one who has reigned." Elpidius said, "If Nicephorus is reigning, cast your dainty apparel and gird yourself about with armor and prepare yourself for war." This is what exactly happened. For, since the rise of Islam, no one among the emperors of the Romans was a fighting man and successful in war like Nicephorus.¹⁸⁵⁸ Nicephorus sent a message to Harun; the caliph was

¹⁸⁵⁷ Jabala was king of the Ghassanid Arabs in Hawran, Syria.

¹⁸⁵⁸ Theophanes does not have a good idea about Nicephorus. In fact, he hated him and accused him of causing ill will and

instigated and prepared for war. He commanded a huge army and invaded the country of the Romans. He was met by Nicephorus and his army, and each of them encamped opposite the other. Meanwhile, they sent messengers to each other and exchanged messages. Subsequently, they concluded peace, and each one returned to his own country. They sent gifts to each other, while their troops and people engaged in the exchange of business.¹⁸⁵⁹

In 1115 (A.D. 804), the Roman army attacked Cilicia and spoiled it. It also attacked the region of Mopsuestia and 'Ayn Zarba and took captives. The Tayoye (Arabs) overtook them at Tarsus and brought back the captives. When Harun, who was in Persia, heard this, he came to Callinicus, and in the month of April spoiled Heraclea. Nicephorus went out to fight him. When Harun saw the great army of the Romans, he sued for peace, and delivered to them all the Roman prisoners who were under his dominion. He even gave Nicephorus the tents in which he was living and their ornaments.

In the same year, Harun built a city above Callinicus, and called it Heraclea after the name of the wife he took from the House of the Heracleans. He gathered the artisans who erected tall buildings. The building of the city, however, caused financial distress, which caused the people to nearly starve. Harun opened his treasure and commanded that payments should be doubled. He scattered the wealth he had collected. Nicephorus also, being undisturbed by the Tayoye (Arabs), built Ankyra (Ancyra), and other places in the place of Tuana and Heraclea which the Tayoye (Arabs) had seized in his time. One of the Chalcedonian historians accused Nicephorus of many charges.

When Harun wanted to go down to Persia, he reviewed his treasures and found that what he possessed exceeded what Abu Ja'far (al-Mansur) had collected by ten million dirhams, that is five hundred million. He was happy for the abundance of his wealth. He performed three prostrations of prayer in every mosque. As he was going after a man who rebelled against him, he commanded that his eldest son Muhammad (al-Amin) should succeed him in the kingdom, and after him al-Ma'mun, and then al-Qasim respectively. However, this arrangement caused the division of their (Abbasid) kingdom. Muhammad (al-Amin) ruled in Baghdad, and al-Qasim ruled in Syria. As to al-Ma'mun, Harun took him with him to Khurasan, and instead of a place to reign, he gave him ten million silver pieces. Harun killed the rebel in the city of Tus, and in this city he died in the year 1120 of the Greeks (A.D. 809), having reigned twenty-three years.¹⁸⁶⁰

Nicephorus, emperor of the Romans, marched against the Bulgarians and killed an immense number of them. He seized their capital and destroyed it. He even had the audacity to stretch out the children on the ground so that threshing machines could shred them. In the year 1122 (A.D. 821), Nicephorus was assassinated by a Roman man.¹⁸⁶¹

The primary reason for the rebellion of the Gubbites was the incompetence of their Bishop Bacchus, who was also the bishop of the Cyrussians (the congregation of Cyrus or Qurush near Aleppo), in administrative matters. In addition, he did not adhere to apostolic canons. When Patriarch Cyriacus censured him many times and he did not obey, he suspended him (from service). Then, the bishops appealed to the patriarch to restore him, and he did. Bacchus, however, waxed angry with the patriarch and went on instigating the presbyters in his district to use the expression "We break heavenly bread," just to annoy the patriarch. When Bacchus was about to die, he called the presbyters and the chief priests, and excommunicated anyone who used this expression. He also warned them not to accept any bishops who were not from their own monastery. He said, "Nothing annoys me more than this Germanician (Patriarch

dissension within the empire. See *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, 654-658 just for an example. The contemporary historian George Ostrogorsky portrays Nicephorus as a competent and learned man who tried to fix the political and economic problems of the Empire created by previous governments. See George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* (Rutgers University Press, 1957), 166-175. Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 120-121, follows Michael Rabo.

¹⁸⁵⁹ According to Tabari, Harun al-Rashid had a great contempt for Niqfur (Nicephorus) after receiving his letter. In a reply to Nicephorus, he addressed him as a dog of the Romans and the son of the infidel woman. See Tabari, *Tarikh al-Umam wa al-Muluk*, 6 (Cairo: Matba'at al-Istiqlal, 1939), 501 and Philip Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 300, who quotes Tabari.

¹⁸⁶⁰ See Tabari, *Tarikh al-Umam wa al-Muluk*, 6: 528-529; *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, 665.

¹⁸⁶¹ Cf. *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, 663.

Cyriacus), who split the districts and abolished the expression "We break heavenly bread." After Bacchus passed away, his disciple, Akhsnaya, (a Syriac term for stranger), accompanied by a group (of monks) from the Gubba Baraya (Outer Pit) Monastery, who went to see the patriarch. They offered him a mule and a staff according to the usual custom of the church, and asked him to ordain Akhsnaya as bishop for them. He said to them, "It is not fair that monks control the dioceses as if by inheritance. We will ordain for you a bishop from another diocese, and will ordain a bishop from among you for another diocese." When they realized that he did not fulfill their quest, they went to the Cyrusians, and instigated the entire region and urged the lay people to rebel (against the patriarch). The Cyrusians listened to the monks and rebelled, being motivated by sheer arrogance and abundant money. They decided to reject a bishop not from the Gubba Baraya (Outer Pit) Monastery, and to never allow their diocese to be divided. Patriarch Cyriacus wrote admonishing them to fear God and receive (the bishop) whom he would send them. However, they refused and said impudently, "We will not accept anyone of the (starving) villagers who has become satiated by eating bread; we want Akhsnaya." Although Yuhanon, bishop of Aleppo, and Theodore, bishop of Seleucia, knew that the patriarch was hot tempered, and did his own word, still they urged him to hasten ordaining for the Cyrusians a bishop even without their consent. The truth was that these bishops committed an egregious mistake, and such counsel could not have come from these pious men. After all, when the patriarch ordained for the Cyrusian a monk from the Monastery of Mor Jacob in Cyrus, as a bishop, the wrath of the people of Cyrus heated up even more. No one accepted him except the people of Gubrin and Tarmizad (Tarmanaz?). The people of Cyrus stopped proclaiming the name of the patriarch (in their churches).

The rebels and the deposed bishops congregated and went to Harun, king (caliph) of the Arabs at Marj Dabiq (in northern Syria) where he was preparing to invade the country of the Romans. They presented to him a memorandum fraught with falsehood. In it they said, "We would like to inform the protected (by God) king (caliph) that Cyriacus who claims to be patriarch, and has become a head over us in spite of ourselves, holds a firman (decree), and imposes on us many heavy burdens. He is the enemy of the king (caliph) and of the entire Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims). He has built churches on the Roman borders, and has delivered messages to them. He refuses to stay in the place in where you stay. And if you go east, he goes west." When the letter was read, the caliph issued an order that the churches in the region of *thughur* (border towns) be demolished, including the new church, and that Cyriacus be brought to him in disgrace. However, God in his mercy did not allow the patriarch to be humiliated at the hands of impious men. Theodore, bishop of Seleucia, went to Callinicus on a swift beast and guided the patriarch and the bishops onto another highway, and they reached Jubrin. When the king (Caliph Harun) went out of Hadath to go to Jubrin, he met the patriarch on the road, and the patriarch greeted him. The caliph's men told him that he was the patriarch. The caliph trusted the affair of the patriarch to his secretary Isma'il ibn Salih, who loved the patriarch, to investigate the charges leveled against him by the monks. When the patriarch, his monks and his bishops went into the presence of Isma'il ibn Salih, the group of Ciaphas also entered into his presence. They accused the patriarch of killing a bishop. They also clamored and mocked him and treated him with contempt. When Isma'il realized their cunning, he had them expelled.

While Simon, from the Monastery of Gubba Baraya who had become a bishop of the Arab tribes, was walking with his disciples, some robbers attacked them and killed them. It was rumored that the patriarch had hired Arabs to kill them.

Bar Matar, who was sent to demolish the churches, committed egregious acts not only in *thughur*, but also in the villages of Antioch and Jerusalem. He pulled down ancient churches including our church in Jerusalem and collected great amounts of bribes. All the people condemned the Gubbites who were the cause of this devastation.

In the year 1118 of the Greeks (A.D. 807), Patriarch (Cyriacus) returned and dwelt in his monastery in Callinicus.

On June 23 of this year 1115 (A.D. 804), a severe tremor occurred in Mopsuestia, its wall fell down and many of its houses were destroyed. In addition, three villages in the region were destroyed, and the

River Jihun, which passed by its side, stopped flowing for six hours and the boats were grounded on the dry land. In this same year, locusts devoured all kinds of crops.

In this time, immense sedition took place in Rome as the people congregated against their Patriarch Adrian and blinded his eyes, but not entirely. Evidently, the man who blinded him treated him with mercy and fled to France, because Rome was then under the domination of France.

In this period was a heathen man (an Arab) of the tribe of Quraysh, whose name was Ruwayyih. His house was adjacent to a Christian church, and constantly listened to the prayers. He looked through the window, and vexed the priest by casting at him pellets made of clay during the Sacrifice (the celebration of the Eucharist). One day while he was looking at the priest through the window, as was his custom, Almighty God, who knows everything even before it happens, had mercy on him. The man saw in the middle of the paten a slain lamb rolling in blood instead of the bread and the wine. Shocked by this spectacle, he went to see the priest in order to verify what he had seen. When he looked carefully, he saw in the paten the lamb broken into pieces and dribbling with blood. However, the priest did not know what went on until the man told him the whole story. The priest began to teach him the holy mysteries, and the man (Ruwayyih) left his house, entered a monastery and was baptized. When the report of this man reached King (Caliph) Harun, he summoned him and asked him about the story. He said with great courage that what he saw was from God, and that he would never deny Christianity even if he was tortured and cut to pieces. They (Harun) bound him in iron fetters, and shut him up in prison for two years. After immense torture, Harun summoned Ruwayyih the second time and promised him precious gifts if he denied Christ. When he remained unshaken, he commanded that his head be cut off, and had (his corpse) hung on the wall of Raphka. Many people saw the light that came down from heaven and rested on his head. A certain Christian man from the country of Persia took it down and carried it to his city.¹⁸⁶²

At this time locusts swarmed for three years, they multiplied and devastated the country of Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia). Worse still, there was famine, and the people were in distress because of the heavy taxes and lack of money, which was gathered into the caliph's treasury.

In the year 1119 (A.D. 808), the famine became severe, and God sent wild beasts which dug up the bodies of the dead and ate them, they also boldly attacked the living. Women and children who went out looking for green herbs to eat were also attacked and devoured by beasts.¹⁸⁶³

The Building of the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran Monastery).

In the year 1104 of the Greeks (A.D. 793), Patriarch Cyriacus ordained a bishop for Mardin and Kafartuta, named Hananya, from the Monastery of Mor Matta (St. Matthew's Monastery) in the Mountain of the Uluf (north of Mosul), where thousands of monks and solitaries lived. The Nestorian writer Dnah Yeshu' (Yeshu' Dnah), bishop of Furath Mishan, present-day Basra, Iraq, in Book Ten, Chapter, Seven of his *Chronicle*, said,¹⁸⁶⁴ "In these days, Hananya, bishop of the Severians (followers of Severus of Antioch) founded a monastery in the Mountain of Mardin. He is the Jacobite bishop of Mardin, Kafartuta and the district of the Jazira. He was wealthy and loved strangers. He was from the monastery of Mor Matai (Matta) in the mountain of the Uluf. Hannaya found near Mardin a fortress built with huge rocks since the Roman era. He bought it and turned it into a monastery. He planted around it vineyards and olive trees and offered plenty of money to the governors. With his wisdom, he silenced his opponents. He constructed here a church and an altar, and gathered a group of monks. He took much care of them, having done this not for transient vainglory, but to receive recompense from above. This monastery is known as the Monastery of Mor Hananya in the Mardin Mountain until this day."¹⁸⁶⁵

¹⁸⁶² Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 121.

¹⁸⁶³ Bar Hebraeus, *Ibid.* 122.

¹⁸⁶⁴ This chronicle in three volumes is lost to us except this passage about the funding of the Hananya Monastery quoted here by Dionysius Tell Mahre.

¹⁸⁶⁵ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 121.

Chapter Six: On the division of the Tayoye (Arab) kingdom after the death of Harun, and the division of the kingdom of the Romans after the death of Nicephorus; on the schism which took place against Patriarch Cyriacus

When Harun al-Rashid died (809), the building of Heraclea was halted and his son Muhammad, called al-Amin, reigned (809-813). Al-Amin transferred the treasures of his father from Callinicus (al-Raqqā) to Baghdad. He also transferred the treasure of his brother al-Ma'mun and his family who had reigned in Khurasan. Muhammad (al-Amin) was lascivious, lived a riotous life, and neglected the affairs of the state.¹⁸⁶⁶ As to al-Ma'mun, he was well bred, cultured and respectful of the law.

In the year 1121 of the Greeks (A.D. 810), conflict began between the two brothers Muhammad (al-Amin) and al-Ma'mun, because Muhammad violated his father's will and wanted to grant the right of succession to his own son rather than to his brother al-Ma'mun. In addition, Muhammad (al-Amin) did not give his brother the share of the money his father had granted to him, but laid his hands on it. He further tried to summon him treacherously in order to seize him, but al-Ma'mun discovered the treachery and refused his brother's summons. Subsequently war began between the two brothers.¹⁸⁶⁷ Then, many rebels emerged in their countries. One of them was 'Amr, who had been shut up in a prison in Callinicus for a murder crime he had committed in Samosata. 'Amr obtained a horse and a sword and killed the guard and those with him. He broke his fetters, fled to Samosata and killed its governor who had thrown him into jail. He plundered the merchants and fled with some of the members of his gang to Palestine. They began to plunder, kill and spoil the country. Muhammad (al-Amin) sent Sulayman to Homs, Damascus, and Palestine, but was opposed by 'Amr who destroyed his army; Sulayman returned to Baghdad discomfited.¹⁸⁶⁸

In Armenia, a person named Nasr rebelled and joined 'Amr. Both began to oppress people. Meanwhile, Muhammad (al-Amin) lavished largess on his troops and appointed Ali as their commander. He dispatched them to fight against his brother al-Ma'mun, who also dispatched his troops commanded by Harthama (ibn A'yun) and Tahir (Ibn al-Husayn), to fight the troops of his brother Muhammad. At first, Tahir came with four thousand men and met Ali, (captain of the host), with 30,000 men. Ali was defeated and fled. A great number of his army was drowned in the River Balikh where the battle occurred. Tahir's troops plundered great amounts of gold, silver and belongings.

The rebel, Nasr, went into Jazira plundering and spoiling. However, Khormiza (sic), governor of the Jazira, went forth to fight him, and killed many of his troops, and Nasr fled. When Muhammad (al-Amin) heard of the defeat of Ali and his army, he was scared and summoned Khormiza unto him. When the rebels, Nasr and 'Amr, learned that Khormiza was recalled, they assembled their armies and attacked the Jazira. They robbed, plundered, and killed without mercy. They committed fornication with married women and virgins and also with idle young men. They gathered tremendous amounts of money and then departed to Harran and Edessa where they set on fire villages, churches and monasteries. When the Tayoye (Arabs) captured Harran, the enemies of the Christians wrote to the rebels ('Amr and Nasr) saying, that if they would send someone who would destroy the ciborium of the church of the Christians, the Christians would ransom it with all that they had. The Edessans were scared because the wall of Edessa had not been rebuilt since it was demolished by Abu Ja'far. Since they had no one to protect them, they turned their eyes to heaven and resolved to fast and keep vigils and prayers. Then, God who is near to those who call on him in truth,¹⁸⁶⁹ put it into the heart of Yahya ibn Sa'id, and he departed and went to Nasr and 'Amr the rebels, and advised them to desist from their acts. They accepted the counsel of the old man by the inspiration of God, and the citizens of Edessa paid five thousand dirhams for their safety. These events took place in the year 1123 of the Greeks (A.D. 812).

¹⁸⁶⁶ Theophanes says that Muhammad al-Amin was incompetent in all respects. See *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, 665.

¹⁸⁶⁷ Tabari details the conflict between the two brothers. See Tabari, *Tarikh al-Umam wa al-Muluk*, 7 (Cairo; Matba; at al-Istiqaqa, 1939): 1-116.

¹⁸⁶⁸ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 124 with some difference.

¹⁸⁶⁹ Psalm 145:18.

The winter months of this year (1121, A.D. 810) were temperate and the rain was seasonal. Crops of different kinds were plentiful everywhere. At the end of January, however, a northern wind blew up for eight days and everything was burned as if by fire. In that year, there was no yield of crops, vineyards or fruit trees, especially in Athor and Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia).

In this year, the Monastery of Qinnesrin was devastated as follows. A certain Nazarene (Christian) man named Rabi'a raised a banner over the bridge on the Euphrates River. He and his companions assembled and came to the Monastery of Qinnesrin. Since no one gave them anything to ransom the monastery, they plundered it and set its magnificent church, which had no equal, on fire. They also set on fire the temple of the Apostle Thomas above the cave, and the fortress. Finally, the Gubbite, who lived in the neighborhood, came and took the wood and the doors, and demolished the monastery. This was the first monastery to be devastated during the reign of the Arabs.

Then, rebellious men and chief robbers appeared in the west, Egypt and in all Africa, and seized the possessions of the Christians. Then, the Qaysites, the Yamanites, the Kufites and the Sulaymanites turned against each other and fought each other. All they had done was to annihilate the Christians.¹⁸⁷⁰

When Patriarch Cyriacus learned that the people of Cyrus (Qurush) rejected the bishop whom he had ordained for them, he assembled thirty bishops and went to Jubrin where they addressed letters calling for peace. In addition, he sent four bishops to Kafar Halif where the monks of the Monastery of Gubba Baraya had assembled. They went forth against the bishops like Tayoye (Arab) wolves hurling stones at them and insulting them. When the patriarch witnessed their brutality, he went to the amir (governor) of the district. The governor sent men who brought unto him forty of the troublemakers, and the patriarch shut them up in the monastery. Then, the notables of Cyrus went to see the patriarch. They apologized to him, and asked for his blessing. They promised to reconcile the monks with him if he would release the forty prisoners. The patriarch recited the prayer of forgiveness over the monks and released them with the forty prisoners. However, when they returned to their villages, the prisoners, stirred up by the devil, reneged on their promises, followed the counsel of Matta of Kafartuta, and transgressed the church canons. By the mediation of the excommunicated Job, Yuhanon, the hunchback of Kokhta, who was deposed by the Patriarch Gewargi, had the audacity to ordain two bishops, Gabriel from the Gubba Baraya (Outer Pit) Monastery, and Theophanes from the Monastery of Eusebuna, for the Tanukhian village of Komit. When the bishops learned of this, they informed the governor who summoned all those who attended that meeting, and seized Yuhanon, bishop of Kochta and some monks. They did not desist, however, despite the advice of the bishops, but insisted with even more audacity, to challenge the patriarch and make him hear offensive words. It was then that they were excommunicated by Philexine, bishop of Nisibin, who later joined ranks with them and tore up the excommunication copy of the Gubbites (monks of the Gubba Baraya Monastery).

Copy of the Excommunication of the Gubbites

In the name of our Lord, God and Savior, Jesus Christ, in the year 1119 of the Greeks (A.D. 808), a holy council met in the village of Jubrin of the people of Cyrus, concerning the events that occurred in the church. While they were deliberating according to the canons of the church, suddenly some men who were suspect bishops defiled with unclean boils of lusts, began to display disobedience to God and his church. Of these bishops was the defiled Job, once the bishop of Massissa, who was charged with murder and drunkenness, and even worked as a tax collector. He pressured the members of his diocese to pay more taxes. He trampled upon the commands of the patriarch and held the holy mysteries with contempt. Along with him was Yuhanon, bishop of Kochta, a deceiver who had no known homeland, and who was not counted among the bishops. These men, like Dathan and Abiram who conspired against Moses, have willfully conspired against the chief priesthood and the holy council assembled in Jubrin.¹⁸⁷¹ They invited

¹⁸⁷⁰ See *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, 665.

¹⁸⁷¹ Dathan and Abiram are Reubenite sons of Eliab who, with others, opposed the authority of Moses and Aaron, and accused them of having set themselves above the Lord's assembly. See Numbers 16:1-3.

corrupt men to join them like Gabriel, Theodotus and Theophanes, and ordained them as bishops while they were depraved men. Therefore, our council, along with our chief priest Jesus Christ and the Apostles, declare the excommunication of Job, Yuhanon, Gabriel, Theodotus, Akhsnaya, Matta, Simon and Theophanes. It is resolved, on the living word of God which is feared by the powers of darkness and all creation, that God does not recognize them as bishops, even priests, and that they are not counted among the believers, but they are excommunicated. Anyone who accepts them will partake in their iniquity.

I, Cyriacus, by God's mercy, Patriarch of the Apostolic See of Antioch, have excommunicated those whose names are mentioned above.

Signed: Yuhanon, bishop of Germanicia, Li'azar, bishop of Aurim, and the rest of the bishops.

After the council dispersed, the monk Abraham from the Monastery of Qartmin (Mor Gabriel) came to the patriarch who was at the Pillar Monastery. He asked him to pray and forgive his brother Simon from the Gubba Baraya Monastery. He blamed his brother and rebuked him (for his opposition of the patriarch). He promised to bring him to the patriarch. The patriarch believed him and prayed for his brother. However, upon his departure, he met Matta of Kafartuta, and by his influence of cajolment, Abraham forgot his promise and followed the rebel (Matta). The bishops, who were deposed twice, met and set up a patriarch for them. Their heresy was established even more and they became enemies of the church. That wretched (Matta) began to ordain spurious bishops for the dioceses. They went about holding onto the expression "We break heavenly bread," and accusing the patriarch of the heresy of the Julianists. They further circulated the report that the expression "We break heavenly bread" was known in the Syrian churches of Syria, Beth Nahrin and Athor. In their wandering, they reached Alexandria and Egypt. They planted doubts among the believers with the intention of alienating Mark (patriarch of Alexandria) and Cyriacus. Cyriacus, however, addressed a letter to Pope Mark explaining to him the true happenings, and Mark ordered those monks expelled. He assembled the bishops and excommunicated Abraham and those who ordained him, and all the Gubbites. *End of the narrative.*

Chapter Seven: On the internecine conflict of the Tayoye (Arabs) between themselves and with the rebels; the murder of two Roman kings (emperors); the rebuilding of the walls of Edessa, Kesum and Samosata; the intensification of the opposition of the excommunicated recalcitrants (bishops) to Patriarch Cyriacus

In this period, which was the year 1124 (A.D. 813), many rebels like Nasr and 'Amr appeared in the kingdom of the Tayoye (Arabs). Nasr and 'Amr went up to Tarsekyana, Bazabde, Bamoraya and Tishpa, looting and burning by fire until they reached the village of Hadis. They found in a small monastery outside it a blessed man, a solitary ascetic in a small cell, and demanded from him everything that he had. He gave them everything that belonged to him and to others. After delivering to them everything, they set the solitary and his cell on fire. Then 'Amr went to Samosata and built a fortress and dwelt therein. Nasr went to Sarug and made them pay a tribute to him. People in the Tayoye (Arab) kingdom gathered around any man who mounted a horse or cried out with a loud voice, and while these things were done among the Arabs, similar things were being done among the Romans.

Five months after Stauracius, son of Nicephorus had reigned, the Bulgarians came against the royal city (Constantinople) to make war against him, and Stauracius was wounded in the thigh. His wound become swollen and broken up, and he died. Some say that his sister Procopia, daughter of Nicephorus, poisoned him so that Michael, her husband, might reign. Then Michael reigned, and again the Bulgarians came to the capital but Michael did not fight against them, and left their resistance to Leo the patrician. Leo made war against the Bulgarians, defeated them, and killed their king. Then the Romans deposed Michael and set up Leo as their emperor.¹⁸⁷² He seized Michael, tonsured him and placed him in a monastery, and he castrated his sons. He made peace with the Bulgarians and gave them the salt marsh over which they were

¹⁸⁷² He is Leo V the Armenian (813-820).

fighting. This Leo was from Armeniacos, and he reigned seven and a half years. He was killed by another Michael (Michael II the Stammerer 820-829), who reigned after him.¹⁸⁷³

When Muhammad (al-Amin) learned of the atrocities committed by these rebels in Beth Nahrin and the west, he sent Husayn, who brought Abd al-Malik from prison that they might go forth against them. When the rebels learned of this, they abated their atrocities a little bit. Abd al-Malik, who was a wise man, summoned the rebels to have peace, while in the meantime, he had a different intention. He commanded the blacksmiths to make plenty of iron fetters in order to bind the rebels and send them to Baghdad. While the negotiation of peace was going on between Abd al-Malik and Nasr and 'Amr, a Persian man saw a certain Tayoyo (Arab) at the city of Callinicus. He recognized him from the horse he was mounting which belonged to his father, who the Tayoye (Arabs) had killed in Sarug. He took this incident as pretext to fight the Tayoye (Arabs). The Persians gathered and fought the Tayoye (Arabs), and many fell on both sides. Then the rebels, 'Amr and Nasr, set fire on the road which connected Raphika with Callinicus, burning the Pillar Monastery, and fled. Husayn went to Baghdad to lodge a complaint against Abd al-Malik, but death overtook Abd al-Malik in Callinicus.

On May 14 of the year 1123 (A.D. 812), a total eclipse took place from the ninth to the eleventh hours. It became dark like night, the stars appeared, and people lit lamps. Then the sun reappeared for one hour.

When the rebels learned of the death of Abd al-Malik, they began to plunder and spoil anew, extending their control over some regions. Then 'Amr and Nasr rebuilt Samosata by the hands of poor Christians. Abu Shok Ganawaye rebuilt the wall of Edessa with the expenses collected from a group of Edessans. He gathered the Ganawayens of Tishpha and made them dwell in the houses of the Christians. Nasr captured Rish Kipha, Sarug and Kesum, and encircled it with three walls. (The other walls of Edessa, Samosata and Kesum were built in the time of the Tayoye (Arabs) in the year 1125 (A.D. 814). After some time, the walls of Samosata and Kesum collapsed.)

Abd Allah ibn Hashim seized Harran, followed by his son who also seized the city. Umar seized Thella, and Habib took Rish 'Ayna. Abd Allah took Mardin, and Abbas took Cyrus (Qurush). Uthman took Qinnessin, Antioch and Apamea, and Muhammad established himself in Cilicia. Thabit set up gates in the mountain pass of Cilicia, and appointed to them guards so that the district of Cilicia might be a haven of safety to those who were persecuted and poor. King (Caliph) Muhammad sent Abd Allah, governor of the Jazira, against the rebels, but they agreed to fight with him. He treated them tactfully, sent them away with peace, and left each of them in control of the district in which they dwelt. He opened the treasures of the caliph at Raphika and appropriated most of it. Afterwards, the rebels began to fight for the control of Harran in order to spoil it, but when they were unable to seize it, they withdrew. As to Husayn, he went down to Baghdad to lodge a complaint against Abd al-Malik, and when his accusations were not accepted, he began to think of rebellion.

After the Gubbites were excommunicated and ejected from the church together with Abraham whom they had ordained a patriarch, the (Syrians) of Takrit stirred up a conflict with Patriarch Cyriacus because he never heeded their complaints against their bishop, Simon. Some said that the patriarch did this because he tried to belittle the importance of the See. Or, as his opponents claimed, that he was biased toward Simon for being his own disciple, and that he had ordained him without their consent. Having suffered plenty from the Takritians, the patriarch commanded Simon to go to his monastery until he became reconciled with the Takritians. Simon, however, refused to do so, and opposed his own master. However, when the patriarch alluded to his excommunication, he departed unwillingly. As a result, the congregation was split into two groups: one vilified Simon and his master, the patriarch; others lauded Simon and berated the patriarch because he had him depart. Thus, the patriarch was abused by both groups. When this evil increased, five bishops went to see the patriarch and asked him to convene a council to discuss this problem. A council was assembled and attended by the Takritians both friends and foes. They

¹⁸⁷³ *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, 672-675; George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 173-175; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 125.

charged Simon with egregious accusations—which I (Dionysius Tell Mahre) would rather not record for the forthcoming generations—including beating and killing. When the testimonies were presented, the bishops became suspicious of Simon, but the patriarch did not allow them to excommunicate him. However, Theodosius, who was ordained a bishop for Edessa, had left the city because of some trouble and stayed with the patriarch, helped Simon. However, his help was to no avail, and when the bishops found that there was no use of discussion, they advised that he should go to his monastery. However, Simon refused to do so, and submitted his resignation. Meanwhile, Philexine, bishop of Nisibin, was deposed and it was resolved that he should not attend any council. As he had exerted effort to have Simon deposed, he himself was deposed.

Patriarch (Cyriacus) took with him Theodosius to Edessa to reconcile him with its congregation. When they arrived in Callinicus, the Tayoye (Arabs) had already seized it, and the city suffered from famine. Therefore, they left Callinicus and went to Edessa where the patriarch reconciled the Edessans with their bishop Theodosius. The patriarch also made an effort to reconcile Simon with the people of the East. He permitted Simon to visit the bishops who had deposed him in order to gain their consent and become reconciled with the members of his congregation, that they may not impute blame to him upon his return. Simon deceived many of them by having them sign their consent, and presented it to the patriarch as a preparatory step to restore him to his see. When the patriarch prepared to go to Cercesium, Simon had already gone ahead of him to the city. Momentarily, a harbinger came to tell the patriarch that Simon had passed away. He and the congregations of the East heaved a sigh of relief. I (Tell Mahre), abstain from the things that the men of the monastery of Simon said about him upon his death, because of the reverence of the holy office of the holy priesthood.

Patriarch Cyriacus went down to Takrit and ordained Basil of the town of Balad.¹⁸⁷⁴ He was proficient in civil laws, in taxes and the manner they were collected, which made the patriarch believe that such a person would be able to run the affairs of the Easterners. For this reason, he ordained him a bishop.

The See of the East remained split from Antioch for a time, following the murder of Babai until the time of Garmai, who was ordained (a bishop) for Athor (Mosul) and Nineveh by Christophorus (metropolitan of the Armenians), and granted him the power to ordain bishops, as did the Catholicoses of Persia in the past. When it (the See of the East) rejoined the See of Antioch in the time of Patriarch Athanasius (Gamolo, d. 631) and Christophorus, metropolitan of the Armenians, he, at his ordination of Marutha as bishop for Takrit, confirmed Christophorus as the metropolitan for Athor, and gave Marutha the authority even over Christophorus, metropolitan of Athor, himself. Thus, the affairs of the regions of these dignitaries went about smoothly: the metropolitan of Takrit administered the affairs of all the bishops, while the metropolitan of Mosul had only the title of “Metropolitan.”

Basil was infected with the disease of pride. He stirred up a conflict between the members of the congregation of Mosul because, according to their custom, they proclaimed their bishop Daniel a Metropolitan. Thus, all the Mattians (the monks of the Monastery of St. Matthew) and the bishops rebelled against him and against the patriarch who supported him. They endeavored, as they wrongly thought, that they would destroy the dignity of their monastery. As a result, Mosul was split into two factions: one supporting the monks of St. Matthew’s Monastery and Daniel; the other censured them and leveled many charges against Daniel, and demanded the investigation of his case. The conflict led them to beat each other and they were even thrown into prison and fined by order of the governor. Patriarch Cyriacus excommunicated the monks of St. Matthew’s Monastery and their bishops, but the monks had the audacity to excommunicate the patriarch and Basil.¹⁸⁷⁵ *End of the narrative.*

Chapter Eight: On the intensification of rebellion in the dominions of the Tayoye (Arabs) and the murder of king (caliph) Muhammad (al-Amin); and the murder of Leo, the Roman Emperor; and

¹⁸⁷⁴ Balad is a town about seven miles south of Mosul. Its ruins are known today as Eski Mosul.

¹⁸⁷⁵ See Ignatius Yacoub III, *History of the Monastery of Saint Matthew In Mosul*, translated by Matti Moosa (Gorgias Press, 2008), 41-46.

on the conflict stirred up against Patriarch Cyriacus; on his death; on the heresy started in Harran by a certain Chalcedonian Theodoricus nicknamed Phuglo (wild radish), who was exposed by the learned Nonnus, archdeacon of Nisibin

When Husayn, the captain of the Tayoye (Arab) host, contemplated a rebellion against the King (Caliph) Muhammad (al-Amin), he said to the Persians that Muhammad was supporting the Tayoye (Arabs). He gathered a group of the Persians and they went against Muhammad, bound him in iron fetters and cast him into prison. Husayn went out, sat on the bridge of Baghdad, and summoned his troops to submit to Abd Allah (al-Ma'mun). From prison, Muhammad sent to Husayn a message supported by oaths that he did not want the kingdom but only wanted his life and properties spared. When the Persians heard this, they felt sorry for him saying that he was wronged. They released him and set him upon his throne. Husayn was afraid of Muhammad (al-Amin), but Muhammad swore to him that he would not impute to him an offense. When Husayn went to see him, Muhammad gave him his ring and authorized him to administer the kingdom. Husayn, however, did not believe him and thought that it was only a trick. He fled to Harthama, captain of the host of al-Ma'mun. Afterwards, Muhammad sent him a message swearing that he would not do him harm. Still, Husayn would not submit. It was then that Muhammad fought against him and killed him.

The Tayoye (Arab) rebels thought that if they seized the city of Raphika, they would not let the Persians remain in the Jazira anymore. They advised Nasr and the rest of the rebels to accept the Banu Qays and join them. When they (rebels) came to Callinicus, they camped in the houses of the Christians at enormous expense to those households. Raphika was administered by Qawad ibn Isa, and when the rebels sieged the city, the people inside it stormed those outside with the stones hurled by mangonels (engines of war). Patriarch Cyriacus and Theodosius, bishop of Edessa, were then inside the city. When the people were distressed by hunger, they began to eat rice, bread and legumes. Eventually, they reached a rather a fragile peace according to which he Aquilites (men of Kufa) seized Callinicus, and the Persians seized Raphika.

In that same year (A.D. 813), when al-Ma'mun saw that many had deserted his brother Muhammad (al-Amin), he sent Harthama and Tahir, the captains of the hosts of al-Ma'mun, to subjugate the countries for him. Upon reaching Baghdad, schism ripped apart the whole city and its people were divided into two parties. They entered the treasuries of the kings (caliphs) plundering gold and household effects. Sometimes they killed each other because of the booty, and since no stones were found in Baghdad, they smashed the pillars of the churches and used them to hurl stones by engines of war. When Muhammad saw this, he appealed to Harthama to spare his life and possessions, and Harthama swore to him to do so. However, Tahir was angry with Harthama for doing this, and set up guards who overtook Muhammad (al-Amin) at night when he was fleeing in a boat. He threw himself into the river, swam away to safety, and hid himself in the house of a cotton merchant. They found him there and killed him; they raised his head on a lance and paraded it through Baghdad.¹⁸⁷⁶ These events took place in the year 1124 of the Greeks (A.D. 813).¹⁸⁷⁷

In this period, Muraiba was seized by the Ganawayens Maqsif and Rabib, and they oppressed the people tremendously. Then Nasr came, took Muraiba from them, and killed them. He and Abbas marched against the Tanukhians encamped at the River Quwayq near Aleppo. They founded there a city without a wall because it was too big and extensive, but it was a rich city teeming with troops and merchants. Even the citizens of Aleppo could not overcome them. After the Tanukhians fought against the Qaysites for ten days, they finally tired of fighting and left at night, men and women, to Qinnasrin without being detected by the Qaysites or the Aleppines. The Qaysites and the Aleppines entered the city plundering their houses and their rich villages; they devastated them, and left them desolate until this day. Indeed, these people deserved what happened to them since they deserted their faith for trivial things, by the same token, they deserted their possessions and departed barefoot, naked and overwhelmed.

¹⁸⁷⁶ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 126. Tabari details the murder of Muhammad al-Amin. See Tabari, *Tarikh al-Umam wa al-Muluk*, 7: 76-94.

¹⁸⁷⁷ This year corresponds to the year 198 of the Islamic Calendar, See Tabari, *Ibid.* 76 and 94.

When Harthama grieved over the death of Muhammad (al-Amin), al-Ma'mun sent him to Khurasan and ordered that he be killed there.¹⁸⁷⁸ He appointed Hasan (al-Hasan ibn Sahl) as captain of the host in his place. Outraged by his murder, Harthama's men went into the (public) bath and killed those who killed Harthama. Al-Ma'mun commanded that all of them be executed.¹⁸⁷⁹

In the year 1126 (A.D. 815), Tahir arrived with four thousand (Persian) troops at Callinicus. The Christians rejoiced and the rebels trembled. Some of them submitted and surrendered their regions to him. Nasr, however, did not submit, but at the beginning, he killed one of the notables and two hundred men. When Muhammad, captain of the host heard this, he crossed the Euphrates to face Nasr. However, because he did not leave the troops an opportunity to rest but engaged them in battle, he was defeated and killed with a great number of his men. When the report of his defeat reached Isa (Isa ibn Muhammad ibn Abi Khalid), he began to torture the rebels and kill them. Meanwhile, Tahir sent him a message asking him not to torture the rebels, but he did not hearken to him. Then, Tahir with twenty Arab men marched against Nasr, who surprised him, and he barely escaped with this life, but two of his mighty men who tried to rescue him were killed. When the Persians faced the Tayoye (Arab) troops, they began to kill them without mercy. Tahir, however, who did not cherish war, tore his garment and cast off his turban, and thus war with Tayoye (Arabs) quieted down.

In this time calamities in the world increased, but the children of the church were relatively comfortable. However, the wayward partisans of Abiram, that is Abraham whom the recalcitrants ordained as patriarch, did not let Patriarch Cyriacus have rest. They always gave asylum to every murderer, adulterer, or those ejected from the church. They also allowed the presbyters, who married the second time, to serve unlawfully. They also permitted the presbyters and deacons to wed two wives, and they went about deceiving simple folk, especially the remnants of the Tanukhite (Arabs). When the conflicts of the Easterners with the patriarch intensified, as we have mentioned in the previous chapter, the patriarch was forced to confirm Daniel as a metropolitan for Mosul in a proclamation he issued in this case.

The Proclamation issued by Patriarch Cyriacus and his Eastern bishops

Cyriacus, by the mercy of God, Patriarch of the Apostolic See of Antioch, and the pious bishops with me. We assembled in Mosul on August (16), 1128 of the Greeks (A.D. 817), to investigate the conflict between the monks of the Monastery of Mor Matta (St. Matthews' Monastery) and the bishops and those loyal to them from the city of Mosul and its environs, and the Takritians who are present in Mosul for whatever reason. As our wish is to reconcile these groups, we have concentrated on the claims of both sides and neglected those that are unnecessary. We have decided what is appropriate for the establishment of peace.

The congregation of the Takritians lodged charges against Bishop Daniel asking that they should be examined, and that he should be condemned. However, the monks of St. Matthew's Monastery and those loyal to them did not agree to his condemnation. They also did not agree that the charges against him should be discussed for the sake of peace. They further demanded that his name should be proclaimed as a bishop in the churches of the Takritians in Mosul. In turn, he should subject himself completely to the venerable See of Takrit, as do the bishops in the dioceses of the East. Furthermore, as a metropolitan, he (Daniel) has no right to exercise the authorities of the said first see (in precedence). In addition, because of his precedence, the metropolitan of Takrit has no right to act in the dioceses of the East without the consent of the bishop who is in charge of management. Moreover, he has no right to ordain a bishop for any of the sees under his jurisdiction without the endorsement of the metropolitan of St. Matthew's Monastery and the bishops of the diocese, according to church canons. Meanwhile, the bishop should look to him as their head and as having precedence among them. If he should make a call, they should respond to him and do nothing without his authority, and if he finds it necessary to visit one of them, he should be welcomed with honor.

¹⁸⁷⁸ For a different reason of killing Harthama, see Tabari, *Ibid.* 7: 129-130.

¹⁸⁷⁹ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 126-127 with some differences.

We commanded Mor Daniel to overlook the abuses done to him by the congregation of Takrit and should entertain no retaliation of what had taken place in the course of the conflict, unless the abuse is so grave that the person who committed it cannot escape justice. For example, a man will desert his wife and marry another one, or he marries another wife next to his former wife, or steals the wife of another man; or commits adultery or murder.

This is what we found to be appropriate, and commanded it for the confirmation of peace, which is acceptable to God, and to establish firmly the authority of the See of St. Peter.

Therefore, we command both sides to adhere to the decisions according to the word of God, and that no one should have the audacity to abolish any of them. He, who provokes animosities, should be kept outside the priestly compounds until he repents. This also applies to anyone who would take a church case to the judges of the civil courts.

However, despite all these resolutions, peace between the two sides was not accomplished, and in the midst of this struggle, Patriarch Cyriacus was overtaken by death in Mosul on August 16, 1128 of the Greeks (A.D. 817). His holy body was taken on a boat to Takrit, the city of his forefathers. He served the Patriarchate for twenty-four years and ordained eighty-three bishops. During his service, he did not hold gold or silver (in his hand). He was pure, body and soul, and committed many miracles. He was zealous and relentless in observing apostolic laws. Because of this, he was in constant conflict with those who transgressed these laws. Thus, he spent his life in bitterness. He penned a book on dogma, and another one, which contained his splendid letters.

In the year 1125 of the Greeks (A.D. 814), a certain Chalcedonian person from Edessa named Theodoricus, nicknamed Phuglo (wild radish), was for a while a bishop of Harran, and then was deposed by their Patriarch Theodoreus on the strength of the charges lodged against him. He ended up wandering through the countries and propagating the dogma of Maximus, adding more heresy than Maximus. He corrupted the minds of some people, both Chalcedonian and Orthodox.¹⁸⁸⁰ When he found out that the Chalcedonian definition of faith stated that Christ is two natures in one *qnumo* (hypostasis, person) and that after the union of these two natures cannot stand on its own, he began to teach that the nature of the hypostasis is one thing, and the divinity which is from the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, is something else. He also taught that the natures of the divinity and the humanity were united in the hypostasis (person) of the Word (Christ). When he saw that the Chalcedonians did not agree with him, he roamed around in the west and deceived a great number of simple Maximians. Then, he went to Alexandria and won the admiration of simple people. However, he did not succeed (in that city) despite having been a Sophist, proficient in the Tayoye (Arabic) language, and capable of refuting heathens. He went to Armenia, and the Patrician Ashot was deceived by him and won him to his cause. It was then that Patriarch Cyriacus sent Nonnus, archdeacon of Nisibin, to expose the heresy of Theodoricus lest he deceive the Armenians. When he arrived in Armenia, Nonnus found that Ashot had already leaned toward the heresy of Phuglo (Theodoricus). Ashot thought that Nonnus, who was still young, could not debate Phuglo or stand up to him because he was a philosopher. When Nonnus wanted to debate him, Phuglo declined because he, a bishop, would not condescend to debate a youth. The truth is that he was scared lest he become exposed, and when Ashot pressured him to debate, Phuglo lost the first round. He did not even succeed in the second round, and thus was humiliated and exposed. Apparently, he had not even read one single book or become well versed in the holy teachings. All he knew was a smattering of philosophy. He left defeated. The words of the Prophet Jeremiah, "You will be disappointed by Egypt as you were by Assyria," were fulfilled in him.¹⁸⁸¹

After Phuglo fled Armenia, Ashot and his sons sponsored Nonnus and kept him as their honored guest in order to enjoy his conversations. Nonnus liberated not only Ashot, his sons and all Armenia from the heresy (of Theodoricus), but also from the heresy of the two natures. He also liberated them from the

¹⁸⁸⁰ It should be remembered that the anti-Chalcedonian Syrians considered the Chalcedonians as heretics.

¹⁸⁸¹ Jeremiah 2:36.

heresy of Julian, the Phantasiast, who had corrupted many after the union that had been accomplished by Patriarch Athanasius (Gamolo) and Catholicos Iyawannis.

In this time, heathenism began to appear in Harran after it had been decimated since the time of the Christian kings (emperors) and the Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims). It happened that a Qurayshite person named Ibrahim from Harran was bribed by the heathens who resided in Harran, the nest of heathenism, known as Harranians, and he permitted them to observe their defiled practices openly after they were practiced in secrecy. They even went as far as having a bull adorned with expensive cloth, garlands of fragrant flowers and bells hanging off its horns, and proceeded to parade the bull in the streets accompanied by trumpeters, then offered it as a sacrifice to their idols.

In the year 1128 of the Greeks (A.D. 817) in which Patriarch Cyriacus died, an extremely severe earthquake took place. It crumbled the mountains and blocked the water springs in the village of Agorsa in the district of Claudia. One of the mountains collapsed and glided down to the River Euphrates and blocked its water flow all day long. Meanwhile, springs of sulphur water gushed out in many areas.

Chapter Nine: On the time of al-Ma'mun, king (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs); the murder of Leo, king (emperor) of the Romans and the reign of Michael II. In this period, the bishops assembled in Callinicus (al-Raqqa) concerning the expression "we break heavenly bread"; and the ordination of the historian Patriarch Dionysius (Tell Mahre).

When the citizens of Baghdad did not cease fighting each other, Hasan who was delegated by al-Ma'mun, left Baghdad and dwelt in Kufa. When the Qurayshites and the citizens of Baghdad realized that the government was slipping from the hands of the family of Hashim because al-Ma'mun was far away and Tahir was in the Jazira, they brought Ibrahim, son of Mahdi, and set him up as a caliph.¹⁸⁸² Hasan prepared to fight against the people of Baghdad. When Tahir, who was then in Callinicus (al-Raqqa), heard that Abraham had reigned, he came to terms with the rebels. He lavished largess on some of them and appointed others as governors. He appointed Ibrahim the Qurayshite as governor of Harran, and Ibrahim permitted the heathens to sacrifice (to their idols) in public. He also appointed Abd al-Ali as governor of Edessa. Abd al-Ali encumbered the people of the city with heavy taxes. When he desired to seize one of their villages, he overburdened its people with exorbitant taxes in order to force them to sell it, and then would buy it at a trivial price. He also decided to evict the people of Edessa from their city and settle the Sulaymanite tribe in it. When the citizens of Edessa complained against those who settled in their houses or in the villages, he said to them, "Why do you complain against us, you Christians? In the time of the Romans, you utilized this land while our forefathers wandered in the wilderness tending camels and sheep. Now, we have taken it from the Romans by our sword. So, why do you find it hard to surrender it to us, and become aliens from it? Get out of my face and endure what has happened. Just pay the poll-tax and shut up." They left grieving.

Meanwhile, Tahir overlooked the calamities brought about by the iniquities of the rebels. He built a wall to fortify Callinicus and Raphika, gaining more strength. He became interested in listening to the lectures of philosophy and its interpretation. He also made contact with the rebels in the year 1127 (A.D. 816). However, the rebels wrongly thought that he had deserted them because he feared them. Even more, they plundered not only the Christians, but the Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims) as well; the Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims) fought them and drove them away. Meanwhile, Nasr and Abbas became allied to each other, and marched to Hira against Uthman, who assembled a huge army, and they could not seize him. Then Uthman went to Tahir and urged him to fight the rebels, or give him an army to fight against them. Tahir, however, divulged some secrets to Nasr and Abbas with the intention of impeding peace in these regions in order not to be transferred to Egypt. When Uthman learned of this, he sent a message to al-Ma'mun telling him that Tahir was collaborating with the rebels, but the messenger was captured. When Uthman learned this, and also realized that the enmity he harbored toward Tahir, Nasr and Abbas had been exposed, he, in turn, gathered rebels and began to loot and spoil. Regarding Uthman, Dionysius (Tell Mahre) said, "Uthman had

¹⁸⁸² See Ahmad ibn Yaqub ibn Wadih, *Tarikh al-Yaqubi*, III (al-Najaf: Matba'at al-Ghari, 1358 of the Islamic Calendar/1939 A.D.):178.

a great affection for me. Therefore, I scolded him with affection saying, 'How could you, an old man, go forth to pillage and spoil?' He informed me of all what had happened between him and them (the rebels).¹⁸⁸³ Nevertheless, the kingdom of the Romans itself was plagued with disturbances.

In 1132 of the Greeks (A.D. 821), Michael, the army general, rebelled against his predecessor Leo (V the Armenian), and deposed him and reigned in his place. As Leo deposed his predecessor by force, likewise, he was ejected by this Amorion Michael from the throne and life.¹⁸⁸³

When the rebel Nasr heard that al-Ma'mun was coming to Baghdad, he called his secretary, a Christian wise man, and addressed a letter to the Patrician Emmanuel expressing his desire to make an alliance with the Romans. When King (emperor) Michael heard of this, he dispatched to him a delegation. Nasr, who was in Sarug, learned that the delegation had arrived in Kesum. He gathered the rebels and told them with pride the arrival of the delegation. They, however, were furious and told him, "Do you want to become a *kafir* (infidel) and vex God?" With such words, they poisoned his mind, and he sent men and killed the members of the delegation. So, the pastoral proverb, "He who endeavors to seek what he has not lost, will find what does not please him," was fulfilled in them (the Roman delegation).

In this time, disturbance took place among the Romans because of a certain man named Tuma (Thomas). In the time of Harun (al-Rashid), this Tuma claimed to be the son of Constantine and asked Harun to provide him with an army in order to restore the kingdom. Although Harun did not pay much attention to his demand, still he held him with honor on the premise that he was the son of a king (emperor). When Harun died, al-Ma'mun summoned Tuma and sent him as the head of an army, to either subjugate the Roman kingdom to him, or at least provoke troubles to it through warfare. Tuma was a magician, and claimed to see visions. He marched against the capital and laid tight siege against it for six months. When King (emperor) Michael was in distress, he pledged to set free the Tayoye (Arab) captives, if they fought against the rebel (Tuma). They agreed and had the rebel flee and seek refuge in a fortress. However, the Tayoye (Arabs) pursued him and seized him. They cut off his hands and legs and raised him on a lance. This was the end of Tuma, son of Mosmar. However, Michael reneged on his pledge and did not release the Arab captives.¹⁸⁸⁴

When their captain of the Tayoye (Arab, Muslim) host was pursuing the rebels, the Christians thought that he would heave a sigh of relief. However, Tahir doubled their jizya (tax) and treated the people of Sarug and Edessa badly. He even denied his companions their rights, and they assembled to kill him. When he learned this, he dropped himself from the wall at night and fled to Callinicus. His companions feared that Nasr might pursue them, so they also fled. So, the citizens of Edessa were freed from heavy burdens.

While the Persians were plundering everything that came their way, wrath fell on them by Nasr and his companions. They seized them in groups of fifties or hundreds and slaughtered them like sheep after looting their possessions. Meanwhile, Nasr and his rebel companions went up to Edessa to plunder, and waged ferocious war against it. All the people of Edessa went up the wall (of the city). The women carried stones to the men on the wall to hurl them against the attackers. Those who could not climb up the wall kept praying, and I, (Dionysius Tell Mahre), was one of them. Dionysius Tell Mahre said, "We wanted the Persians to overwhelm the Tayoye (Arabs), lest the rebels would control the city. But God showed mercy as Umar, one of the rebels, fell (was wounded), and the rebels retreated in disgrace." Momentarily, the two snakes, Nasr and Abbas, dominated the region of the west and afflicted the people with many evils. Finally, they challenged each other to drinking wine, and each of them bragged that he was mightier than the other

¹⁸⁸³ Michael II (820-829), the stammerer, is called Amorion in relation to the city of Amorium in Phrygia, his birthplace. Leo V was murdered by the followers of Michael, his old comrade in arms, at the high altar of the Church of St. Sophia. See George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 180.

¹⁸⁸⁴ Cf. A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, I (The University of Wisconsin Press, 1964): 274-276 where he calls Thomas the Slav or Slavonian and the importance of his insurrection; and Asad Rustum, *al-Rum fi Sisatibim, Dadaratibim, Dinibim, Thaqafatibim and Silatibim bi al-Arab*, 1 (Beirut: Dar al-Makshuf, 1955): 320-322.

was. Then Nasr hit Asim's head with the cup, and Asim went to his father. They assembled their troops and went forth to meet Nasr. Many of them were killed, and finally became his subjects.

Aspag captured Samosata and resided in it. Nashab, his cousin, entered upon him and killed him and the members of his family. Like the other rebels, he ruled the city.

After the death of the pious and blessed Patriarch Cyriacus, the Gubbites and the people of Cyrus (Qurush) got together and came to Abiram. They said to him, "When we will be condemned and separated from the church because of the expression 'we break heavenly bread?' Behold, the patriarch who endeavored to have it removed has been transported (passed away). Therefore, we would like to rejoin the church and see our condemnation in Syria and Egypt annulled." Abiram and his companions craftily said, "We, in turn, also suffered, and were vilified for your sake because we did not want the expression 'we break heavenly bread' to be abolished in our time. You well know that Cyriacus had fallen into the heresy of Julian (the Phantasiast), and denied the Trinity because he did not prefer this expression to be said during the breaking of the body (celebration of the Eucharist). Let us wait a little until another chief priest (patriarch) is set up. If he would say this expression even one time, let the Trinity condemn me if I do not relinquish my position and retire. And if I pretended to be the head (of the church), you should not then considered me a Christian." The accursed Abiram said this thinking that the bishops would not choose someone other than him as a chief priest (patriarch) while he was still alive. If they did so, they would continue to be split and dissentient. Now, Abiram had a gang of supporters who managed his own affairs, and with such words, he dampened the spirit of the Christians.

When the bishops witnessed that the Gubbites had disturbed the church of the west, and that Basil the Takritian and the monks of the Monastery of St. Matthew had disturbed the church of the east, they assembled in Callinicus in June 1129 of the Greeks (A.D. 818), with Tahir's protection. There were about forty-five bishops. Those who did not attend sent their endorsement. Abiram and the band of monks also came (to Callinicus) and lodged at an inn. They communicated with the bishops concerning the expression of "we break heavenly bread." Moreover, since some bishops espoused it, the assembled bishops gave the choice to anyone who wanted to use it or not. They also reconciled Basil the Takritian with the monks of the St. Matthew's Monastery.

The document issued by the Holy Council which assembled in the city of Callinicus, and attended by bishops from all the countries under the jurisdiction of the Apostolic See of Antioch

In the month of June of the year 1129 of the Greeks (818 A.D.), we assembled in the name of Almighty God, according to church order, and exchanged apostolic counsel as it should be. In addition, we studied the reasons of the sedition and disturbance that is still tearing asunder the members of the church and the faithful in every city and region. We deliberated these reasons with prudence and resolved with one spirit and by the inspiration of the (Holy) Spirit, that the reason for lack of peace is the worthless altercations and the futile ideas concerning the expression of "we break heavenly bread," that is the bread which is our life and the breath which enlivens the soul. This expression is used by those who love trouble as a pretext to stir up sedition in order to accomplish their evil desires. In order to bring together all the members of the church who separated from it, in one way or another, and add them to the body of Christ, we have concurred with one spirit that this dogma is undoubtedly a healing for those who are wounded, and that from now on, no one should antagonize the other in any form. Therefore, we affirm according to the apostolic commandments that each one should resort to his conscience and endeavor to build up his own self according to the precepts of the apostle who taught that, "Each of you should look not only to your own interests, but also to the interests of others."¹⁸⁸⁵ As we do not want anyone to oppose what we deem appropriate concerning this expression, we also do not want to contradict those who differ with us concerning it. Therefore, according to the word of life which the Lord granted to his holy Apostles, we resolve not to quarrel with anyone who insists that the expression, "we break heavenly bread," should be

¹⁸⁸⁵ Philippians 2:4.

used or not, for in this case one of the sides will be necessarily blamed. As our forefathers who administered the church of God cared for everyone in order to win the whole, and treated the conflicts with wisdom and prudence, thus we also as sons of their piety, perceive the same method and follow in their footsteps in spiritual administration. There is no other way to treat the present situation. If one of them (the bishops) stirs up a quarrel regarding these matters, and shows no respect for the definition (of the faith) by the holy fathers, he should be deposed and divested of the grace of the priestly dignity, and rejected and dishonored by our community if he is a bishop. If he is a presbyter or a deacon, he shall be condemned and divested of his rank. If he is a monk or a secular person, he shall be forbidden to partake in the holy mysteries (the Holy Communion) and from mingling with the believers. Moreover, as we thank God for his affection toward us, we declare that what we have defined complies with the canons of the church and the rules of our fathers. We are confident that the church of God has operated since the first generation with concord and without conflict. So that if one sides said something, the other should have kept silent, and not quarrel, or hold each other with contempt in regard to these matters until these our days. We have resolved that everything that has been written about the expression "we break heavenly bread" should be burned by fire, whether it concurred with it or opposed it, that no one shall have the authority to write anything about this subject (the expression). We did not find anything indicating that the ancients (fathers) had provoked this subject. We do not suspect, in any form, that the holy body of the Son of God that we receive at the holy altars is not merely and practically heavenly bread. However, we do believe and condemn anyone who, like us, does not maintain that the bread we receive at the altar is heavenly bread according to the teaching of the holy Patriarch Severus (of Antioch. d. 538). We also condemn anyone who says that it is not the body of the *qnumo* (hypostasis) of God (Christ) which he took from Mary and became a sacrifice on the cross. We further condemn he who says that it (the body) is broken not just to satisfy the partaking of many, but it is certainly a Messianic sacrifice.

We, the bishops, have unanimously fixed our signatures to the letter of Iliyya (Elijah), bishop of Harran, addressed to Patriarch Dionysius (Tell Mahre) in this respect. Therefore, these two opinions should be thoroughly and truthfully examined. *End of the account.*

Chapter Ten: On the resolutions of the Council of Callinicus (al-Raqqa)

After the matters related above were completed, an old man got up on the next day and, standing in the middle, said, "The purpose of assembling this holy council is to elect a chief for us and then attend to other issues. However, the assembled members perceived the necessity of discussing church affairs first. This was done by God's help in forty days without dissension or altercations among us. Now, we should proceed to realize our good endeavor and discard from our minds every harmful profane thought, or things that cause bias. If you agree, I suggest that we fast for three days and keep praying day and night, and supplicate God to find for his church someone who knows how to tend it with piety and holiness. And if the Lord is present when two or three gather in his name, how much more he is present if forty-five assemble in his name?"¹⁸⁸⁶ Those present appreciated the idea of the old man and fasted three days, and kept vigil and prayer. They were seated according to their ranks. They decided that each one should be asked about what he thought during the days of supplication, and to whom his idea was directed, and whether there was an eligible one (to be a patriarch) in his monastery. The majority said that there was no suitable person in their monasteries, while others mentioned the names of some prominent persons, one of whom was the efficient malphono (doctor) Mor Atonous. Finally, Theodore, a bishop from the Monastery of Mor Jacob in Kesum arose and said, "A monk from the Monastery of Qinnésrin came and stayed with us for two years. We examined him and found him to be suitable for this service (the dignity of the patriarchate)." By these words, he opened the door to other bishops who had set their eyes on this monk, and all of them testified in his favor. The council decided that the bishops should enter into the altar in order that the election be consummated. Standing before the Table of Life, they consulted with each other and

¹⁸⁸⁶ Matthew 18:20.

unanimously agreed to the election of the monk Dionysius from the Monastery of Qinnesrin. They wrote down the report of their agreement and all of them signed it as follows:

When this council of piety and peace convened by the act of the Holy Spirit, the whole affair proceeded by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit himself. Confidence was high concerning the good result, and by the action of the Holy Spirit, we unanimously agreed to the election and ordination of a head, in order to be, after Almighty God, a patriarch of the Apostolic See of Antioch: we mean brother Dionysius from the Monastery of Yuhanon (John) bar (son of) Aphtonya (the Monastery of Qinnesrin). We have concurred with his election and signed before the Holy Cross.

I Basilius, bishop of Takrit, endorsed the outcome of the election and have affixed my signature. So also did Bishop Hadh Bshabo of Marga, Bishop Yuhanon of Mar'ash (Germanicia), Bishop Anastas of Damascus through Bishop Theodosius of Edessa, and Bishop George of Qinnesrin through his deputy, and others consecutively. After they signed, they designated five bishops, and Thomas, archdeacon of Nisibin, and some monks as well to go and fetch Dionysius. When Abiram and the Gubbites (monks of the Gubba Baraya, or Outer Pit Monastery) learned that the council had elected a head and reached an agreement concerning the expression of "we break heavenly bread," he was frustrated and angry. He gathered his partisan (monks) and said to them, "See what the bishops have done. They chose a head from the monastery and the city that has rejected the expression of "we break heavenly bread." I adjure you by the word of God that, when I have passed away, you should not deposit my body in the grave until you have set up a head to take my place, and you should not reconcile with these (bishops)." The monks said to him, "This is not what you promised, but you did say, 'I will give up leadership if the elected patriarch uttered this expression even once.' Then all of us will become subject to him. You should then wait until the head is ordained and see what his point of view is." The hypocrite, however, excommunicated those monks and left with the stranger (monks) loyal to him. He went to the congregation of Cyrus (Qurush) to have some of the wicked among them partake in their hypocrisy. As to the Gubbites who did not submit to him (Abiram), they went to the assembled bishops to ask their forgiveness.

At this point Dionysius (Tell Mahre) said, "From the inception of writing the events contained in this book, and until now, I have recorded them with courage and audacity. I neither praised nor disparaged anyone with any bias or favoritism. Now that I have reached this chapter, I prefer to hold my peace, and desire that another historian should write about my weakness, if there is one who has enough experience, as I do, about my own affairs. He should discuss without fear my shortcomings and incompetence. He should reveal, as much as possible, my blameworthy actions, and he himself, not I, mention the reforms, which deserve praise. Since there is no one who knows my private affairs as I do, I find it imperative to mention these two processes adhering to what is truthful, and avoid trivial ideas and neglect praise lest those who love to criticize think I am making myself virtuous. I do know myself that I am the lesser and the weakest of all people. In addition, I do not know how the fathers were involved or even deceived by having confidence in me. However, because of their innocent thinking, they succumbed to strange heresy, and learned from many how I would handle this matter (of being chosen a patriarch). They had already known what my thinking was when I was twice invited to the Episcopal dignity, and how I fled from place to place. This made them think that I would also flee when I heard the news of my nomination. Therefore, they sent two brave monks to Mor Jacob's Monastery where I resided because the citizens of Qinnesrin were scattered. They came at night and hunted me down, and I was very embarrassed. When I realized that there was nowhere to escape, I kept quiet. Like a criminal, they kept me under guard until the bishops arrived. I wept and prostrated before them but they showed no mercy toward me. They led me from that silence to the middle of the council while I was trying to get away from them. Again, I began to weep and expose my sins and my weakness and incompetence. However, they forcefully fell upon me saying, "He who rebels and complains, God's wrath will fall upon him." Finally, they did not hesitate to leave their seats and bow down to my lowliness. Here I found myself roaming a dark sea with no hope of escape. I used to believe that it was difficult to accept the priesthood, especially for a miserable and lowly person like me. Indeed, it was even difficult for those who have reached the summit of perfection. Nevertheless, I perceived that insisting

on disobedience was most dangerous. Therefore, on Friday, they ordained me a deacon at the Pillar Monastery. On Saturday they ordained me a priest at the Monastery of Mor Zakai, and on the first Sunday of the year 1129 of the Greeks (A.D. 818), they elevated me to the dignity of the priesthood (patriarchate) at the great church of al-Raqqa (Callinicus), and proclaimed me an heir to the throne (of Antioch), I who did not deserve to untie shoelaces. I testify to God that I have not been infected by the love of leadership, and that such a desire, which entices many men, never crossed my mind.

Since you have asked me, dear son Iyawannis,¹⁸⁸⁷ to write for you the events which took place in our time, let us rely on God and discuss the matters which followed our call (to the patriarchate) whether concerning church matters, profane matters, or the matters of the public treasury. As I have accepted the throne of Patriarch Cyriacus, I have also accepted from him the charge to rush into battle against the Gubbites, just as I would accept a torment for my body, and a bruising of my bones, lest I feel arrogant because of the great gift granted me.

When the council had dispersed, I directed my concerns to healing the dissension within the church. I chose ten bishops, and went up to the village of Balash. I summoned the Gubbites to discuss peace. They said to the delegation, "We will not show up until the patriarch confirms the expression of 'we break heavenly bread.'" Therefore, we lost any hope of the Gubbites. Then we proceeded to the congregation of Qurush (Cyrus) among whom were presbyters and deacons, and discussed with them the question of peace. However, when they learned that we do not forbid the expression "we break heavenly bread," they were inclined toward us. When Abiram and his followers learned that the people of the district had obeyed us, they became sore angry and decided not to keep these simple folks in the city. In fact, they abducted many of them. We, however, went from Cyrus to Antioch in October, 1131 (A.D. 820) where the bishops proceeded with the *Synthronismas* (ceremony of the enthronement of the new patriarch) after the resolution of the council was read.

The Systacon (Letter of Electing the Patriarch)

To the true believers and beloved in our Lord, the presbyters, deacons and the entire Christ-loving congregation, in the great city of Antioch and its environs, the holy Council assembled by the Holy Spirit in the city of Callinicus (al-Raqqa), grants you abundant peace and love in Christ our Savior.

You and we, our beloved, have been alienated from each other by the grievous things that have occurred up to this time, and were bereft of the leadership of Mor Cyriacus, the great captain and the shining light, who is now with the saints, awaiting the reward of his righteous deeds. Because of these deeds, he will be privileged to enjoy the witnessing of the Holy Trinity along with the righteous who preceded him. Therefore, we did not deem it proper to neglect that leadership, honor another one before it, or concern ourselves with it whatever it may be. Indeed, by the testimony of all (bishops), the successor of Cyriacus, and the confirmer of the holy church who is more worthy of this leadership than anyone else, is the one who will be elected by us by the power of the Holy Spirit. When Moses was transported (died), and by the hand of God was buried, and when Elijah was raptured to heaven in the chariot, God decided to set up successors for the race of Jacob, known as Israel, instead of them. He did this also to divide the Promised Land for the twelve tribes of Israel according to their portions, and by a miracle annihilated the multitudes of the Canaanites. He commanded them to observe the laws and attain to perfection. He fed the people who were detained in the wilderness with the bread from heaven, which truly and not by imagination symbolized the body of one of the persons of the Trinity, that is God the Word, which is broken for the believers. We have, likewise, perceived that God, by the Holy Spirit, is truly pleased to choose as a patriarch Mor Dionysius, especially that all efforts to elect someone else have failed. We have succeeded in having his lordship elected because of his serenity, character, excellent deportment, immaculate life and endeavor to promote divine teachings. We have elected him with one spirit and by the power of the Holy Spirit and by previous mediation. We have declared him justly to be the head of our church, we the Orthodox. We have

¹⁸⁸⁷ This is John, metropolitan of Dara d. 860. See Aphram Barsoum, *Scattered Pearls*, translated Matti Moosa, 391.

joyfully celebrated (his election as patriarch) together with the sons of the church who are nearby. Indeed, the whole church is rejoicing, which is a manifestation of union and positive activity. Therefore, by participating with us in the grace of this delight, and showing your complete obedience as the ancients did, accepting your shepherds, nay, the shepherds of the whole church of God and embracing them with both arms, and adhering to proper order in everything, you have actually exhibited the awesome dignity of the city of God in the most excellent form. You have also become a good example for others that they may imitate you through this pious father (Dionysius Tell Mahre) the chief shepherd and the head of all after the Christ God. We raise our supplication to God the Father, the Almighty, who has granted us such a great gift and blessing through which and by which we will be able to draw near to him and become worthy of ceaseless benefactions and of eternal life, by the grace of his only Son our Lord Jesus Christ and his Holy Spirit for his own glory. Amen.

Appended are the signatures of all the bishops.

Chapter Eleven: On the events of the Tayoye (Arab) kingdom in the time of al-Ma'mun, and the affairs of the Roman kingdom in the time of Michael, and the events of our church in the time of Mor Dionysius (Tell Mahre)

In the year 1130 (A.D. 819), al-Ma'mun, king (caliph of the Tayoye (Arabs) came from Khurasan to Baghdad upon hearing that his uncle Ibrahim had reigned (as caliph), that there were divisions and warfare among the citizens of Baghdad, that Hasan was seated in Kufa and Tahir in Raphika, separately. When al-Ma'mun arrived in Baghdad, the citizens deserted Ibrahim and set him upon the throne of his father. Ibrahim fled into hiding.

Tahir went up to meet al-Ma'mun, and al-Ma'mun accepted him. In the year 1132 (A.D. 821), he appointed him a governor of Khurasan because he trusted him. After Tahir left for Khurasan, al-Ma'mun magnified Abd Allah his son and appointed him in his father's place. He commanded that Yahya should remain in the Jazira. Then the rebels became strong, and Nasr bought the fortress of Beth Balish.¹⁸⁸⁸ He assembled his troops and went down to the River Hani near Callinicus. When Isa marched against him with a group of rabbles, he killed them all, plundered the villages, and controlled them. When al-Ma'mun heard this, he was outraged and sent against him Shabib, captain of the host, and with him seven thousand fighting men. Nasr was frightened and sent a message of submission to al-Ma'mun. Al-Ma'mun sent back a message saying, "If you are really truthful, come and step on my rug and I will honor you." However, Nasr was only trying to procrastinate with the caliph. Then Shabib prepared for war. Nasr divided his troops into three camps and Shabib forbade the Persians to provide them with food. Distressed by hunger, they were forced to plunge into battle, many perished on both sides, and the Tayoye (Arabs) fled. The Persians began to plunder the rebels. They went on eating, drinking, acting extravagantly, and mocking those in the interior of the wall. As the Persians were boastful (as if they had defeated the rebels), Nasr came back upon them, and they fled before him from fear. When Shabib saw that he could do nothing against the Tayoye (Arabs), he wished to go to Antioch and fetch the gold that had been brought from Egypt in the time of Harun (al-Rashid). He slipped out secretly at night, but Nasr knew of his departure and went forth ahead of him. He cut down about three thousand (Persians) who were with him. Then he shouted out to them, "Put down your arms and go wherever you want." The wretched laid down their arms, and (Nasr's men) seized them all. Then they pursued Shabib and caught up with him, and the Persians were stricken with fear. Nasr cried out saying, "He who will join me will I give a horse and thousand dinars," and a great number joined him. Shabib, together with few men, fled to Baghdad in disgrace, which he deserved because he never stopped his troops from doing iniquities against the poor. As to Nasr and his Tayoye (Arab) troops, they gained strength against the Persians and killed even those who joined them and laid down their arms. When Nasr returned from fighting Shabib, he was told that the Yamanite who was in Manbij (Mabug) had attacked the villages on the River Shagur, which the Arabs called Sagur, and spoiled them. Nasr and his followers set up

¹⁸⁸⁸ According to Bar Hebraeus' *Chronography*, the English translation, p. 128, Nasr sold the fortress of Beth Balish.

ambush (in these villages), and when the men went forth to their work, they fell upon them and killed everyone they found, men and women. Many peasants and poor people found refuge in the Monastery of Borim, so (Nasr) set it on fire. Some of them were burned (to death), and others cast themselves down and were smashed to pieces. Nasr and his men cut off their heads by the sword and carried them to Sarug. Thus, many poor people perished.¹⁸⁸⁹

In this time when Ibrahim, the amir (governor) of Harran, was walking on the roof of his grand cupola, he saw new a building. He asked the cupbearers with him, "To whom do the new and white buildings belong?" Because they were heathens, they told him that, "These are churches which the Christians built in your time. This is why many Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims) have become suspicious of you, because you let them build whatever they could not in the time of the Romans. They even accuse you of receiving bribes." Ibrahim was outraged, and before the sun was set, our cathedral in Harran was torn down. The altar of the church of the Mother of God in Qouba was demolished and a small part of the altar of Mor Gurgis was torn down. In addition, the temples of the Chalcedonians, the Jews and Nestorians were torn down. All these denominations beseeched God for mercy. That night, God changed his heart and he regretted (his action.) In the morning, he summoned the Christians and asked them to rebuild what had been demolished, and they restored everything within few days.

In this year (A.D. 819), was lack of rain and the crops did not grow, which caused the prices of grains, wine and oil to soar.

In this time, the people stood against Basilius, metropolitan of Takrit, because of his arrogance and misbehavior. He was not only harsh to the sons of his own church, but also to the heathens of Takrit. He was not satisfied with interfering in the affairs of the church, but also in matters related to public taxes, which were not his concern. He was too close to the governor. He interfered in the matters of the jizya (poll tax), he even imposed the jizya on the Mhagroye (Muslims), and when the Mhagroye (Haggrites, Muslims) saw his impertinence, they stood against him. The people were greatly harmed because of him, and because of him, they (the Muslims) killed the pigs in the market place. Yet despite all this, he did not let up, but took with him some men and went down to Baghdad to launch a complaint against the Hagerites (Muslims). However, the Hagerites (Muslims) went down to Baghdad and reached it ahead of him. They launched a complaint against the Christians concerning church bells, crosses, wine, and that the pigs entered the masjids. They accused Metropolitan Basilius and the chief Abdun of vilifying their Prophet (Muhammad). Accordingly, an order was issued abolishing the rites of the Christians and to arrest Basilius and Abdun. Basilius fled and Abdun witnessed martyrdom for Christ. Al-Ma'mun enticed Abdun by offering him money and position to proclaim his conversion to Islam. He even threatened him and had him tortured but did not succeed. Then he cast him into prison under torture. After seven months, Abdun departed (this life) a martyr by the sword in the middle of the tribunal, and his body was suspended on a gibbet. The many prodigies and miracles that accompanied his martyrdom surpass words. As to Basilius, who threatened to evict the Muslims from their homes, he could no more enter Takrit. As he tried to rebel against the See of Antioch, he was himself now without a see. Still, more strange, was that he did not learn a lesson from what had happened to him.

In the month of April of the year 1130 of the Greeks (A.D. 819), Marcus, pope of Alexandria, passed away nine months after the ordination of Mor Dionysius (Tell Mahre, patriarch). He was succeeded by Jacob.

In the year 1131 (A.D. 820), Mor Dionysius (Tell Mahre) accompanied by bishops, left Antioch for Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia) and then Baghdad in order to obtain a *firman* (decree) from al-Ma'mun following the example of his predecessors the patriarchs. The *firman* was issued by the efforts of Tahir and by his endeavor a council was assembled to have him (Tell Mahre) elected (a patriarch). Patriarch Dionysius said about Basilius of Takrit that, "He was not a monk in any monastery, but a layman when he was called from the market place for the episcopate. Therefore, he bore a grudge against the Mattaians (the monks of

¹⁸⁸⁹ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 128-129 with some variations.

St. Matthew's Monastery), and against us. Being arrogant, he attempted to rebel against us thinking that he could have the congregation of the east revolt against the See of Antioch. Like the condemned Barsoum of Nisibin, he thought that he could set up himself a catholicos.¹⁸⁹⁰ When he did not succeed in concocting anything in the time of Cyriacus, because he was from Takrit, he had the illusion that through the Takritians he could succeed in our time. Thus, he poisoned the Takritians against me, saying, 'This patriarch is your enemy.' To the bishops he said, 'For how long should we remain subjects under the authority of the westerners, while they pilfer the money we collect? And why do they not recognize our See as equal in dignity to the See of Egypt (Alexandria)?' However, the Lord did not let him fulfill what went through his mind because the Takritians had a great affection toward us. In fact, they wrote to us while we were in Baghdad asking us to spend the feast with them. However, he (Basilus) said to them that, 'The bishops who were in his (Patriarch Dionysius) company urged him to return quickly to their own country in order to consecrate the *Mirun* (Chrism).' But to us, Basilus wrote saying, 'The circumstances are not appropriate for your visit to Takrit because the rulers of the city oppress the believers greatly.' When we discovered his ill intentions, we deserted the road to Mosul, and went via the Euphrates River to the city of Cercesium. After consecrating the Chrism, and celebrating the feasts, we went up to the villages of the Khabur, and then to Nisibin, Dara and Kafartuta, the cities of Beth Nahrin.

As to the stranger monk of the Monastery of Gubba Baraya (Outer Pit), he had rebelled against the church because he was not ordained a bishop to succeed his master, Bacchus. Evidently, the Council of Callinicus frustrated his hopes to become a bishop when he was nominated by Abiram for this position. When he witnessed that the monastery (of the Gubba Baraya) was overlooked, he was forced to come to us pleading for peace. We demanded from him, and from those with him, to iterate the expression "we break heavenly bread," and they did. They immediately condemned Abiram and those loyal to him. They promised not to be united with him anymore. Accordingly, we absolved them and offered them the mysteries (Holy Communion) on the premise that they were schismatics who returned to the fold.

When Uthman al-Tamimi, who was in control of interior Syria, Homs, and Phoenicia, came to the Monastery of Qinnasrin via the Euphrates, and saw that the magnificent church had been devastated by fire, we (Dionysius Tell Mahre) appealed to him to rebuild it. He welcomed our request and granted us a *firman* (decree) to have it rebuilt. He provided us with letters to the rulers in order to assist us in renovating the churches and monasteries. I, (Patriarch Tell Mahre) informed him of the rebellion that took place at the Monastery of Eusebuna in the province of Antioch since the time of Patriarch Cyriacus and the loyalty of its monks to the partisans of Abiram. He wrote to the amir (governor) of the Arabs to evict the partisans of Abiram and hand it over to us. We repossessed the monastery after the partisans of Abiram had stolen its books and precious vessels.

Concerning the rebel Abiram: In 1139 (A.D. 828), Abiram went down to Baghdad and obtained a *firman* authorizing him to become a patriarch. However, many times, Abd Allah ibn Tahir censured him for his rebellion.

In that year, a council of forty bishops together with the Patriarch Dionysius (Tell Mahre), assembled in the Monastery of Euspholis near Rish 'Ayna, on account of Philoxenus, bishop of Nisibin, who was removed from his see. His opponents were Nunnus, archdeacon of Nisibin and Abu Ra'ita of Takrit, who were both eloquent sages. However, he refused to attend the council and went to Nisibin without permission. The council excommunicated him together with Abiram, but then these two men came into agreement with each other. *End of the account.*

¹⁸⁹⁰ Barsoum of Nisibin was a Nestorian bishop who obtained orders from the Persian king to persecute the Orthodox of the East. He was instrumental in destroying St. Matthew's Monastery. The Syrians condemn him for his atrocities. See above Book Eleven, entire Chapter 9; Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, III, 63-71, and Patriarch Ignatius Jacob III, *Duṣfaṭ al-Tib fi Tarikh Dayr al-Qiddis Mor Matta al-Ajib* (Zahla, Lebanon, 1961), pp. 29-30, translated into English by Matti Moosa with the title *History of the Monastery of Saint Matthew in Mosul* (Gorgias Press, 2008), 28-29).

Chapter Twelve: On the beginning of the reign of Theophilus, king (emperor) of the Romans; the success of al-Ma'mun who is Abd Allah, king (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs); on the impudence of Abiram, and the triumph of Mor Dionysius

In the year 1140 (A.D. 829), Michael (II the Stammerer), king of the Romans, passed away and Theophilus (829-842) reigned. The Bulgarians and the Kurdonye, who were Kurdish by race and *hanfe* (Syriac term meaning pagans, but in this context it means Muslims) by faith, offered him their subjugation.

These Kurdonoye (Kurds) had received from their forefathers an idea, by means of divination, that someone from them named Mahdi was expected to appear and lead the nations into belief in God. He would bequeath his kingdom to someone else, and this kingdom would have no end. Those who believed in him will resurrect forty days after their death, go to their folks, and then move to an unknown place.

This anticipated Mahdi did appear in these days. He covered his face with a veil¹⁸⁹¹ and sometimes pretended to be the "Christ," and at other times the "Holy Spirit." His followers increased daily in number, and multitudes from every nation gathered around him with the intention of plundering and spoiling. He made his center in the impregnable mountains of Kurdistan. His worship spread into Jazira and Armenia. He devastated Beth Zabdai (present-day Azekh), and Tur Abdin, and killed people without discrimination. The Magians worshiped him and considered everyone who did not worship him an alien. Even the Caliph al-Ma'mun feared him. When they (the partisans of the Mahdi) came to plunder the Monastery of Qartmin (Mor Gabriel Monastery) and the neighboring villages, Hasan, who tremendously honored the beliefs of the Christians, became filled with zeal and suddenly fell upon them and defeated them, and they fled. The Mahdi, whom they deified, attempted with some of his men to escape from the presence of Hasan to the country of Ishaq bar (son of) Ashot (the Armenian). Ishaq seized him and detained him. The Kurds gathered at night and attacked Ishaq's house to rescue their king, but Ishaq cut off Mahdi's head, took it with his money and family and fled. When the Kurds entered into (Ishaq's house) they saw only the body of the Mahdi.

Shortly afterward, Ishaq and his troops waged war against the Tayoye (Arabs), and the Tayoye (Arabs) laid in waiting for him and his family, but a heathen woman informed the villagers of the ambush. A great number of people entered the fortress with the monk, who was the brother of Ishaq's wife. Then came the Kurds and killed the men and fought with stones those who were in the fortress, but the believers (Christians) hurried to find a shelter in their houses. That pious monk prayed for them with sighs. He supplicated Christ while carrying an urn containing the relics of the saints. Meanwhile, his believing sister urged him to continue to pray. She placed her suckling child before the Lord, and beseeching Christ, she said, "Lord Christ, have mercy on your servants for the sake of this child on whose face the traces of baptism could still be seen."

When the Kurds were about to enter the fortress because one of the doors had already been burned down, another monk took a spear, like Phinehas,¹⁸⁹² and cast himself from the wall and, reaching the chief of the Kurds, by the help of God, drove the spear into him and killed him, and they could not harm him. The believer spent the night in vigil. As to the God-fearing wife of Ishaq, she determined to deliver herself to death rather than fall into the hands of the heathens. She entered into the arms chamber and held a gold decorated sword that its shimmering might attract them and they would slaughter her. Early morning she prepared to go out and die, but the Lord, who is near those who call on him in truth,¹⁸⁹³ caused the Kurds to retreat from attacking the fortress, which they were about to seize, and turn away to plunder those in the region before they escaped. When Ishaq heard this, he dispatched foot soldiers to the fortress, but they returned grieved as they met with young men deep in prayer, with their swords tied to each other. On the next day, Ishaq arrived with his valiant troops. Because they (the Kurds) were tired of fighting against the fortress, they could not even hear the voice of their guards, and when they attempted to escape, they could not because of the snow. A great number of them were destroyed and slain. This was the end of the Mahdi

¹⁸⁹¹ Thus he was known as al-Muqanna', ie. he with the veil.

¹⁸⁹² The reference here is to Phinehas son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron, the priest. See Numbers 25:7-9.

¹⁸⁹³ Psalm 145:18.

and his partisans. After the Mahdi, his men (those who were left of them) set up another leader named Harun (Aaron), and Ali killed him. After him arose Babek, the cattle herder who fled to Theophilus, king of the Romans, for refuge.¹⁸⁹⁴

Afterwards, when al-Ma'mun learned of what Nasr had done to Shabib, he summoned Abd Allah bar (son of) Tahir and promised him much beneficence and great positions, like Pharaoh promised Joseph. After he accepted the responsibility, Abd Allah took twenty thousand fighting men and arrived in Callinicus (al-Raqqa) in the year 1134 (A.D. 823); all the Persian leaders became subject to him. When the rebellious Nasr heard that Abd Allah was a quiet and humble man, he perceived his manner as weakness, so he instigated his partisans to fight him before he surprised them. When they reached the River Khabur, Abd Allah confronted them with twelve thousand fighting men, and the Tayoye (Arabs) of Nasr fled hither and thither. If, for instance, they were seen today in the land of Harran, they would be instantly seen near Callinicus. When Abd Allah realized that it was difficult to seize Nasr by mere chasing, he directed his attention to the cities in which Nasr settled, like Sarug and Kesum. Then, when he reached Balish (a town between Aleppo and Callinicus, known today as Maskana) he was mocked by the men on the wall, but Abd Allah ordered his men not to answer them. He sent his general Uzir who met Nasr in the village of Sarrin (one of the villages of the city of Aleppo).¹⁸⁹⁵ He slaughtered forty of Nasr's men, and they (the rest) were stricken with fear. He seized by force Nasr's fortress, which was his center of operation, captured the three hundred men who were in it and sent them to detention in Raphika. Abd Allah came to Sarug and commanded that the grain and the hay should be gathered in sufficient quantities for his troops when he attacked Kesum. At this time, the people of the Jazira and the west were so distressed (by famine) that they preferred death. They were even forced to harvest the wheat, barley and other grains and thresh them before the regular season to sell them. Nasr went around massacring the harvesters, burning everything he found. When Abd Allah heard of the calamities caused by Nasr, he attacked Balash ferociously and showered the Tayoye (Arabs) with stones. Meanwhile, Nasr commanded the Christians to go up the wall to weep and lament so that Abd Allah would know that he was attacking the Christians and not the Arabs (Muslims). However, the amir (Abd Allah), being a compassionate man, ordered that stones should not be cast into the city lest the Christians be stoned. He also ordered (his men) to dig under the wall, which they did, and breached it. They controlled the city and, seizing the rebels, they bound them in irons and sent them to Baghdad. When Uthman ibn Thumama, governor of interior Syria, Qinnasrin, Homs and Phoenicia learned of this, he offered submission to Abd Allah, who received him with alacrity.

As to the accursed Nasr, he went around the district of Sarug slaying Persians and Christians including Abd Allah, captain of the Persian host. This made ibn Tahir immensely furious, and he prepared to attack Kesum, the stronghold of Nasr. When Nasr learned this, he sent a message to ibn Tahir pledging his submission to him and offering his children as hostages. Bar Tahir replied that, "If he does not come in person, I will not grant him safety."

In October of the year 1135 (A.D. 824), Abd Allah attacked Kesum and built houses in preparation for the winter. They set up their engines of war which could hurl stones each as large as an ass's load. Now Kesum had five walls and a trench. Then Nasr commanded that Christian women should go up the wall carrying their children, and should weep and cry out and beseech (the attackers) not to hurl stones at them. When Abd Allah heard their crying, he ordered that they should not cast stones into the city, but should only hit the wall heavily. Then Nasr, seeing that all his rebel companions had submitted to the amir (Abd Allah), he opened the gate of the city and sent his three sons, two hundred loads of fine flour, three hundred loads of barley, five hundred sheep, ten mules, ten slaves, three concubines, three eunuchs, gold and silver, gifts to all the noble men, and said, "Accept my gift, and keep my sons with you, and in the morning I myself will come." After accepting Nasr's gift, bar Tahir commanded the young men (sons of Nasr), saying, "Go back to your kinsfolk so that they may not be anxious." In the morning, Nasr went forth, dismounted

¹⁸⁹⁴ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, pp. 131-132.

¹⁸⁹⁵ See the Chorepiscopus Barsoum Ayyub, *al-Usul al-Suryaniyya fi Asma' al-Mudun wa al-Qura al-Suriyya* (Names of the Cities and Villages of Syria) (Dar Mardin: Aleppo, 2000, 225).

his beast at a distance and walked on foot. He drew nigh from Abd Allah (bar Tahir), bowed down and kissed his foot and hands, then bar Tahir also dismounted, and the two sat down together and talked to each other secretly. The amir (ibn Tahir) commanded Nasr to enter the city, and he did so, pretending that he would leave it and go to him in Callinicus after twenty-five days, and, bar Tahir in his simplicity believed him. He commanded his troops to sell the provisions they had gathered for the winter. The people of Kesum went about their business with freedom. After Abd Allah departed, Nasr proceeded to rebuild Kesum and fortify it. When Abd Allah informed al-Ma'mun of Nasr's surrender, al-Ma'mun was delighted. Then Abd Allah marched to Samosata, and the rebel Yabish who was there, tried to get away, but the amir (Abd Allah) seized him and sent him in chains to be imprisoned in Raphika.

At this time, Tahir died in Khurasan, so the caliph sent his second son (Abd Allah) to replace his father. He addressed a letter of condolences to Abd Allah saying, "Now that Nasr is subjugated, go to Egypt and establish peace there," but al-Ma'mun had struck the stern of the ship only because Nasr rebelled again. Then, when Abd Allah wrote to Nasr asking him to come and meet with him, Nasr replied, "I am ready to fight you. As to my son Mansur, do not only shut him up in prison in Baghdad, but roast him in fire and eat him." Abd Allah informed al-Ma'mun of this matter, and the caliph became very angry against Abd Allah, and even sentenced him to death because he let Nasr escape after he had fallen into his hands. Therefore, Abd Allah hastened and, gathering his troops, descended upon Kesum the second time and waged fierce war against it. Again, the region was in great distress, and famine spread everywhere because the people were ordered to offer food to the army. It was in the month of August that bar Tahir marched against Kesum. Before the fighting began, Isa, captain of the host, drew nigh the wall and said, "Nasr! I am Isa who is talking to you. You have committed myriads of evil things beyond your capability. When you returned (repented), the compassionate caliph accepted you with delight. Now, go forth and meet with the amir (Abd Allah) for you have already received the recompense of your rebellion, and I will be your guarantor." Nasr replied, "Your words have not even entered my ears, and we will have no harmony with you as wolves have no harmony with lambs." Then the war became fierce, and most of the inhabitants of the city were killed by the stones. Nasr did not let anyone weep for the dead, but they buried them like dogs. Anyone who escaped the battle, or descended the wall, had his head cut off by the sword. When the fighting intensified and the outer wall was breached, Nasr made the Christian women go up the top of the wall carrying their children and weeping. When Abd Allah (ibn Tahir) heard the cries, he ordered the fighting to stop. The troops built houses for the winter (and resided therein). When Nasr saw that famine had become severe in the city, and people were eating donkey and other animals, and that a head of a donkey was sold for ten *ḡuḡe* (fals), he lost hope and tried to escape, but could not. He sent a message to Abd Allah to accept him and Abd Allah replied, "Although you are unworthy, but for the sake of the cries of the poor people, send me your two sons and forty men to talk to them." When they went forth to him, he said to them, "If you consider yourselves hostages, we will stop the fighting until we receive a response from the king (caliph)." They said loudly, "Do whatever God shows you to do." Then, a response came from the caliph saying that if Nasr and his companions should come to Abd Allah, he had the authority to do with them as he wanted. Then Nasr went out with ease and demanded that few men should guard him to go to Abd Allah. When he met Abd Allah, he asked him to give him the city of Kesum, but Abd Allah refused his demand. Then the two sides shouted, "How great you are Lord for the deliverance which has taken place." Immediately, they sent Nasr's men to Kafr Zu'ra, a small village which he had built in Sarug, next to the ruins of an ancient city called Dimitir, which Sennacherib had destroyed and used its men to carry the bricks of its wall upon their necks and cast them into the Euphrates. In ancient times, there were four cities about twelve miles distance from the Euphrates. They were Sarug, Dimitir, already mentioned, Batnan known as "The Lion's Den," and Hawra in which Malphono Mor Jacob (of Sarug, d. 521) was periodeutes (a visiting cleric) before he was ordained bishop and now is called the Fortress of Bar Nuna. The amir (Abd Allah) commanded that the walls of Kesum be destroyed, and Nasr and his companions surrendered and requested the guards to provide them with horses and mules in order to leave. This deliverance took place in March of the year 1136 (A.D. 825), and the Jazira and the west suffered a tremendous torment from the rebels for fourteen years

until Abd Allah, that serene man, was able to establish lasting peace. *The history of kings (caliphs) is ended.*

In this time, the amir Abd Allah came to Callinicus. He was visited by the rebel Abiram and his companions in order to obtain a *firman* (decree) from him. Patriarch Dionysius (Tell Mahre) also came to the city, and went first into the presence of the amir. The amir asked him about Abiram and his gang, and he told him about their rebellion against Patriarch Cyriacus and the rest of their affairs. He said that their purpose of obtaining *firman* was to stir up trouble in the region because they had no one to support them. Then, the amir ordered that the wicked Abiram be brought into his presence. He asked him, "What is your dignity?" and he said, "a patriarch." I (Dionysius Tell Mahre) objected that he was telling a lie, but Abiram went on discussing the expression "we break heavenly bread." The amir asked, "What is the content of this expression?" The Patriarch (Dionysius) said, "This is the expression which they (Abiram and his men) used to create conflict between us, and also as a cover for their love of leadership. It is mentioned in the Gospel, and we necessarily use it in our prayer. However, we do not always read the Gospel in the church, but sometimes only portions of it and expound it to the people. At other times, we support our prayer with some verses of it, as you also do. You do not recite all of your book (the Quran) in your prayer, but the Imam recite some of it when he leads the people in prayer, or he selects a verse from it and builds his sermon upon it. And those present do not object to his recital of this part or the other, as these audacious men do and disturb the church." After relating this whole account in the Arabic language, the Lord grated me mercy in the amir's sight. He ordered his chamberlain to ask the thousands of Christians who were standing outside to identify their leader. The chamberlain shouted, "Who is your leader?" and they said, "Abiram is not our leader, and neither he is a Christian." The historian said many things in our favor, but we did not record them here.

After Abd Allah investigated these matters and saw the *firman* issued by his father, Tahir, he looked distrustfully at Abiram and said, "I see that you are a liar and a misleading man, and the leadership is for this Patriarch (Dionysius)." He ordered that his *birouna* (a head cap worn by the clerics) should be removed from him, and he censured him saying, "I do not want to hear that you have put on the cap anymore, or that you hold a staff, or claim that you are a patriarch. Go and hold your peace, and disperse your fellow monks. And if I hear that you have roamed through the cities, your blood will be upon your head." In this manner, he dismissed Abiram and his companions after having received what they deserved as a recompense of their impiety. However, because of our sins, the Lord permitted that the church be humbled for a little time as the rebels raised their heads high for a reason like the following one. The monk who was ordained by Abiram and who came to us we forgave, though he and his companions returned to their vomit, and by the influence of Barsoum called Theodosius, bishop of al-Raqqa (Callinicus), who because of his willful ideas was furious for the return (repentance) of the Gubbite (monks), and never ceased to make trouble. He and others had impeded the process of peace made by Patriarch Cyriacus with the Julianists. As Theodosius reviled Gabriel, and he retreated, he did the same to Abiram. He summoned him to his monastery and handed him the *firman* (decree) of the Gubba Baraya (Outer Pit) Monastery. He paid him the expenses and informed his brother, Simon, who was in Baghdad, to obtain for him a letter of recommendation. When the Alawites (partisan of Ali), saw the *firman* of Ali ibn Abi Talib, they assisted him and obtained a *firman* for his brother Abiram, authorizing him to move (freely) throughout the cities. Simon of Dara returned from Baghdad carrying the *firman* for his brother, Abiram. He gathered a band of monks to meet with the Amir Abd Allah. The amir also sent for us (Patriarch Dionysius), and we proceeded from Antioch. After we entered into his presence, he summoned the others (to appear before him). When the amir saw the clerical cap on Abiram's head, he looked at him with fury and said, "Why did you wear the cap and did not hearken to my command?" Abiram said, "It is a mere head covering and not a (clerical) cap." The amir asked me whether it was so, and when I affirmed what the wicked (Abiram) said, he was gratified, but I contested the veracity of the *firman* while they (Abiram and his partisans) insisted that it was credible. The amir, however, refuted them on several points. Finally, we reached the conclusion that the amir would obtain an order to annul the *firman*. Twenty-six days later, a command was issued to the amir Abd Allah saying, "The Christians have made a petition to us denouncing Abiram for claiming to be a patriarch while they have Dionysius as

their own patriarch. Summon the Jacobites of that region and ask them to whom they want to be subject. Confirm his leadership and offer him appropriate assistance, provided it does not contradict with justice.” The amir allowed me to enter into his presence and left Abiram outside. He told me, “I will give you a letter which will annul Abiram’s *firman*, and will place him under your authority and depose anyone who opposes you.” Then, he called his chamberlain and said to him, “Hold the hand of the patriarch and leave. Summon Abiram and his band and hand them over to him (the patriarch) to adjudicate them the way he wants.” The chamberlain came to where thousands of Christians and Muslims had gathered. He seated me on a cushion and said to the rebels, “The amir commands you to subject yourselves to the patriarch who is authorized to expel you or depose you.” He ordered Abiram to bow down to me, and he did. Turning toward me, he said, “He is now in your hands. Do to him whatever you want.” Those present thought that I would order that they be beaten or castrated, but I thought that it would be better to admonish them. I said to them, “Now that you have fallen into my hands, I advise you to fill your hearts with the fear of God and desist from splitting the church, and each one of you should return to his land.” Then I ordered that the cap be removed from Abiram’s head as a sign of depriving him of the leadership he had usurped. They left in disgrace and went to Cyrus (Qurush), which is in the region of Gargar in the proximity of the River Kabtai. However, they kept spreading the report saying that, “The amir has accepted us and granted us the authority to ordain bishops.” Therefore, with such fantasies they deceived the simple villagers. When we heard this, we obtained a *firman* from the amir and letters to his governors and came to Jibrin in the district of Qurush. When the governor of that district read the letter of the amir, he ordered that Abiram and his companions be brought to him under guard like robbers. He asked me, “What do you want me to do with them?” I said, “I would like to see them disciplined a little before the villagers who are loyal to them. Since I am sitting with the governor, I demand that Abiram, Sliba and Noah, the so-called bishops, be divested of the insignia of the priesthood (defrocked).” After exposing their falsehood before everyone, I said to the governor, “Send them to prison,” but the villagers began to complain. Nevertheless, the governor ordered the Persians to drive them away with sticks, and everyone returned to his home. Three days later, the governor was transferred from Jibrin, and we asked him to send them to the prison in Aleppo, but they agitated claiming they were wronged, and were assisted by the Chalcedonians of Aleppo for the purpose of humiliating us. The governor of Aleppo summoned us to his presence. When we explained to him the truth of the matter, he ordered that they be thrown into prison, where they spent twenty days. When the westerners saw that they were humiliated, they sent us messengers pledging that they would not treat us arrogantly at all, showing readiness to sign everything we wanted. We agreed, and the governor of the region, accordingly, issued a document signed by the people of Cyrus. Meanwhile, the recalcitrants (Abiram and his companions) pledged not to enter Cyrus or stir up trouble. The church enjoyed some tranquility far from the harm of the rebels, but when the Amir Abd Allah was transferred to Egypt, the recalcitrants reneged on their pledge and entered Cyrus. However, they did not succeed in stirring up trouble. *The narrative on the patriarch is ended.*

In this time, the Sea of Cilicia cast out a huge whale forty cubits long, and its thickness was more than its length. Some described it as if it was a portion of a mountain or a gigantic beast. People of the region cut off its flesh and roasted it. They took some of it to Antioch, as was said by Dionysius (Tell Mahre), who saw more than forty jars filled with its brain, and a similar number of jars filled with its oil, which was used for cooking or lighting.

Chapter Thirteen: On the corruption planted by the rebels in Egypt in the time of al-Ma'mun, king (caliph) of The Tayoye (Arabs), and the events that took place in al-Basra in this period, and the case which was provoked in the church for which Patriarch Dionysius traveled to Egypt

In this period, as Nasr and his companions rebelled in Syria, the land of Egypt was also spoiled by rebels. Two persons, Sari and Gawri, took hold of the country and imposed the jizya (poll tax), gathering gold like stones. After their death, Ubayd, son of Sari, succeeded his father in the Fustat and the southern regions, while Ahmad succeeded his father Gawri in the northern region of Egypt, despite that the people who came from Andalusia were in control of Alexandria. When in the year 1137 (A.D. 826), Abd Allah bar

Tahir came to al-Arish, Ahmad went forth to meet him and obtained a pledge to protect his possessions because his father, Gawri, had collected gold and molded it in the form of blocks and buried it. He told his relatives that he felt shame toward the ground for the abundance of gold he had buried in it. As to (Ubayd), son of Sari, he was wealthier than Ahmad was, and his city was fortified. He owned eighty thousand men (slaves), most of whom were Mauroye (blacks). Abd Allah feared him because he had left his army in Palestine. Therefore, he sent to Ubayd three old men to discuss with him peace. Ubayd arrogantly answered saying, "I am subject to the caliph and his governor. Choose one of three things: Either you designate a person to collect the jizya in Egypt after I have taken hold of it, and I will protect him, or ask for the jizya and I will deliver it to you without you coming here, or be ready for war." Abd Allah never made a move until his forces were in the west and the Jazira arrived. Then he began to fight bar Sari. In April, he invaded Fustat. When Ubayd saw that the war had become fierce and the roads were cut off and he could not transport provisions either by sea or land, he sent a message to Abd Allah saying, "My amir, I would like to see the grace of peace descend (upon us) without the mediation of anyone. Therefore, I will leave tomorrow." The Amir (Abd Allah) replied, "Since you have taken this stand, I, too, will pledge the safety of your family and your possessions." Immediately, bar Sari went to see Abd Allah, they made peace and ate and drank together.

When the Andalusians took hold of Alexandria, they evicted the Christians and the Jews from their homes and dwelt in them. Abd Allah asked them to send him ten men in order to choose one of them as their chief. However, they sent him some ruffians; he expelled them and commanded that a person whom he specified be sent to him. When they disagreed, he attacked the city in March 1138 (A.D. 827), and seized its citadel. In the past, the city was in ruins except for the rubble of great churches and big mansions. No inhabitants could be seen except in the neighboring villages. After nine months of siege and fighting, the Andalusians surrendered and requested to buy houses to live in. However, the Christians refused the request, and they were forced to return to their country. Meanwhile, fifty Andalusians and their families were sent to al-Raqqa (Callinicus). When Abd Allah subjugated Egypt, he decided to control Africa entirely. He seized eighty persons returning from Makka, and commanded them to write to their countrymen to come to the amir in order to set up a chief from among them. However, when the Africans learned that their countrymen were seized, and based on what they had heard of the good treatment of Abd Allah to everyone, they went to meet with him. He set up for them two good men, and took with him the rest to meet the Caliph al-Ma'mun who had gone to al-Raqqa in the year 1139 (A.D. 828).¹⁸⁹⁶ He settled those who accompanied him in Anazarbon (Anazarba) in Cilicia. *End of the narrative.*

Upon hearing that Nasr was seized and sent with the rest of the rebels to him in Baghdad, al-Ma'mun was delighted. However, despite his tyranny, Nasr loved the Christians, and doubled the jizya (poll tax) on the Christians who converted to Islam. He oppressed them and treated them mercilessly. He said to them, "Just pay me the jizya and each one will have the freedom to follow the religion he wishes." A great number went back from the masjids to the churches, and anyone who raped a woman, he would cut off his head. Indeed, he killed many of his followers for this same reason.

Abd Allah left his brother Muhammad as his deputy and departed to the western regions. He conquered Palestine peacefully, and subdued the rebel Hasan in Tyre and forced him not to leave his house. When Hasan disobeyed, Abd Allah had him killed. He went down to Jerusalem and prayed in the holy places the Muslims had there, and visited the places traversed by the Lord Christ. Then he went down to Egypt.

In the year 1136 (A.D. 825), overwhelmed by zeal, thirty thousand citizens of Basra went by ships to Bahrain to kill its inhabitants for their acts of piracy, and for preventing merchants and oncoming ships from India, China and Persia from reaching Basra and Baghdad. However, when they landed, the sons of Bahrain learned about their landing and fled with their families to an island. This island had a crossing that led to a rugged road, which strangers could not traverse. When the men of Basra tried to cross it, they were

¹⁸⁹⁶ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 131.

swept toward the depth of the sea. Seeing what happened to them, the natives of Bahrain went forth in their boats and caused the thirty thousand men of Basra to drown.

In this time, al-Ma'mun heard that the Qurayshites, the men of his own tribe, were plotting against him. He seized four of their chiefs, cast them into prison and bound them in iron fetters. As they lost any hope of life, they connived secretly with each other to set fire in the great marketplace called al-Muhit (Karkho), so that if al-Ma'mun got there, they would send someone to assassinate him. When al-Ma'mun learned of this stratagem, he went out at night to the prison and had all the Qurayshites killed, and returned to his court. In the morning, he had the bodies suspended on wooden posts, and fear struck everyone. Members of his retinue did not realize that he refrained from killing them earlier not because of weakness, but of compassion. He even seized his uncle, Ibrahim, but did not execute him for his old age. Ibrahim had learned how to play the lyre. He used to buy young boys and girls, train them and sell them for thousands of dinars to make a living.¹⁸⁹⁷

At the beginning, the demolishing of churches began in Takrit and then transferred to the Jazira and the west as we have already said in our discussion of Basilus.

In the year 1136 (A.D. 825), (divine) chastisement also afflicted us because of our sins. The devil stirred up against the churches a devastating war. In Edessa, Yaqzan had a Chalcedonian secretary called Walid, who hated the Christians. When people complained to Yaqzan against Walid, he honored him even more for the evils he had committed against the Christians. Nevertheless, the Takritians could not endure him and went down to Egypt to meet with the Amir Abd Allah. They laid charges against him and against Yaqzan. When Walid realized that his fall was inevitable, he urged Yaqzan to demolish their churches. He wrote to the governor of al-Raqqa to increase the burdens of the Edessans and their Metropolitan Theodosius. As the governor himself hated the Christians, he presented their case to the Amir Muhammad. However, Muhammad, being still young, was deceived by the words of the governor, and ordered that every new building should be demolished. They (Arabs, Muslims) demolished the church of the Forty Martyrs, the bishopric, the sacristy of the great church, the baptismal font in the northern part of the church, the pulpit and many other things that were arranged by Basilus and Theodosius. They also demolished the convent of the Chalcedonian nuns and a church of the Chalcedonians. They also built a masjid in the tetrapylon in front of the ancient church, a location known as Beth Sabto "Sabbath Assembly." It is a building topped by a dome in which the elders and leaders assembled after the morning service to discuss dialectic subjects taken from church books, and profane matters until noontime lunch. In addition, Amir Muhammad commanded the Christians to surrender their slaves in order to embrace Islam. When the Muslims of Harran learned of this, they rushed to the church to demolish it and annoy the Christians.

We (Patriarch Dionysius Tell Mahre) heard of this news while we were in Nisibin. We immediately took with us the bishops and journeyed to Egypt to meet with the Amir Abd Allah. We boarded a ship at Yafa (Jaffa) while Theodosius and others traveled through the land route. At sea, a storm raged and the ship was about to sink. The storm was so fierce that we lost hope of life. Two days later, we were tossed by the waves to the harbor of the city of Tansis (Tannis), where more than thirty thousand came out to meet us. Tansis stands in the middle of what seemed an island surrounded by the flooding waters of the Nile and the great Adriatic Sea (the Mediterranean). The waters serve as a wall for the city. The inhabitants came out in boats to welcome us and receive our blessing. They persisted doing so from morn to dusk, and we could hardly reach the confines of the city because of the crowds, until soldiers came from the city and, using sticks, dispersed the crowds and led us to the church. We were visited by Jacob, Pope of Alexandria, and his bishops. They welcomed us and expressed their joy for the arrival in Egypt of another patriarch after Severus (of Antioch).¹⁸⁹⁸ We discussed the union that Patriarch Athanasius Gamolo made with Anastasius following the schism that took place between the two patriarchs Gamolo and Damian of Egypt. We then learned that they (Pope Jacob and his bishops) had no apparent concern for history, and that they always

¹⁸⁹⁷ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 131.

¹⁸⁹⁸ Severus died in Egypt in 538.

stumbled in their speech. However, although Jacob was deficient in knowledge and administration, yet he was a righteous and pious man.

We tarried a long time in the cities located on the river's bank because the people did not allow us to leave a city until we had celebrated the sacrifice (Communion) and offered it to them. Indeed, the Egyptians took tremendous pride in receiving (the Communion) from the hand of a patriarch. However, as we were delayed, Theodosius rushed ahead of us to inform the Amir (Abd Allah) of what happened to us on the sea. When we entered into the amir's presence at the Persians' camp, he blamed me for traveling by the sea. However, because of his immense honor of me (Tell Mahre), he said, "What urged you to come to Egypt while you are an old man and hold such a supreme position? A letter from you would have been sufficient for the purpose. You could have included in it what you wanted, especially, that your brother is the one responsible for this case." I said, "Your highness, he is only a metropolitan who seeks whatever is beneficial for himself because of the calamities Edessa had suffered. However, I myself am more sorrowful for the demolishing of our churches and the abrogation of our rituals." Nevertheless, we met the amir despite the fact that he was occupied all day long with war. In any event, our conversation was profitable. I handed him the letters of the inhabitants of the Jazira and the west, together with their complaints against his governors. I related to him the lamentable thing that took place in Tannis, a city of Egypt. Despite that it was teeming with people and churches, yet we saw no people as poor as its inhabitants. They told us that the reason (for their poverty) was because their city is surrounded by water and they had no fields or crops, and thus were unable to possess anything. They even had to fetch their drinking water from faraway places, and pay four piasters for one jar of water. Weaving is their trade, and their women spin cotton wool and their men weave and receive from the merchants, their employers, and half a piaster a day. They further said, 'Our wages are hardly sufficient for our livelihood. Worse still, (they said) that a five dinar tax has been imposed on every individual among us. If we cannot pay the tax, they cast us into prisons, or force us to surrender our sons and daughters to serve like slaves for two years for only one-dinar wages. In addition, if it happened that a woman or a young girl gave birth to a child, they would have us swear by God not to expose the case. Quite often when the setting the date to free the wife of someone, another new jizya is imposed on him.' This is why they appealed to us to inform you, O Amir about their case in order to have mercy on them." Then the amir (Abd Allah) commanded that these people should pay the jizya like the people of the Jazira, that is 48 piasters for the adults, 24 piasters for those of medium income and 12 piasters for the poor, and levy them according to a head count. He (the amir) provided us with instructions to rebuild everything that had been demolished in Edessa, and forbade the destruction of churches everywhere. He addressed a letter written in his own handwriting and signed by him to his brother Muhammad. In it he said, "O man, I do not think that God has brought you forth upon us from Khurasan. My camp is filled with blessed bishops and monks who have presented complaints against you. In addition, they, especially the patriarch and his brother the metropolitan of Edessa, call on God for the injustice you have done to them by demolishing their churches. I know that you are a young man without experience, but do not forget that I know those men who instigated you against the Christians. By doing so, they did not wish you to become close to God, but only to fulfill their desires." After a long debate, Abd Allah instructed his brother to stop harming us. Then he handed the letter to us, but Metropolitan Theodosius could not wait to see the contents of the letter. He took it from the hand of one of the scribes, opened it, transcribed a copy of it and then sealed it. When Muhammad received the letter, he stopped the storm (of persecution) and released the prisoners. This salvation took place in the year 1137 (A.D. 826). However, the devastation of churches was complete in the region of Yaqzan, who five months later, led an army against the land of the Romans, but was killed and his army perished. Thus, his iniquity fell upon his head. *The narrative is ended.*

Chapter Fourteen: On the events which took place in the church; the opposition of Philoxenus, bishop of Nisibin and Li'azar, bishop of Baghdad, because of whom patriarch Dionysius journeyed to Baghdad to meet with al-Ma'mun, king (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs), and he himself wrote this account with meticulous precision

Now we say concerning the war the devil waged against us in the year 1139 (A.D. 828), that we also share in the sufferings of the church as our predecessor patriarchs did when some bishops were infected with the disease of ambition for leadership. For example, Sergis Zakonoyo turned against (Patriarch) Severus bar Mashqa; Denha, metropolitan of Takrit, against (Patriarch) Julian; Athanasius and Ishaq against (Patriarch) Iyawannis; Yuhanon and David against (Patriarch) George; and Abiram against (Patriarch) Cyriacus. These men acted to tear up the church because of their ambition for leadership. At the time when the Lord kept away dissension from us, we were afflicted with complaints and cases lodged by the dioceses against their bishops, and with inappropriate charges against the chief priests. We admonished Philoxenus, bishop of Nisibin, not to enter the city (Nisibin) until the investigation of the sinister charges launched against him by Nonnus, the archdeacon known for his excellence, had ended. We spent six years investigating this case hoping that the Lord might find a solution or an exit suitable to him, in order that the holy church may not be humiliated for investigating him. When he (Nonnus) did not desist from agitating the congregation and creating trouble in the city, we assembled forty bishops in Rish 'Ayna and deposed him. However, he took the judgment of God lightly and accompanied by his partisans, went to the people of Cyrus, Qurush, and attracted to himself Abiram and his partisans, who gnashed their teeth against Philoxenus in the council assembled by Patriarch Cyriacus in Jubrin. They made Abiram enter the church of Nisibin despite that he was condemned by the Patriarchs Cyriacus, Marcus and Jacob, and by the bishops of Syria and Egypt. Thus, the church of Nisibin was split into two divisions.

In this time, a decree was issued by al-Ma'mun stating that any group of ten men or more desiring to set up a leader for them should not be opposed. He did this in order to weaken us and to dictate to us. For this reason, we decided to meet with him and have him abrogate this decree, especially since fear prevailed following the division among the Jews. The Jews of Tiberias set up a person named David as their leader, while the Jews of Babylon set up another person named Daniel from the sect of the Ananians, who observed Wednesday rather than Sabbath day. When their case reached al-Ma'mun, he decided that each group should submit to the leader of their choice.

When we arrived at the capital (Baghdad), and before having an audience with the caliph, the devil stirred up a dissension much worse than that of the congregation of Nisibin. The congregation of Baghdad presented to us charges against their Bishop Li'azar, which they had presented to us two years earlier in Antioch. We, however, did not support them hoping to achieve concord. Nevertheless, when they pressured us to read the investigation report, and we became convinced of the accusations against him, we deposed him. However, we never thought of taking this action until we had gone to Takrit where the investigation was supposed to be done, in order that our people would not be humiliated in that city (Baghdad). When the church of Baghdad was split and their case reached the caliph, the partisans of Li'azar attributed the trouble to us.

The peaceful caliph calmed his wrath when he learned that we had only come to visit with him, carrying gifts for him. After a while, he permitted us to enter into his presence, and the bishops stood at a distance. He allowed me (Patriarch Tell Mahre) to draw alone near to him while he was mounting a horse in his garden. He stretched his right hand to me according to the royal custom of the caliphs who usually stretch their hand as a sign of honoring those who first enter into their presence. He asked me, "What is your business, and how things are going with you?" I said, "We are enjoying peace under you, as Paul said to Felix, and the conditions of our own people have improved in your time."¹⁸⁹⁹ Therefore, we not only offer you our thanks, O victorious King (Caliph), but offer prayers to the Lord to prolong your life." He then beckoned to me to go on talking. However, since I had learned that complaints had been presented to him

¹⁸⁹⁹ Acts 24:2.

concerning Li'azar, I wanted him to open for me the discussion (concerning this subject). I said, "We the bishops had no purpose to appear at your gate except to offer you our greetings and pray for you. However, as we waited too long in this city, it happened that we received complaints against the bishop of this city (Li'azar) by people who formerly supported him. When through investigation and testimonies the charges were proven against him, we deposed him. But he, with some rebels, went on opposing us, and based their actions on your decree that states, 'Every group of ten men and more have the right to set up their own leader, and no one has the right to oppose them.' It is incredible that such a thing would emanate from the justice of the king (caliph). We, however, approve of punishing anyone who acts with audacity and lies to the caliph." Al-Ma'mun said, "This, my decree, had been issued in the case of the Jews. We are not obliged to set up a leader for your people as long as you are under or rule." I said, "O just King (Caliph), what kind of justice is your judgment, and when was it that such a decree was issued by a caliph like you? You know that between you and us, there are covenants and promises confirmed and signed by the seals of the caliphs who conquered the cities, and accordingly, we surrendered to you. Therefore, if you violate your covenants and do not leave us to observe our rites and leadership, you will be doing us wrong. Also, our affairs will be disturbed and we will be fighting each other, and you would not become our ruler." I said this as I was crying with a loud voice and moving my finger at him like one who was fighting his own friend over the division of the booty. He also raised his voice as if he was challenging an opponent without being resentful of my attitude toward him. Then he asked me how to issue a decree against Li'azar, and I related to him his whole story. Then he told me of the complaints raised by the supporters of Li'azar against us. Finally, he said, "You Christians, especially you the Jacobites, disturb us and harm us great deal, as is clear from the complaints you present to us against each other. So, leave now and come back tomorrow." The bishops and the caliph's own troops were astonished at the liberty I took in talking to him, but what I did was by the Lord's strength and the gentleness of the caliph.

Ten days later, we told Li'azar of Mardin, who was a member of the caliph's retinue, to remind the caliph of his promise, and he did. There was present the chief judge Yahya ibn Akthum. The caliph ordered that Yahya and the judges be present at his assembly. In the morning, I alone entered into the presence of the caliph while the bishops stood at the door. I saw him seated on his throne surrounded by Baghdad's judges and learned men. I greeted him and prayed for him, and he ordered me to sit facing him. He said to me, "I see that you, O patriarch, have blamed me wrongly because of the decree I have issued concerning you. Therefore, I have gathered the jurists in order to talk to you before them." Then, turning to the Shuyukh (elders) he said, "What do you think? Are we obliged to appoint a Christian governor while the state belongs to us? Or, that according to the decree I issued in their case and the case of the Jews, they enjoy the peace and tranquility which we made available to them as long as they are loyal to us and keep quiet, and no one will force them to change their faith and traditions?" They answered this question addressed to them unscrupulously saying, "Who is more than you experienced in the matters of judgments? Or, who other than you has issued a decree more fair than you have?" When I heard the disturbing answer of the Shuyukh (Muslim learned men), I did not utter a word, but said to al-Ma'mun, "If you would only allow me to talk about the secret of the Christians." He gave me permission, and I went on saying, "When our religion was revealed to the world through the teachings of Christ who saved us from the worship of idols, and after he completed his dispensation and ascended into heaven, he called his disciples and instructed them to preach faith in him. The disciples won many people, except for the few to the faith by performing miracles. When they saw that death was inevitable, they thought of handing the message to others before they departed this world. They divided the inhabited world into four parts and set up a head for each one of them whom they called patriarch. They made their sees in four great cities: Rome, Alexandria, Constantinople and Antioch. In addition, these patriarchs ordained bishops and set up a metropolitan for every ten bishops, and authorized him to ordain a bishop in his place in case of his death. They also authorized the bishops to ordain priests, deacons and other lesser ranks. Thus, the patriarch had authority over the bishops, priests and deacons. No one under his authority had the right to oppose him or annul a decision he issued, or contradict what he did unless he deviated from the faith. In this case, the

other three patriarchs would meet and adjudicate him. These rules are enforced until this day. Since the time of Christ and until this day, no sovereign has changed our traditions, especially the Muslim caliphs. In fact, your late fathers confirmed our leadership and provided us with decrees to this effect. You yourself granted me such a decree at the beginning of your reign. Since you are so devoted to justice, I hope that you would not enact new laws, especially, that no other caliph like yourself was known to have been endowed with wisdom, eloquence and greatness of soul. As to the complaints launched against me by that deposed bishop, the caliph should know that some wicked deposed Christians are wont to raise charges against us. Because they know that they are not supported by church canons, they resort to you slandering us as enemies of the Muslims. Or, that we vilify your Prophet and stir up other sinister matters punishable by death. Then, I related to him the case of David, bishop of Dara, with Patriarch Gewargi (George), and the story of the monks of the Gubba Baraya (Outer Pit) Monastery, and Abiram with Patriarch Cyriacus. I concluded my discussion requesting him to reject the complaint presented against us. He said, "We have heard of how our predecessors treated you. We, too, will treat you according to what is appropriate. But, why do you Christians cling to this matter more than people of other religions?" I said, "People of other religions are disturbed, and expect my audience with you will result in freeing them from this decree. However, our leadership differs from that of the Magians and the Jews who call their leaders kings, and receive leadership by inheritance. They pay their kings a tribute, which is not in our tradition. There are three kinds of leaderships in existence: the natural, the coercive and the voluntary. The natural is like the authority of the father over his children and the man over the woman. Under this kind of authority, all people are equal. The coercive leadership either is granted by God or comes as a result of fear of the sword, as is the case of all kingdoms of the world. However, your leadership is authentic. The authority of those under you, who levy the tributes and taxes and present them to you, is metaphorical because they collect money for he who has the highest leadership. As to us, leadership comes as a result of election and the concurrence of the ideas of people. We look at it as priestly duty and not as a civil leadership. As the Imam leads the people in prayer in your community and directs the people to what is good, thus, the patriarch and the bishops lead the people in prayer and urge them to observe the laws. They impose punishment against the evildoers, not by using beating or killing as you do, but by divesting him from his office, whether he is a bishop or a priest. If he is a layman, he will be ejected from the church. We, therefore, are not like other people, O Caliph. The loss we will suffer as a result of abolishing our leadership cannot be likened to a material thing; it touches our belief and renders us far away from God. We do not think of sharing your leadership. Our utmost concern is that our leadership should not be debased by offering it to anyone who wishes and under any circumstance." Al-Ma'mun said, "We do not forbid you from divesting he who opposes you from his rank, but we do not allow you to eject a person from the church or prevent him from prayer." Then he beckoned to his scribe to read the letter of the judge of Mosul. As he began to read, the caliph turned to me and said, "Listen, O Patriarch, and see how much we have endured from you." When the letter was read, I noticed that the judge was slighting the Christians. I could not bear this and said, "May God protect you, O Caliph. For several days, the people of Mosul have been standing at your door waiting to launch a complaint against their judge who has greatly wronged them. Shouldn't you permit them to come in and listen to their complaint?" He said to me, "Can you talk in their name?" I said, "The people of Mosul claim that they have surrendered their city voluntarily to the Arabs, and the conqueror pledged not to demolish any of their churches or abrogate their traditions. However, this judge demolished their great church and abolished their law." The caliph instructed the Chief Judge Yahya to listen to the people of Mosul concerning the conquest of their city. If they had surrendered it peacefully, then they should enjoy the pledge given them by its conqueror. Concerning us, he said, "We do not interfere in your business. But if one of the bishops rebelled against you and trouble stirred up because of him, we command that the Waqf (religious endowment) of his church should be placed under your authority, and he will have no right to administer the affairs of his church with the exception of praying in it." To the Judge Ishaq (Isaac) he said, "See that if it is proven that Li'azar (bishop of Baghdad) is under the authority of the patriarch, carry out our command concerning him, and

forbid him and his followers from stirring up trouble.” Thus, we departed, and I had no support except the Holy Spirit who promised to guide those who strive for the sake of Christ.

Truly, it is very difficult for the king (caliph) to admit that he was overwhelmed. However, after our departure, we learned that he was very satisfied with our conversation with him. The jurists said to the people gathered outside, “The speech of your leader was magnificent, and we commend him for his courage. You should adhere to him and respect him because we have seldom seen a Christian who has such courage and convincing power.” This event took place in March of the year 1140 (A.D. 829).

Chapter Fifteen: Concerning some events that took place in the time of three Roman kings (emperors) whose names are mentioned in a previous chapter; and on the affairs of the church recorded by the Patriarch Mor Dionysius in his book with precision.

Patriarch Dionysius said that a wise man at the capital of the Romans (Constantinople), who was a contemporary of four Roman kings (emperors), and knowledgeable of their affairs, related to me the following. He said that Stauracius, mentioned before,¹⁹⁰⁰ suffered a great deal from the Bulgars and from his sister Procopia, who administered poison to him to eliminate him and secure the kingdom for her husband Michael.¹⁹⁰¹ However, Michael, who received the kingdom in a wicked manner, did not enjoy it and received the recompense of his wickedness. The Roman princes gave up on him and decided to kill him because he squandered the treasury of the kingdom. However, Michael learned of their plot and thought how to save himself from death. When the strategus Leo returned from war against the Bulgars victorious, the emperor Michael, carrying the crown, went out to receive him. When the two met each other, Leo dismounted to bow down to the emperor. Michael also dismounted and placed the crown on the head of Leo saying, “Accept the, kingdom because it is worthy of you.” He bowed down before him and went on saying, “Since you have achieved victory the crown is suited to you.” Such a move was appreciated by the Romans, and Leo sat on the throne.¹⁹⁰² Michael and his wife tonsured their hair and assumed monastic garb.¹⁹⁰³ The Romans castrated his four sons two of whom died while the other two lived.

When Leo began to reign, he was told that the patriarch of Constantinople renewed the worship of icons of the saints, for which Leo antagonized him. However, that wretched (Leo) had opposed the prostration to the images of saints or even to the cross. He thought that the cross was no greater than the images (of saints). Thus, he could not distinguish between worshipping the name of God and worshipping man. It was usual that the cross, which a person hung round his neck, would contain an image. While the emperor and the patriarch were deeply engaged in this controversy, the Romans fell into another heresy. In the past generations, there was a colossus in the capital and which was so high that no one could reach its top. On its head was fixed a copper image with a crown over its head. It was called Augustus Caesar, and the people used it as a subject of magic. They believed that if the crown over the head of the image moved, death would take place in the city. It just happened that the crown moved, and after great difficulty, a man was found to climb and restore it to its proper place. The patriarch (Nicephorus) summoned this man and gave him small images secretly, and said to him, “Take these images and let no one know that I have given them to you. When you have climbed the colossus and straightened the crown, come down and say that you have found them inside the crown. The patriarch’s intention was to show that the worshipping of images is an ancient tradition with the Romans. When this man climbed down and showed the images to the people, the emperor asked him, “Have you truly found the images there?” The man said, “Yes, I have truly found them there.” The emperor further asked him, “Were the images hidden or exposed?” The man said, “They were under the skies.” The emperor ordered that they be sprinkled with water, and immediately the pictures disappeared and there was nothing left in their frames. When the trick was discovered and the man

¹⁹⁰⁰ See above Chapter Seven, p, 695.

¹⁹⁰¹ He is Michael Rangabe 811-813.

¹⁹⁰² He is Leo V the Armenian 813-820.

¹⁹⁰³ See *Theophanes*, translated by Harry Turtledove, p. 181.

confessed that what he did was planned by the patriarch, the emperor banished the patriarch and set up Theodotus (Melissenus) in his place.¹⁹⁰⁴

Leo became conceited and acted harshly. He killed those who worshipped icons, and also killed many Roman. When the realized that he would annihilate them, they decided to get rid of him. However, Leo learned of their intentions and seized Michael,¹⁹⁰⁵ bound him in irons and decided to kill him on Good Friday. Michael's wife beseeched him not to kill him on that day, and Michael sent a message to the notables loyal to him saying, "If you cannot find a way to rescue me, I will say that you are accomplices in plotting against the emperor." The notables, then, attacked Leo and killed him inside the altar after he had reigned for seven and a half years. They brought out Michael from prison and proclaimed him their emperor. Michael was of Jewish origin from the city of Amorium, and his grandfather was converted to Christianity. Four years after his reign, his wife Thecla passed away, and he brought out the granddaughter of Constantine from the convent and married her. Since the Romans do not make an emperor a person who is married the second time, they placed the crown on the head of his son Theophilus. He lived four more years after the reign of his son without placing the crown on his head or sitting in the throne. His wife Thecla, however, gave birth to a son but, being the granddaughter of the Empress Irene, Irene disdained to raise a child of Jewish origin lest he defile the kingdom. Therefore, she killed him. After Michael passed away, she tonsured her hair and entered the convent, and thus Theophilus reigned.¹⁹⁰⁶

As the holy Iyawannis (St. John Chrysostom) was wearied because of the length of his commentary on the parable of Li'azar (Lazarus), we have spent four days discussing this man (Lazarus) whom the gospel calls "meek" so that he deserved the bosom of Abraham.¹⁹⁰⁷ We say this in order not to become weary relating at length the narrative about the one who resembled him by name but not by conduct. Not that he is worthy to be talked about, but to show how the caliph (al-Ma'mun) issued a decree against us and, by the grace of God, no harm touched the church. Therefore, we ordained a metropolitan for Baghdad instead of Li'azar with whom the church was delighted and invigorated.

In October of the year 1141 (A.D. 830), we departed Baghdad for Takrit in response to the insistence of the congregation who wanted to be saved from Basilius, against whom they launched many complaints. Basilius had disturbed the congregation by his letters, even after the heathens ejected him, and urged them to hate each other and us (Patriarch Dionysius Tell Mahre). When we decide to assemble a council for his case in Mosul or Balad,¹⁹⁰⁸ we heard that Basilius was indisposed and staying in a monastery outside Balad called Dayr. We sent him three bishops who found him suffering from gangrenous sores so that his side, mouth, gums and teeth were worn out and stinking. The bishops could not draw nigh to him because of the stench. He answered them stammering behind the cloth placed over his face, saying, "Go and tell the bishops that I am alright, and that after a while I will come to you." However, when the delegated bishops wanted to see his face, he refused and returned to tell us his story. We were astonished at his condition, especially since he did not overcome his arrogance while facing death by surrendering to the hand of God Almighty. A day later, he passed away and we took care of his funeral. His opponents were immensely delighted, especially the easterners who were freed from the conflict he had stirred up among them. In addition, his death created an atmosphere of peace. In fact, we were at a quandary regarding his case thinking that the easterners would dissent publicly because of his seditions. We summoned Daniel from the Monastery of Bir Qum and ordained him a metropolitan for Takrit, and then we journeyed to Syria in December 1141 (A.D. 830).

In this year Mor Jacob, pope of Alexandria passed away and was succeeded by Mor Simon, who served the patriarchate for only five months and then died. Afterwards, Joseph was ordained a patriarch.

¹⁹⁰⁴ See Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 179.

¹⁹⁰⁵ He is Michael II the Stammerer 820-829.

¹⁹⁰⁶ Theophilus 829-842.

¹⁹⁰⁷ Luke 16:22.

¹⁹⁰⁸ Balad is a city about seven miles distant from Mosul. It was ruined in the fourteenth century. Today it is called Eski (old) Mosul.

Chapter Sixteen: On the invasion of Theophilus, king (emperor) of the Romans, of Lesser Armenia, and his inclination toward the Tayoye (Arabs); on the events which took place in the church, and on the anti-christ who gained renown through a lowly person and was finally exposed

When Theophilus, king (emperor) of the Romans, witnessed that the Bulgars had come to him offering their allegiance, and also that the Kurds and the Tayoye (Arabs) fled to seek refuge with him, he thought he could overwhelm the Arabs (Muslims). He went forth and laid siege against Zubatra. His men set up ladders, climbed and entered the city.¹⁹⁰⁹ They killed and were killed and finally the Romans and the barbarians conquered the city. They killed men, women and children mercilessly, and took the women captive while they were naked. After plundering the city, they set it on fire and departed, but the Tayoye (Arabs) rebuilt it.

In the following year, Manuel the patrician rebelled against the Emperor Theophilus. He went to al-Ma'mun, caliph of the Tayoye (Arabs), and incited him to invade the territory of the Romans.¹⁹¹⁰ When al-Ma'mun came to Harran, he prevented the demolishing of two churches. He also commanded that no church should be demolished without his order, and when he heard about the splendor of the church of Edessa, he went to see it. He asked the bishop about its revenue, and the bishop said, "Most of the revenue is made to cover the tribute imposed on it." The caliph decreed that inns, shops, and other things like them should be exempt from the tribute. The decree was made public throughout the Jazira, but after a short period, the Tayoye (Arabs) abolished it.

In June, al-Ma'mun attacked the country of the Romans and seized four fortresses in Cappadocia, and returned to spend the winter in Damascus. In May 1142 (A.D. 831), he attacked the Roman country the second time but could not seize the fortress of Lulu'a.¹⁹¹¹ He returned to Kesum where Patriarch Dionysus had an audience with him. When he learned of the Egyptian rebellion, he went to Damascus in 1143 (A.D. 832), and sent the two army generals Khair and Aphshin to subdue Egypt. Then he heard that Ujaif (ibn Anbasa) had seized the Lulu'a and that its inhabitants surrendered peacefully and without opposition because of the severe famine.¹⁹¹²

In this time, the Patrician Emmanuel deserted the Tayoye (Arabs) and reverted to Theophilus, king (emperor) of the Romans. In addition, al-Ma'mun swore that he would attack the Roman country and subdue its people. Scared, Theophilus sent a message suing for peace in return for paying an annual tribute. Al-Ma'mun replied, "My condition for peace is that you should subject yourself to me in addition to paying tribute regardless of its size. I do not argue about whether it is large or small."¹⁹¹³ When the king of the Romans heard the reply of the caliph of the Tayoye (Arabs), which resembled the reply of Nahash the Ammonite,¹⁹¹⁴ he kept quiet and said no word.

Then, when al-Ma'mun went to Cilicia, a Roman man came to see him who claimed to be of the stock of kings. He asked him to set him up as a king. Al-Ma'mun believed this imposter and instructed Job, patriarch of the Chalcedonians in Antioch, to make him a king because he learned that a king could not be set up without the patriarch. The patriarch prayed over him and placed a crown over his head after receiving three thousand gold dinars and precious stones. The bishops of Constantinople assembled and excommunicated the wretched Job, who was of their faith. In addition, the one who had become a king did not succeed and no one followed him. He remained for two years in the Tayoye (Arab) camp and then *hgar*, became a Muslim at the hand of Abu Ishaq. He reviled Christ and mocked Christian beliefs.

Al-Ma'mun seized many fortresses in the Roman territories by peace and by lavishing generous gifts. In September, he returned to spend the winter in Kesum. He ordered that the walls of Cyrus (Qurush) and

¹⁹⁰⁹ A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, I, 267.

¹⁹¹⁰ In *Tarikh al-Yaqubi*, III (al-Najaf, 11939): 192, the author gives a different story of Theophilus and al-Ma'mun.

¹⁹¹¹ *Tarikh al-Yaqubi*, III, 193-194.

¹⁹¹² *Tarikh al-Yaqubi*, III, 194.

¹⁹¹³ *Tarikh al-Yaqubi*, III, 192 but no text of the letter is mentioned.

¹⁹¹⁴ 1 Samuel 11:1-2.

all the fortresses in Syria and Beth Nahrin Qinnasrin be demolished. From the beginning of the year 1144 (A.D. 833) to March, he stayed in Salous.¹⁹¹⁵ The people suffered immense hardships when he gathered the crops and the hay for his army, but most of what was gathered rotted from the abundance of rain and snow. Then, he gathered flocks of camels in preparation to attack the country of the Romans once more, and he caused their owners immense distress. Because of his excessive oppression of the people, he was cursed by everyone. He commanded his son al-Abbas to secure the payment of the tribute by the governors, and the governor who paid more than the required tribute was given the full freedom of action.

In May, al-Ma'mun marched against the Roman country. He gathered the artisans in order to rebuild the city of Tyane, which the Tayoye (Arabs) had destroyed. He fell sick and died in July 1144 (A.D. 833).¹⁹¹⁶

In 1141 (A.D. 830), when al-Ma'mun, king of the Tayoye (Arabs) was in Kesum, Patriarch Dionysius (Tell Mahre) went to meet with him. When al-Ma'mun journeyed quickly to Damascus, the patriarch accompanied him to that city. It was there that the caliph, through the mediation of Li'azar of Mardin, accepted the gifts carried by the patriarch. Al-Ma'mun sent a message to the patriarch saying, "Remain here that you may come with us to Egypt. We want to send you as a messenger to the people of al-Farma in Lower Egypt to desist from rebellion and display obedience. In February, al-Ma'mun arrived in Egypt accompanied by the Patriarch Mor Dionysius for the second time. The patriarch himself said, "When we arrived at al-Farma the first of the Egyptian cities, the King (al-Ma'mun) called me through Fadl who is in charge of his royal affairs. When I entered into his presence, he stretched his hand to me as usual (shook my hand) and said, 'You have heard, O patriarch of the rebellion of the Christian Copts known as Biyamaye who have not learned a lesson from the first war which subdued them. Moreover, if I were not a merciful man who desired no killing, I would have not sent you to them. Take bishops and a group of Egyptians with you and journey to these rebels and give them a pledge of safety. They should come to the place I choose for their residence. And if they do not obey I will slaughter them by the sword.' I beseeched the caliph to keep them in their region. However, he refused. He decided on two things: they either should leave their country or be killed. He also ordered that the patriarch of Egypt should accompany me, so we traveled via the river. Eight days later, Patriarch Joseph joined us. We came to the district of Bashrout where the people of Biyamaye live. We found them gathered in an isle surrounded by water and by bamboo and papyri. Their leaders came to us, we blamed them for their recalcitrance, and for the acts of homicide they committed. However, they complained against their governor. When we told them of the decision to leave their country, they became furious. They appealed to us to ask the caliph's permission to meet them, and they would tell him how much they have suffered from their governor Abu al-Wazir who has doubled their tribute. They also said that the governor cast them into prison at night, and when their women brought food, they were violated and defiled by the soldiers. In addition, the governor killed many of them and decided to annihilate them lest they complain to the caliph against him. He even forced Aphshin to gather provisions for the army from their villages and murder their men. It happened that some soldiers saw a woman and wanted to rape her but she cried out, and the people on the island heard her cry. They rushed to her, defended her, killed, and were killed. Therefore, peace vanished completely." *This grievous narrative is ended.*

Patriarch Dionysius said that, "Many times we desired to discuss the country of the west called 'Syria,' and Mesopotamia called Beth Nahrin, especially when we mention the Jazira. But it seemed to us that the simple folk do not do this. They call Beth Nahrin as Syria, and call metaphorically the inhabitants of the western Euphrates as Syrians. Here we may say that 'Syria' is a generic name of two kinds. It is officially applied to the inhabitants who dwell in the region west of the Euphrates, which extends from the Amanus Mountain (the Black Mountain) situated north of Antioch to the southern boundaries of Palestine, and crosswise from the sea (the Mediterranean) to the River Euphrates. But, why is it called Syria?"

We say that during the sojourn of the children of Israel in Egypt, two brothers were found in this region: one was called Soros, the other, Cilicos. For love of leadership, they fought each other. Cilicos took his army to the region lying within the Amanus Mountain, known today as the Black Mountain, and

¹⁹¹⁵ *Tarikh al-Yaqubi*, III, 194 it is mentioned as Salghous.

¹⁹¹⁶ *Tarikh al-Yaqubi*, III, 196. He was buried in Tarsus.

established a kingdom in his name called Cilicia (Kilikia). Soros dominated the region west of the Euphrates and it was called Syria after his name. Later, it was divided into many states. I mentioned this because some claim that the Syrians had no king. However, the children of Israel entered the Promised Land and established a separate kingdom, same as the people of Tyre who established a separate kingdom for themselves. Also, the Aramaean kings who ruled Damascus were called Syrians. We find in the Septuagint version (of the Bible) written, "Ben Hadad, king of Aram, mobilized his entire army and laid siege to Samaria."¹⁹¹⁷ Again, "The commissioners of the king of Aram advised him that, 'their gods are the gods of the hills,'"¹⁹¹⁸ and, "The king of Israel had said to his officials, 'Don't you know that Ramoth Gilead belongs to us and yet we are doing nothing to take it from the king of Aram?'"¹⁹¹⁹ Therefore, those who live to the west of Euphrates are, in fact, Syrians. However, metaphorically, they are called Syrians because they spoke the Aramaic language whether they were in the eastern or the western part of the Euphrates, that is, they lived in the region extending from the sea (the Mediterranean) to Persia where many kings had risen. In Edessa, kings rose from the Abgar clan; the clan of Sanatrouq ruled the city of Ntira (Hatra) in the land of the Tayoye (Arabs); the family of Ninos ruled in Nineveh; and the family of Nebuchadnezzar ruled in Babylon, who spoke Aramaic concerning his dream of the statue and its interpretation.¹⁹²⁰ We mention these things to confirm that the Syrians are truly the inhabitants of the western region and the inhabitants of the Jazira that is Beth Nahrin who live east of the Euphrates, and that the origin and foundation of the Syriac language is the city of Edessa.

In the year 1141 (A.D. 830), a severe hailstorm destroyed the crops. It was followed by locusts that devoured the vineyards and the olive trees. Then the locust settled down and laid eggs. In the following year, it destroyed all the crops, grapevines and trees. In the year 1144 (A.D. 833), heavy snow fell and cold was severe. The River Euphrates and other rivers were frozen and people crossed over them by walking. Fish died and were cast to the shore. Even wine was frozen in the jars.

In this time, al-Ma'mun marched against Egypt accompanied by the Patriarch (Dionysius Tell Mahre) and found the Nile had become frozen, a thing that had never been heard of before.

In this year (1144), there was a great famine in Khurasan worse than that which happened in Samaria.¹⁹²¹ The people sold wheat worth 130 dirham for one piaster. They ground the joints of straw, kneaded it and baked it. In addition, they dried palm leaves, kneaded them and baked them. They gathered date kernels, ground them and ate them. Even one woman slaughtered her infant child, cooked it, and ate it. However, she was discovered and confessed that she had killed several babies, and they killed her. A stranger died in the inn, and several men and women cut off his flesh and ate it raw happily. We heard these reports from a decent old presbyter who came to us from Aphrah, a city of Khurasan, to find for the people a bishop.

Chapter Seventeen: On the events recorded by Patriarch Dionysius which he witnessed during his visit to Egypt in the company of al- Ma'mun

The blessed (Patriarch Dionysius) said, "When we met with the army general al-Aphshin, and he told us that the (Egyptian) rebels refused to surrender, he went on to say that (in this case) peace is irrelevant. Go to the caliph (al-Ma'mun) and tell him that there is no place for peace." He began to fight the rebels. He set fire in the villages, vineyards, orchards and churches, and in the entire region, but the Biyamaye attacked the Persians with arrows and lances through the bamboo. In addition, they brought their neighbors and incited them (against the Persians), and they killed and were killed. When we had an audience with the caliph, I told him everything, especially the injustice Abu al-Wazir had done to the Copts and how it impeded the peace, and how the people of the region complained against him and against two others. As

¹⁹¹⁷ 2 Kings 6:24.

¹⁹¹⁸ 1 Kings 20:23.

¹⁹¹⁹ 1 Kings 22:3.

¹⁹²⁰ Cf. Daniel entire Chapter 2.

¹⁹²¹ 1 Kings 18:2.

the caliph listened to me with interest, I was emboldened by the zeal which gripped me to admonish him, citing God as a witness, to remind him of the account he would give his Lord on account of the flock which is under his trust. I cited the words of the Prophet who said, 'I will speak of your statutes before kings and will not be put to shame.'¹⁹²²

When I finished, he said, "These governors do not act according to my will. I do not overburden anyone. Moreover, if I am compassionate toward my Roman enemies, why should I not be compassionate to my own flock? I will redress everything by God's will." On the next day, his secretary, who had investigated the case of these wronged people (Egyptians), called me in order to inform him of the injustice of the governors of Egypt. He said that he would relate my words anew to the caliph and to Abu Ishaq (al-Mu'tasim, al-Ma'mun's brother) who was responsible for these wronged people. I, however, was very cautious of Abu Ishaq, a man known to have no mercy. I returned on the next day and told Abu Ishaq that, 'We should fear God and not man.' Then I related to him the whole story from the beginning and added to it what I had forgotten to mention to the caliph. Afterwards, the caliph gave me permission to return to Damascus.

I have recorded my observations in Egypt as follows hoping that it would not be a cause of frustration but an admonition to the hearers.

Our impression about Pope Joseph and the bishops is that they are pious, humble and rich in God's love. We were immensely honored by them to the degree that, during our stay with them, they offered us first the matters of highest esteem, spiritual or otherwise, which are peculiar to the Pope alone. However, we detected among them customs incompatible with their virtue and far off from the spirit of Cyril, Dioscorus and Timothy who issued canons for the church.¹⁹²³ We also discovered their negligence of the Holy Scriptures, especially the monks who had been deprived of this grace. The humble among them concentrated on handiwork and the recitation of Psalms. Those who performed the services had no concern for the knowledge of wisdom. They were rather busy collecting money in order to pay for obtaining a position of leadership in the future. In fact, no one could win a position of leadership without paying at least two hundred to three hundred dirhams. If an educated and learned man was found without money, his ambition to acquire leadership was impossible. When we blamed them for such behavior, the pope said, "We have resorted to this method because our church has incurred immense debts which otherwise cannot be settled." Then I said that such procedure is against the Apostolic canons, and he who receives the priesthood by offering a bribe deserves excommunication together with one who ordained him. They said that, "Although this is repulsive, yet we demand from the person who practices it to redeem any pawned church vessels." I began to laugh rather than cry for their simple mindedness. I told them what Christ said to his apostles when they said, 'Here are two swords,' and he replied, 'That is enough.'¹⁹²⁴ They did not baptize males before forty days, and females before thirty days of their birth. Thus, many children died without being baptized. They violated the canons in several other matters as well. Therefore, we wrote down some observations and handed them to them.

We also beheld the pillars that Jeremiah¹⁹²⁵ said were standing in Heliopolis (Temple of the Sun) whose priest was Potiphar, father-in-law of Joseph. Each of these pillars was hewn from a single rock. They are more than sixty cubits tall and six cubits in circumference. They are mounted on a base ten cubits wide and seventy cubits tall. They are inscribed with the portraits of heathen gods from top to bottom with pontifical writings no one has yet been able to read. It is truly a wonderful spectacle. These pillars are not made of soft but firm marble resembling those of Ba'lbak, one of the Seven Wonders of the World, as it is said. However, they are different from those of Egypt because they are only forty cubits high, while the pillars in Egypt are more than sixty cubits high. The mind is bewildered at how these pillars were cut off and transported to these places, and what skills did they use to install them on the bases? If a thousand men got

¹⁹²² Psalm 119:46.

¹⁹²³ These are the Egyptian patriarchs who were champions of Orthodoxy.

¹⁹²⁴ Luke 22:38.

¹⁹²⁵ See Jeremiah 43:13.

together, they would not be able to move from the ground as much as one finger length. On the crests of these pillars are fixed white bronze crowns that look like a helmet the soldier wears over his head during the war. Each one weighs more than thousand pounds. Despite the fact that the city has been ruined since the time of Christ, neither the Egyptians nor the greedy Tayoye (Arabs) ventured into climbing the pillars to bring down the bronze, as the Tayoye (Arabs) did to the colossus in the island of Rhodes which they smashed and carried from it three thousand loads of bronze. If someone should ask, why did Jeremiah prophecy that Christ will demolish the pillars of Beth Shemesh,¹⁹²⁶ yet here they stand not demolished. We answer, 'Let him know that Christ destroyed and abolished worshipping them as God. He left these pillars as a sign for the coming generation in order that Christians should realize the devil's power over people and that his servants suffer a heavy burden in honor of his worship.'

In the city were more than five hundred statues of deformed appearances set up in its streets and outside its gates. Each one occupied an area of forty cubits. We learned that it was a religious center of idols and heathens of every region.

We also witnessed in Egypt the Pyramids that the Theologian (Gregory of Nazianzus) mentioned in his Discourses.¹⁹²⁷ They are not the granaries of Joseph as some thought, but are wonderful chambers built over the graves of ancient kings. Nevertheless, they are oblique and solid mass and not hollow or empty on the inside, but have no doors. To the side of one of them we saw a crevice about fifty cubits deep whose walls were laid with stones people had crushed in order to see whether they were hollow.

The area of each pyramid is five hundred cubits long, five hundred cubits wide and two hundred fifty cubits high. While its base is five hundred cubits, its top is one cubit only. The size of each of its stone is between five to ten cubits long. From a far distance, they look like gigantic mountains. To their (the Pyramids) side we saw a rock like a mountain or a round hill. It was hewn and from it was made a statue (the Sphinx) for the worship of their kings. We also saw a chamber built on the Nile River before it divides into four branches. It looked like a quadrangular cistern with a stone post in its middle, engraved with degree marks for measuring the water level when the river floods in September. When the water inundates the chamber, the experts know how high the water has reached that day. If the water level drops less than fourteen degrees, which is the average degree of the flood, then only a small piece of the land of Egypt is watered. It will not yield the required crops that year and subsequently, taxes increase. However, if the water level rises to seventeen or eighteen degrees, then the entire land of Egypt is watered and taxes are levied that year. If the water level rises twenty degrees, the flood will then spoil the crops that year. In brief, from the measures inscribed on that post, the experts are able to know the amount of taxes levied annually in Egypt.

The King (caliph) al-Ma'mun went down to the Biyamaye and stopped the sword against them. He summoned their chiefs and commanded them to leave the region. They told him of the bad treatment they had received (from the governors). They said that since their livelihood depended on the papyrus and fishing, they might not find a source of livelihood somewhere else. Eventually, they succumbed to his order, left by ships to Antioch, and then were sent to Baghdad. They numbered about three thousand souls. Most of them, however, died on the road and others, about five hundred souls who were captured in war were taken captive by the Tayoye (Arabs) who sold them in Damascus. This was a matter that had never been done before in the Tayoye (Arab) kingdom, namely, the sale of people who are under the yoke of the jizya (tribute). However, by the help of God, we urged the believers to buy all of them and thus saved them. They did not return to their country because of the famine there. Many of them went to Syria to find bread. Meanwhile, the Caliph (al-Ma'mun) issued an order to his governors not to treat the Egyptians harshly, or else they would be killed. In addition, he dropped half of the jizya (poll tax) imposed on them. Nevertheless, after leaving Egypt the Egyptians were more oppressed. The Persians attacked the villages, captured people in groups of ten or twenty persons, and sent them to al-Fustat without ascertaining their crime or innocence. Many of them perished without having done wrong, and those who were bound in fetters offered a bribe to their captors to set them free. The captors said to them, "You have been handed to us in

¹⁹²⁶ See Jeremiah 43:13.

¹⁹²⁷ See *Patrologia Graeca*, 36: col. 580.

numbers. Wait a little until we find someone on the road, and we will capture them and then release you.” They met three men: a priest and two Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims) one of them was an Imam of a mosque. They seized them in place of the men who offered them a bribe and set them free. Since they seized them unjustly, they gave them no opportunity to talk, but killed them. Thus, the corpses of innocent people filled the roads. At this time, warfare, captivity, famine and death prevailed in Egypt. *This various narrative is ended by the help of God.*

Chapter Eighteen: On the death of al-Ma'mun, and the commencement of the reign of Abu Ishaq (al-Mu'tasim) and how Theophilus, emperor of the Romans heaved a sigh of relief. The journey of Mor Dionysius to the East, and other matters

When al-Ma'mun died in Tyane in the land of the Romans, a sharp controversy stirred up among the Tayoye (Arabs) for three days. Some of them wanted Abbas (son of al-Ma'mun) to rule over them; others wanted Abu Ishaq (al-Mu'tasim, brother of al-Ma'mun) to be their ruler.¹⁹²⁸ While they were assembling, the curtain of the door opened and Abbas emerged saying, “The kingdom is for Abu Ishaq. Pray for the preservation of his life.” A bewilderment overwhelmed the camp. They burned the buildings of Tyane and its crops and provisions, and departed in haste. Abu Ishaq went down to Baghdad to receive the kingdom of his fathers, but was apprehensive that he would be rejected by the people because he was receiving the kingdom by force and not by consensus. However, when Abu Ishaq, nicknamed al-Mu'tasim, arrived in Baghdad in October, the people welcomed him and offered him the kingdom, but still were afraid of him because of his cruelty. Yet, as soon as he established himself, he began to construct splendid building for his residence. He had a water canal dug and planted an orchard for his pleasure. He sent his troops to fight the Zotoye (Zut) who lived on the confluence of the Tigris and the Euphrates Rivers. They were rebellious people and a source of trouble for the caliphs. They attacked, killed and plunder the merchants who traversed between Basra and Baghdad and between India and China. The army could not cope with them because they fought in small boats. Al-Mu'tasim sent against them the Copts whom he had taken captive in Egypt. These Copts were accustomed to life on the water. They could dive in the water like fish without being detected, and shower the Zut with arrows and caused them to flee. Thus, the Biyamaye defeated the Zut. They and their women and children were seized and cast into prison in Baghdad and then perished.¹⁹²⁹

When al-Mu'tasim saw that the Copts had overwhelmed the Zut in war, he loved them and chose some of them to work in his service in his gardens and orchards. Others he used to weave cotton cloths because the Egyptians were famous in this trade. The rest, he allowed to return to their country. However, when they reached the sea and were about to board the ships and return to Egypt, divine wrath caught up with them. A severe storm raged and they were drowned in the sea.

In the year 1146 (A.D. 835), Abu Ishaq sent the son of his uncle Tahir to fight the rebellious people of Media who lived in the Mountain of Sadqa. He killed about five thousand of them and controlled those mountains. In addition, he sent Aphshin against Babek al-Khurrami who had destroyed a great number of Arab forces. In this same year, Umar (ibn Abd Allah) and his companions of Melitene set ambushes in the country of the Romans. The Emperor Theophilus faced them and chased them off at the beginning, but the Tayoye (Arabs) regrouped their troops and defeated the Romans, killing a great number of them as they were retreating. The emperor managed to escape with few men, but the Tayoye (Arabs) entered the emperor's palace and pillaged even his bed and clothes, and their hands were filled with his possessions.

In this time, a huge whale was seen near Bahrain. It was about one mile long, and the people of Bahrain were scared to venture into the sea. The divers for jewels would not step into the sea, and for three months, the whale disturbed the sea by its fluctuating movements. The people supplicated God to save them from him. Finally, God sent a small fish about one span long, which entered into the ear of the whale

¹⁹²⁸ Bar Hebraeus is mistaken in making al-Mu'tasim the son of al-Ma'mun. Al-Mu'tasim was a son of Harun al-Rashid and brother of al-Ma'mun. See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 133. As a son of Harun al-Rashid, see Tabari, 7, 223.

¹⁹²⁹ Cf. *Tarikh al-Ya'qubi*, III, 197-198; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 133.

and killed him and he was washed about by the waves and cast on the shore. The people cut up its flesh, roasted it and ate it. If they could not roast it, they salted it, dried it in the sun, pounded it and ate it.¹⁹³⁰

In this time, people brought to Abd Allah bar (son of) Tahir, governor of Khurasan, an infant whose mother had given birth to him that year. However, he grew up to the stature of a man, and the hair of his beard sprouted, a gruesome and bewildering phenomenon.

In the year 1146 (A.D. 835), a strong flow of water gushed at night from the river of Zubatra, a city of the border towns (*thughbur*), while people were sleeping. The waters rose up above the wall, which collapsed, and inundated the streets and the houses, and three thousand souls were drowned inside. On the opposite side, the wall also collapsed and the waters gushed forth. Many houses and buildings collapsed. In addition, the Tigris River overflowed and destroyed many houses and buildings of Baghdad.

In this year, the Mhagroye (Hagerites, Muslims) of Harran stirred up war against the Christians. At the dawn of Sunday of the Resurrection, they destroyed the churches of Mor Jirjis (George) of Qubo and Mor Ahodemeh, which were recently built. The words (of the Prophet Amos) were fulfilled in the people of Harran, which say, "I will turn your religious feasts into mourning."¹⁹³¹

The holy Dionysius (Tell Mahre) said, "In June of the year 1145 (A.D. 834), we went to Baghdad to greet King (Caliph) Abu Ishaq (al-Mu'tasim) who was recently set up in his position. We reached Nisibin and reconciled the sons of our church whom the rebellious Philoxenus caused to dissent for six years. Immediately, after their union with us, they ejected him and he went to the wicked Abiram who was residing in the district of the people of Qurush (Cyrus). In Mosul, we tarried in order to bring peace to the churches in that city concerning the controversy over the proclamation of metropolitans. While the congregation of Mosul proclaimed Cyriacus of St. Matthew's Monastery a metropolitan, the congregation of Takrit refused to do so. Eventually, and by the power of God, we succeeded in bringing them together when we went down to Takrit to ordain a metropolitan for its congregation, and found a solution acceptable to both congregations." We wrote down the following, "In the name of the Father, and the Son and the Holy Spirit. Upon our arrival in Takrit, I, Patriarch Dionysius by the mercy of God, and the pious bishops who were present: Uthman, bishop of the Taghlibite (Arabs), Addai, bishop of Karma, Iliyya (Elijah), bishop of Narsibad, Tuma (Thomas), bishop of Sijistan, Musa, bishop of Balad (Eski Mosul), Cyriacus, bishop of Mosul, and Yuhanon, bishop of Baghdad, assembled to elect a metropolitan for the aforementioned city (Takrit) and all the East. Then, we ascertained the reason of the prolonged conflict between (the monks) of St. Matthew's Monastery and their bishop Cyriacus with the Takritians who were dwelling in Mosul. When we examined the subject, the monks of St. Matthew's Monastery said that according to an ancient tradition they observe, the bishop who is ordained for the region of Nineveh is proclaimed a metropolitan in their church. They demanded from the Takritians of Mosul to do the same in their church. The Takritians of Mosul retorted that it was not possible to proclaim him except as an ordinary bishop. They categorically refused to accept any metropolitan other than the metropolitan of Takrit. Therefore, we assembled priests, deacons, monks, and the notables of Takrit and deliberated how to find a cure for this ailment. We observed that the proclamation of the bishop (who is ordained for the region of Nineveh that is Mosul) as a metropolitan does not impinge upon the honor of the metropolitan of Takrit. On the contrary, his honors would enhance the dignity of the see of Takrit because of the increase of the number of those under his jurisdiction. Then, we reached a solution acceptable to the Takritians and to the monks of St. Matthew's Monastery. We resolved that Cyriacus should be proclaimed a metropolitan in the entire churches of the Takritians of Mosul twice a year as do the rest of the churches. The first time, it should be done on Palm Sunday when the believers are gathered for the blessing of the olive branches in the churches of the Takritians, the second time at the occasion of consecrating the *Mirun* (Holy Chrism). As to other days, the Takritians are free to proclaim as they wish."

We also found in the letter of the Council of Callinicus that the monks of St. Matthew's Monastery and the Takritians agreed that the bishop of Mosul should be proclaimed a metropolitan, and at the same

¹⁹³⁰ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, p. 134.

¹⁹³¹ Amos 8:10.

time, he would be subject to the metropolitan of Takrit. We also decided to raise the honor of the See of Takrit. We affirmed a previous canon, which says that the bishops should perform the ordinations and the consecration of altars in all the churches, each in the manner he sees fitting. However, when the metropolitan is present in the city, the bishop of the city should allow him to perform these duties in his churches because he has precedence to the bishops of the East as second to the patriarch. In addition, the metropolitan of Takrit, whenever he wants, can invite the bishops under his authority to a meeting. If conflict should arise between a bishop and his congregation, the metropolitan of Takrit should adjudicate between the two sides. If a complaint is launched against a bishop, the metropolitan should summon him, investigate with him and issue a verdict according to the canons. Bishop Cyriacus and whoever shall succeed him should submit to the metropolitan of Takrit concerning these matters.

We have put these matters in order in November of the year 1146 (A.D. 538), in Takrit. Afterwards, Mor Tuma was elected and ordained a metropolitan for Takrit. As we were getting ready to visit with the caliph, we received reports from the west that forced us to return to the Jazira to treat the reasons calling us to return, and then proceed anew to extend our greetings to the king (caliph).

Chapter Nineteen: On the second campaign of Theophilus, emperor of the Romans against the country of the Arabs; the visit of Gewargi (George), King of the Nubians to Abu Ishaq, king (caliph) of The Arabs; the new cities the caliph wanted to build; the third visit of Patriarch Dionysius to Baghdad; the conflict stirred up in this time between the Nestorians of Baghdad and the Chalcedonians in Antioch

Abu Ishaq, king (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs) abandoned Baghdad and went to dwell between the two tributaries of the Tigris: the Great Qatlob and the Lesser Qatlob¹⁹³², which water the region of the Aramaeans. He liked this region more than Baghdad because it was tranquil and had plenty of hunting game. One of the kings had destroyed this city, when Harun al-Rashid, Abu Ishaq's father, desired to have it rebuilt. But after having its wall rebuilt and the city itself almost completed, Abu Ishaq deserted it and built the village of Shomro (Samarra) situated between Athor (Mosul) and Babylon. Shomro (Samarra) was a small village built on the bank of the Tigris River, and had no natural merit. Even living in it was uncomfortable. It was deprived of all of God's blessings, but Abu Ishaq loved it for the sake of hunting and had it built. He had canals dug up to bring water from the Tigris, and planted it with gardens, orchards and palm trees. He brought from Egypt balsam nursery plants and papyri from which paper is made.¹⁹³³

At this time, many of the partisans of Babek al-Khurami and Nasr, the captain of his host, got tired of fighting the Persians.¹⁹³⁴ They fled to Theophilus, emperor of the Romans, and became Christians. Theophilus thought that since these people had come under his authority, he could through them defeat the Tayoye (Arabs). He sent a message to the Tayoye (Arabs) asking them to pay the jizya (tribute) of Greater Armenia, and in case they refused, he would destroy it. Since the Tayoye (Arabs) had no army, they used prudence and paid the tribute.

In the summer of 1148 (A.D. 837), Theophilus marched for the second time against Zubatra, which the barbarians had captured and massacred mercilessly Jews and Christians alike.¹⁹³⁵ They were so wicked that they even violated women and opened their bellies. After they spoiled and burned the city, they passed to the country of Melitene and did the same thing, and sent the captives to the country of the Romans. Then they passed on to Hanzit and the country of Arsamosata and laid siege to the city. The Arabs who were living there feared them especially, when they heard of the destruction of Zubatra. They thought that they should either leave the city or pay the jizya (tribute) to the Romans, especially since the Persians could not help them because they were busy with war with Babek. In addition, they were angry with Abu Ishaq

¹⁹³² They are most likely the Great Zab and the Lesser Zab.

¹⁹³³ *Tarikh al-Yaqubi*, III, 199.

¹⁹³⁴ On Babek, see Abu al-Hasan al-Mas'udi, *Muruj al-Dhahab wa Ma'adin al-Jawhar*, edited by Muhiy al-Din Abd al-Hamid, 4 (Cairo: Dar al-Raja', 1938), 10-13). Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 135 calls Babek the Khuwarizmite.

¹⁹³⁵ Tabari, 7, 263.

who overburdened them with exorbitant taxes. They were even more incensed against us, Christians, and almost decimated us if it were not for the fact that they heard that the Romans had despoiled the Christians of Zubatra, and tightened their grip against the Christians of Edessa. They did so because of a certain audacious Edessan Christian person called Shamouna, who joined the Romans and urged them to annihilate the Tayoye (Arabs). When the Romans had laid siege against Arsamosata, the Tayoye (Arabs) of the Rabi'a tribe connived with the natives of Melitene to fight the Romans, but they were defeated and four thousands of them perished. The Romans burned Arsamosata and destroyed it. Then they passed on to the country of Armenia. Theophilus sent a message to the natives saying, "If you do not open the gate and receive a pledge of safety for your lives, I will kill you and destroy your city as I did to Zubatra." The judge and the notables went out to meet him and reasoned well with him. They appealed to him to give them a respite for some time. Finally, they gave him hostages as a manifestation that they would not plant ambushes in his country. After they presented him with gifts and delivered unto him the Roman captives in their city, he departed for fear that, he might be overtaken by the Arab forces.

Abu Ishaq (the Caliph al-Mu'tasim) disturbed by the conduct of the Romans, dispatched against them 'Ujaif (ibn 'Anbasa) with forty thousand troops.¹⁹³⁶ However, the Romans were emboldened and destroyed them, and very few escaped with their lives. He dispatched another army in the winter, which spoiled the people, seized the cattle and horses and retreated. When they reached our regions, they closed the roads like enemies and spoiled every one whom they met. When Babek al-Khurrami saw that his band of men were defeated and fled to the Roman territory, he carried whatever he could of his possessions and buried the rest in the ground. He fled to the country of the Romans with four hundred of his men. They reached the village of a certain man named Estephan, an Armenian patrician who invited Babek to his house with alacrity. He bound him in iron fetters, and informed the caliph al-Mu'tasim of what he had done. The caliph rejoiced that Babek, his enemy was seized because he had annihilated more than one hundred-thousand souls. He sent gifts to Estephan, and commanded his men to bring to him Babek with Aphshin. When Babek appeared before the caliph Abu Ishaq, he asked him, "Are you Babek?" and Babek said, "Yes I am." The caliph commanded that his right arm be cut off, and then his left arm, and finally his head, and hanged it upon a tree.¹⁹³⁷ He gave his possessions and position (as a captain of the army) to Aphshin. Shortly afterwards, Aphshin discovered the possessions Babek had buried in the ground. Because of the plenty of money he now possessed, he, the other one (Aphshin), became a rebel.

At this time in the year 1147 (A.D. 836), Gewargi (George), son of the king of the Nubians, went to see the king (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs) for the following reason. Since ancient times, it was the custom of the Nubian kings to donate every year to the Tayoye (Arabs) 360 Moorish slaves, baboons trained to imitate the behavior of human beings, giraffes, ivory, ostriches, and tigers' hide. In return, the Tayoye (Arabs) gave the Nubians many measures of grain from Egypt, measures of olive oil, vessels and precious raiments. They also permitted them to levy taxes on the Nubian Muslims living in their country. According to this agreement, the Muslims should not spoil the Nubians, and neither the Nubian should pass by Syene, a frontier city on the side of Egypt, and enter Tayoye (Arab) territory. However, this rapprochement was abrogated because of the disturbance that has inflicted the world since the time of the sons of Harun (al-Rashid), as the influence of Tayoye (Arabs) had extended, and they became more inclement toward the Nubians. Accordingly, the Arabs did not send anything to the Nubians, nor the Nubians send anything to the Arabs. When al-Mu'tasim learned of this, he sent confidants from his retinue to the king of the Nubians saying, "Send us what is our rights as usual according to the ancient custom, or else, I will send the Arabs to spoil your country." When the messenger arrived, King Nabados has already died and his kingdom was administered by prince Zakariyya. This Zakariyya was not from the royal family, but his wife was and she born him a son named Gewargi (George). The people placed the royal crown on his head, and his father kept administering the state until he reached the age of puberty. When Zakariyya learned from the envoy

¹⁹³⁶ See al-Mas'udi, 4, 14-15.

¹⁹³⁷ Tabari, 7, 262 says that Babek was crucified between the two bridges. Abu al-Hasan al-Mas'udi, 4, 12-13 says that Babek's head was hung on the bridge.

what went on in the mind of the Arabs, he sent his son to Abu Ishaq (the caliph) that he might find grace in his eyes, and by this method could fulfill his desires. He said to the envoy of the caliph, "I do not prefer that discussion should be done between us by correspondence, but I shall send my son who will rule over the Nubians to extend greetings to your caliph." The envoy transported this desire to the caliph, who and his governors in Egypt, to welcome him with respect and pomp. When al-Mu'tasim learned that Zakariyya's son had reached the Fustat of Egypt, he wrote to the governors to hire camels for his entire retinue and give him thirty dinars a day for his expenses so that the governors of the cities should welcome him as a king. At al-Raqqā (Callinicus), he was welcomed by the governor of the Jazīra and by Christians and Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims). They hovered over him like something strange, especially that he was mounting a camel with a strange saddle different from the saddles in our region. It was topped by an baldachin embroidered with precious cloth and on its top stood a golden cross. In one hand he carried a staff, and in the other a cross. Young Nubians marched on his right and his left carrying crosses. They were preceded by a mounting bishop carrying a cross in his hand. All the crosses were made of gold, and all the horsemen and the slaves in his company were black. He was also accompanied by two bishops who died on the road, as also did some of his attendants and many of his troops because of the snow and ice. The sons of al-Raqqā (Callinicus) had never seen such a spectacle before.

The whole company remained in Callinicus until Christmas. Then, Gewargi (George) went down to Baghdad where he was celebrated by the army in the marketplaces, and during this time stayed in one of the royal palaces. He remained there from February until August. The reason for his delay was that a Nubian who levied the taxes from the Nubians who lived in the country of the Arabs rebelled against the Nubian king and *hagar*, that is, became a Muslim.¹⁹³⁸ Gewargi seized him and bound him in fetters. The wretched man wrote to the Tayoye (Arab) caliph saying, "This man (Gewargi) is an imposter and not the son of the king." The caliph sent someone to Egypt to investigate the matter. For this reason, Gewargi was delayed from having an audience with the caliph Abu Ishaq. However, when the caliph received an answer that Gewargi was the son of a king, he summoned him unto him, and ordered the military troops to welcome him with their arms and regalia. Gewargi passed through their rows on both sides of the road. He was adorned with a wreath and a crown over his head topped by a cross. Abu Ishaq arranged for men to assemble more than what al-Ma'mun had done. When Gewargi entered into his presence, he held him by the hand and had him seated before him. He learned through the interpreter that he had come to offer his greetings (the caliph welcomed him cordially). He gave him plenty of expensive gifts of gold and silver.¹⁹³⁹ He also gave him raiments, musk and ambergris (perfume) and ten bedecked camels especially for the riding of kings. He ordered that he (Gewargi) should be honored in all the towns until he enters his land and also that he should be given thirty dinars daily for his expenses.

At this time, conflict arose among the Chalcedonians of Antioch, and also among the Nestorians following the death of their Catholicos Sabr Yeshu. They left the choice (of a new catholicos) to Bakht Yeshu and to Sulayman, the two physicians of the caliph. Sulayman chose Abraham, bishop of Hadath, while Bakht Yeshu chose Mari, metropolitan of Beth Laphat. Hence was their conflict. The bishops who accepted Mari took him to the high places of Seleucia-Ctesiphon because no catholicos could be ordained except there. When Sulayman learned of this matter, he was disturbed and went to see the caliph Abu Ishaq. He complained against the bishop who chose Bakht Yeshu saying, "They did not take into consideration my relationship with you and my service to you since adulthood to old age." Driven by zeal, the caliph ordered Mari to be bound in iron fetters. The Nestorian set up Abraham, bishop of Hadath as catholicos by the caliph's order. Thus, the Nestorians were split into two factions, one proclaiming Mari as a catholicos, the other proclaiming Abraham. Likewise, their churches were divided, and in every church two services and two Eucharists were celebrated for many years until Mari passed away and the leadership settled on Abraham.

¹⁹³⁸ The Syriac verb *hagar* or *ahgar*, derives from Hagerites, meaning Muslims.

¹⁹³⁹ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, pp. 134-135.

As said earlier, Patriarch Mor Dionysius (Tell Mahre) journeyed to Baghdad. He said, "At the beginning of August of the year 1147 (A.D. 836), I entered into the presence of Abu Ishaq, same as I did according to my custom with his brother al-Ma'mun in the city of Baghdad. He received me with pleasure in the new city he had built between two rivers. The king of Nubia had arrived in Baghdad since February without having an audience with the caliph. The king, who had spent a long time on the road, wrote to me upon his arrival in al-Raqqah asking to meet with me and have my blessings. I replied that, 'I cannot see you before meeting with the caliph. But you may go ahead of me and I will see you there.' I reminded the caliph of him saying, 'I would like to meet him because he is of our same belief. But I don't know the reason of his delay.' After the caliph met Gewargi and honored him through the mediation of Sulayman his physician, he said to me, 'Go and meet that Nubian.' I took with me certain bishops and believers and went to see him. I saw an intelligent, handsome and well-bred young man about twenty years old. He was of an appearance worthy of kings. Through an interpreter we sensed that he was a true Orthodox and zealous for the faith and shunned communicating with the heretics. On Sunday we celebrated the Eucharist and had him and his people partake of it, for they had with them a complete set of the sacred vessels used for the celebration of the Eucharist.¹⁹⁴⁰ After we received a decree from the caliph and returned, the king of the Nubians honored us by granting us some gold and silver gifts worthy to be granted by someone like myself in order to become a memory in their kingdom."

"After our departure of Baghdad in the year 1148 (A.D. 837), we received on the road a report of the death of Abiram. We immediately proceeded to the region of the people of Cyrus (Qurush) to reconcile them to us. However, the impious Philoxenus, bishop of Nisibin, Sliba and the monk Simon, had already ordained Abiram's brother (a bishop); the condemned Philoxenus laid his defiled hand on him because the news of church peace disturbed him. When the people heard of this matter, they were furious for they knew how wicked Simon was. Then all of them attended our council in Jubrin, and we forgave them. We discussed the ordinations some priests and deacons received from that rebel, and the case of those (clerics) who were married more than once but were not stopped from serving. We said that, according to the canons these clerics are divested from the ordination, since Abiram was also divested from the episcopate. We even condescended to grant them the same ordination, which is given to those who return from heresy. As to those married more than once, we will not accept them. It is for their own good that we have written a document of reconciliation, hoping that they may return to us on the next day and we will absolve them. But the priests who were married more than once gathered ruffians like themselves, and with a great clamor said, 'Why should we reject those who have fulfilled our wishes and did not deny us any quest or any place in the church, and want us to follow the one for whom we have no love?' Those miserable simpletons were deceived by such speech and returned to their vomit. However, those of sound mind returned to us, and those who were cowards followed a zigzag course. On the one hand, they praised us and disparaged Simon, and on the other hand, they participated with them on some occasions, being influenced by their relatives. They resembled the Samaritans of whom was written that, 'They worshiped the Lord, but they also served their own gods.'¹⁹⁴¹ Be that as it may, the partisans of Abiram were defeated and could no more affect anything good or bad just like the nations idols."

Chapter Twenty: On the march of Abu Ishaq, king (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs) into the Roman territory; the defeat of Theophilus, emperor of the Romans; the deplorable destruction of the city of Amorium (Ammuriyya); an atmospheric phenomenon; and ecclesiastical events which took place at this time

In the year 1149 (A.D. 838), the Caliph Abu Ishaq was prepared to attack the country of the Romans. He divided his troops into two camps, and placed the first under the command of Aphshin who entered the gorge of Hadath. He personally led the second camp of troops who entered the gorge of Tarsus with 50,000 fighting men, 30,000 merchants and those who hire beasts and slaves, 50,000 camels and 20,000

¹⁹⁴⁰ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 135.

¹⁹⁴¹ 2 Kings 17:33.

mules, not counting the caliph's cavalry and army. When they reached Safsaf, they found in it a Roman spy and killed him. Then, when they reached the city of Nicaea, which was in ruins, they destroyed its citadel. They then moved to Ancyra, but found no one in it for the inhabitants had fled to the great city of Amorium. The caliph ordered the destruction of the wall of Ancyra, which was built of very huge stones. They seized nine carriages for the transportation of people from Ancyra and brought them to the camp. The emperor Theophilus attacked the camp of Aphshin of 30,000 warriors and killed 3,000 Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims). Immediately, however, God sent heavy rain, which halted the fighting and the Roman troops, were scattered. Theophilus withdrew with 2,000 men. The rest thought that he had been killed and fled to Constantinople. When the rain stopped and the atmosphere cleared, Theophilus saw that the Romans were scattered; he and those with him dismounted their horses and gathered around the emperor. They were surrounded by the forces of Aphshin, which consisted of 30,000 men but could not overwhelm the 2,000 men with Theophilus. Then they brought engines of war so that they might hurl stones on them. The Romans fought breaking through the ranks of the Tayoye (Arabs). When darkness settled the fighting stopped. The Romans lighted their camp and then departed hastily to Amorium, and Theophilus was saved.¹⁹⁴²

Theophilus' mother sent him a messenger telling him that the Romans who arrived at the capital spread the report that he was killed, and that the leaders were to appoint another emperor. As he hurried to leave, Theophilus commanded the troops in Amorium to shut the gates of the city. And Amorium became like a mountain goat lamenting its kids. When he reached Constantinople, he killed the nobles who wanted to set up another king (emperor). He returned to Amorium and witnessed the destruction the Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims) left behind. He blamed himself for having destroyed Zubatra first. He realized that he had only struck the stern of the ship. He sent Basilius the Patrician of Kharshana to Abu Ishaq (al-Mu'tasim) with two letters and gifts. In the first letter, he admitted his offense, and appealed to the Patrician Aetius to set free the Tayoye (Arab, Muslim) captives in order to insure peace. The second letter contained threatening and invective in case he rejected peace. Abu Ishaq welcomed the letter heartily and demanded that the Romans should set free all of the Tayoye (Arab) captives, Nasr the Kurd and his son, and Emmanuel (the Patrician). Basilius said, "This is not possible." Abu Ishaq said, "Depart, then." Basilius handed him the letter that contained threats, and when Abu Ishaq read it, he was furious. He handed back the gifts of the emperor of the Romans with his envoy. He commanded Abu Sa'id (Muhammad ibn Yusuf), captain of the Tayoye (Arab) army, to set ambushes in the Roman territory. He also authorized him power over Beth Nahrin and Syria. When Abu Sa'id reached Aleppo, he commanded that the jars of wine be broken and the wine spilled down the streets. He was visited by a Chalcedonian bishop who beseeched him to have compassion on the Christians. However, Abu Sa'id rejoined, "Do not tire you, O bishop. You are people whom I abhor too much, and who will not receive from me anything good. Pray that I may die in the land of the Romans that I might not see you again." When he moved to enter the Roman territory, he took the fighting men aside and left the leader Bashir with the sons of al-Massisa (Mopsuestia) on the other side. After Bashir gained abundant booty and captives, he was joined by Nasr, the Kurdish leader, and rescued the Roman captives. When he was overtaken by Abu Sa'id, Nasr weakened, and Bashir killed him and hung his head on a lance. When the Kurds saw that their leader was killed, they witnessed death before their eyes. They dismounted, and dragging Nasr, they began to fight on foot until all of them perished. Abu Sa'id gathered their heads and brought them to al-Massisa. He had them salted in order to ship them to the caliph. He found out that many of them were sons of al-Massisa, especially when their wives recognized their husbands by their heads. It was a great lamentation and joy turned into sorrow. However, the caliph (al-Mu'tasim) rejoiced for the killing of Nasr who had devastated Zubatra. He placed a gold medal around Bashir's neck and granted him gifts. *This account of kings and wars ended by the help of God. Glory to him. This postscript is written in Arabic letters, and briefly in Syriac in red ink in the version of the Edessan-Aleppo Codex.*

¹⁹⁴² Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 136.

BOOK TWELVE

At this time Abu Ishaq, caliph of the Tayoye (Arabs), had a son named Dawud (David) who hated the Christians. By his influence, the caliph issued a decree forbidding a cross to be placed outside the churches, or the ringing of (church) bells, or raising of voices during prayers or on the streets during funerals. He also forbade (the sale) of wine in the cities or in the streets. The people (Christians) became a prey to the commissioners who implemented this decree according to the (bribes) paid them.

In November of the year 1149 (A.D. 838), a comet appeared in the northern and southern parts of the sky, its rays extended to the west and lasted for sixteen days. It appeared at dawn until the rays of the sun disappeared.

In this year, Abu Ishaq attacked the Roman territory, but when he saw that things were not happening the way it pleased him, he was saddened and said, "We have not done well by coming here." When he wanted to leave, Ahmad, his confidant, said to him, "It is not proper for a king like you to leave the territory without benefit. Behold the city of Amorium is not too far from here, let us seize it." Like Ahithophel,¹⁹⁴³ the caliph took his advice. When the caliph saw the fortifications of the city, he build around it mounds of earth. His army began to hurl stones against it with mangonels (engines of war). They clouded the sun with their arrows as they shot the men on the wall. Others set up tents covered with hide to protect those who were digging ditches under the wall. Those inside fought with bricks against those who drew near the wall and chased them away. They looked as if they were covered by a cloud of sand and ashes. Within three days, 3,000 men perished on both sides. Finally, the Tayoye (Arabs) showed the caliph a disjointed spot in the wall, and they hurled against it stones by the mangonels (engines of war) for three days until it collapsed. Those inside mourned and those outside rejoiced. The fighting men gathered around the breach and the corpses were piled up so high that they prevented those outside to enter. Abu Ishaq was vexed and gathered his troops and Turkish slaves and stationed them in the vanguard followed by the army. He commanded that everyone who wanted to escape be killed. The Romans asked to meet with him, and he gave them permission. The bishop and three notables asked him to leave the city, but he hardened his heart with arrogance and refused to leave. When the three men were about to leave, a notable called Jawadin pledged to hand the city over to him (the caliph) by a stratagem. The caliph welcomed the idea and gave him 10,000 dirham. Then Jawadin gave the Tayoye (Arabs) the secret word, saying, "When I stand on the wall and take off my turban, you shall know that I have kept the fighting men away from the breach. So, come and enter (the city)."

When the bishop saw Jawadin return to the caliph, he realized that he wanted to hand the city to him. He informed the natives of the city of the matter, and some of them proceeded to the church shouting, "Lord have mercy." Others shouted the same while they were in their houses, and still others went down to (hide) in the wells and cisterns. The women held around them their children like a hen in order they might not depart from them, whether to the sword or to slavery. Meanwhile, the swords of the Tayoye (Arabs) wreaked havoc, and the corpses were piled up. After their swords quenched their thirst of blood, an order was issued to stop the fighting, drive the people out of the city and plunder it. The caliph entered the city and was astonished at the splendor of its buildings and streets, but he was disturbed by a report that reached him, and he set the city on fire.

The city was teeming with convents for women, and more than a thousand nuns (virgins) were taken captive in addition to those killed and those who were given to the Turkish and Mede soldiers to humiliate them. Praise to the incomprehensible dispensations (of God). All those who hid in the houses and church cells were burned by fire. When the booty was gathered to one place and the caliph saw that the people were still too many, he ordered them killed. He also killed another 4,000 men. He further ordered the soldiers to grab the garments and golden, silver and copper vessels as much as they could carry. As looting was going on, the soldiers abducted men too. The cries and wailing of men, women and children were heard who were

¹⁹⁴³ Ahithophel joined the rebellion of Absalom against his father King David. He advised Absalom to annihilate David and his men and the kingdom would be his. David prayed Jehovah to turn his counsel to foolishness, which Jehovah did, and saved David. See 2 Samuel 16:23, and 15:51. When Ahithophel saw that his counsel was rejected, he went home, put his household in order, and hanged himself. 2 Samuel 17:1-32.

snatched from the hands of their parents. When the caliph heard the wailing and the cause of lamentation, he was moved because he did not order people to be abducted. He rose up in fury and killed three men with his own hand whom he met driving away captives. He ordered that people should be returned to where they were assembling. He gave some of them to his military notables, others to his Turkish captains, to his retinue, and he sold others to merchants. Each family was sold without distinction between sons and parents.¹⁹⁴⁴

The destruction of Amorium took place on July 6, 1149 (A.D. 838). With its destruction, the two kingdoms of the Romans faded because of the calamities that afflicted it. The kingdom of the Tayoye (Arabs) also began to fade as the Tayoye (Arabs) learned through magic that their kingdom would fade away the day they seized the fortified city of Amorium. For no one was able to conquer it before Abu Ishaq who vanquished it within twelve days. He found in it a great number of people and immense possessions that belonged to the neighboring cities but were stored inside it. In this manner, was their end. *End of the account.*¹⁹⁴⁵

While those in the Demosion, that is, the House of the Kingdom, were in these years engaged in their evil doing, our church was enjoying some rest. For the sons of the church and the entire congregation were always under the burden of exorbitant tributes imposed by the governors. In addition, they were victims of warfare and conflicts among rulers. However, while the believers had found rest and were not affected by the problems of the leaders of the church, the devil stirred up persecution in Sarug by a *hanfo* (Muslim) person.¹⁹⁴⁶ Driven by wicked zeal, he searched for those who apostatized Islam and returned to Christianity to force them to re-embrace Islam. He seized many of them who courageously endured torture. Finally, this storm calmed down by means of a woman from the village of Bashman who resisted and never flagged under torture, like those who had fallen away. When the governor of al-Raqqa (Callinicus) learned of her case, she was brought up to him, and he was moved by her prudent and intelligent speech. He summoned that Muslim person and ordered him beaten, bound in iron fetters and thrown into prison. Then deliverance was achieved.

In this time, dissension took place in the Church of the Chalcedonians in Antioch, and the chief priests were disgraced as they assembled to elect a successor to the Patriarch Job. The proponents of Job nominated a deacon who was a friend of Job, while Job's opponents nominated Eustathius, a disciple of Basilus, metropolitan of Tyre. The governor of Antioch supported this last one because he was a native of Tyre. He summoned the opponents who did not want Eustathius and ordered them to accept him, and they did. However, the presbyter who carried the letter to Eustathius said to him before handing it to him, "I am delegated to you and to Nicolaus of Damascus. Now if you give me so many dinars I will elect you." When he demanded money, Eustathius withdrew his nomination. The presbyter erased his name from the letter and wrote down the name of Nicolaus. Some bishops welcomed Nicolaus and ordained him in Aleppo. The supporters of Eustathius swore not to accept him at all, and when Nicolaus came to Antioch, some welcomed him while others hurled stones at him and at those in his company. Meanwhile, the *hanfe*, *hanifs* (Muslims) and the Jews mocked them and threw dust at them. In the end, the partisans of Eustathius triumphed and would not let Nicolaus enter into their churches.

The archdeacon of the great church, in his capacity as deputy of the patriarch, having the authority to determine the areas of influence of the bishops, admonished them not to overstep the threshold of the city. So, they remained outside the city for two months. Then they found refuge in the home of Abu Sa'id, the governor of the Syria, and obtained an order from him to the governor of Antioch to allow him (Nicolaus) to visit those who supported him in Antioch. Nicolaus entered Antioch surrounded by armed soldiers who beat his opponents. The *hanfe*, *hanifs* (Muslims) and the Jews shouted, "You renegades deserve to welcome your leader with the beating of staves instead of crosses, candles and songs." When they reached the church of Cassianus, the opponents (of Nicolaus) shut the doors. However, the soldiers broke

¹⁹⁴⁴ Cf. *Tarikh al-Yaqubi*, III, 201-202, Tabari, 7, 1263-264 and Mas'udi, *Muruj al-Dhabab*, 4, 15.

¹⁹⁴⁵ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 136-138.

¹⁹⁴⁶ The Syrian called the Muslim several names of which is *hanifs*, *hanafa*.

through them, and after beating them, sent them to prison. In the church, there was great lamentation and murder when they brought the silver seat for Nicolaus to sit in (as a patriarch). On the next day, Nicolaus opened the treasury of the church and brought out the golden and silver vessels, and gave them to the governor and his soldiers. He used force with his opponents to receive the communion from him, but they spewed it out of their mouths and trampled it under their feet. The amir (Abu Sa'id) appointed a man who took from them thirty dinars a month just to sit at the altar in order to watch them not murder each other.

Meanwhile, Eustathius, who was still a deacon, obtained an order from the amir to be ordained a patriarch. He was ordained a patriarch by the deposed bishop of al-Raqqā (Callinicus) and another bishop, a stranger, who had not yet received the office of priesthood. Since Eustathius could not receive the dignity of a patriarch unless he sat on the patriarchal throne, he bribed the governor of Antioch with five hundred dinars. He forced the partisans of Nicolaus to bring out the seat from where it was hidden, and Eustathius sat on it surrounded by soldiers. Then he and Nicolaus divided the churches. Some of them congregated in the church of the Mother of God, others in the Church of Cassianus; both condemned each other. At the church of al-Raqqā, two priests celebrated the Eucharist on one altar, and condemned each other. *End of the narrative.*

Chapter Twenty-One: Concerning the end of the two sovereigns Abu Ishaq, King (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs) and Theophilus, emperor of the Romans, who reconciled with each other and died shortly afterwards; on the dreadful events which took place, and on the appearance of the rebels once more in Tayoye (Arab) regions; on the petition and the appeal written down by the blessed Mor Dionysius at the end of his book, and on his death which occurred in this period

When Abu Ishaq (al-Mu'tasim) captured Amorium (Amuriyya), and destroyed it by fire, he learned that his nephew Abbas, (son of his brother al-Ma'mun), was conniving to have him killed. He seized his Nestorian scribe and physician who revealed to him Abbas' plot and his accomplices. He also exposed his connivance with Theophilus, emperor of the Romans, and the condition Abbas made with the inhabitants of Baghdad. The condition was that as soon as they heard that Abu Ishaq and Ujaif (ibn 'Anbasa), captain of the army host, were killed, they should proclaim Abbas in the streets and mosques as caliph. Abu Ishaq seized Abbas and Ujaif, who could not escape through the city's wall, and bound them in iron fetters. He mounted them on camels and departed Amorium, of whose inhabitants very few were saved. He took with him the Patrician Aetius, the governor and the Muslim Bodin, and returned proudly to his own country. Meanwhile, Abbas died in Mabug from torture and hunger.¹⁹⁴⁷ Then the caliph addressed a letter to the countries saying, "Let everyone know that Abbas, son of al-Ma'mun is found to be an enemy of our kingdom. He was ready to hand the entire Tayoye (Arab) camp to the Romans. Therefore, he should be cursed by everyone."¹⁹⁴⁸

In these days, the Roman came by sea to the harbor of Antioch and looted the merchants. They took captives and returned in their own ships. For this reason, Abu Ishaq ordered that a fort be built in the harbor.

At this time, Mangshur,¹⁹⁴⁹ son of Aphshin's sister, began to plunder the merchants and contemplate a rebellion. He seized an Armenian merchant and took all his possessions. This wretched man went to complain to Aphshin. Aphshin wrote to his nephew to return the possessions to the man. Secretly, however, he wrote to him saying, "Why didn't you kill him?" Aphshin's nephew killed him and sent his head to the caliph claiming that it was the head of Babek's son-in-law, and that he killed him because he was intending to rebel. The caliph rejoiced and paraded the head through the streets of Shomra (Samarra). He also inquired from Mangshur, the murderer of merchants, about a Tayoyo (Muslim) merchant in Armenia. Mangshur summoned this merchant, but he refused to come knowing that he had already committed crimes

¹⁹⁴⁷ Tabari, 7, 276- 283 and Mas'udi, *Muruj al-Dhahab*, 4, 15. Both chroniclers do not say that Abbas died in Mabug.

¹⁹⁴⁸ Tabari, 7, 282, says that al-Mu'tasim reached Samarra in an excellent condition and called Abbas the accursed one.

¹⁹⁴⁹ On p.542 of the Edessa-Aleppo Syriac Codex, the name appears as Manshur. Later it is mentioned as Mangshur. Tabari, *tarikh al-Umamwa al-Muluk*, 7, 224, mentions Mangjur al-Ashrosni a relative of Aphshin in Azerbaijan.

and that Mangshur would definitely confiscate his possessions. The merchant assembled an army and declared rebellion. Mangshur informed the caliph of his rebellion. The caliph sent a messenger to the merchant saying, "You have to come either by your own will or by force." Therefore, the merchant went to the caliph with great ease and apprized him of all that Mangshur had done to the merchant, whose head he had cut off and sent to the caliph claiming that he was ready to rebel. He supported his claims with ample evidence. The caliph sent an army that seized Mangshur, and he confessed that Aphshin had instigated him to rebel, but Aphshin denied this and declared it to be false. The caliph had Mangshur killed in prison and deposed Aphshin.

In the year 1152 (A.D. 841), Abu Sa'id invaded the Roman territory and took captives, but the Romans in Cilicia overtook him, defeated him and sent back the captives. Again, he invaded the Roman territory, but withdrew in disgrace. On their part, the Romans spoiled Hadath, Mar'ash and the country of Melitene.

At this time, Theophilus sent gifts to Abu Ishaq, king (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs) and asked for an exchange of Tayoye (Arab) prisoners with Roman prisoners. Abu Ishaq accepted the gifts and gave him great gifts twofold, and said, "We Arabs do not compare the Muslims with the Romans because Allah honored the Muslims more than them. Nevertheless, if you hand me back the Tayoye (Muslim) prisoners without recompense, I will reward you many folds over. And in everything we are triumphant over you." The Roman envoys returned with fifty camel loads of costly gifts, and there was peace.¹⁹⁵⁰

Aphshin, who was lifted up to the skies like Capernaum, went down to Sheol (Hell),¹⁹⁵¹ because the caliph had rejected him on account of the son of his sister, contemplating rebellion and killing the king (caliph). He took his Khurasan companions to Khurasan to kill Abd Allah ibn Tahir and receive the kingdom of his forefathers in that country, but his envoy was captured and brought to the caliph. He told the caliph of the errand Aphshin had chosen him to perform, and handed him the letters written in the language of Khurasan. The caliph sent a message to Abd Allah to seize Hasan, son of Aphshin, the governor of Khurasan, to stop him from rebelling against the caliph if he learned that his father was arrested. The caliph commanded that Aphshin be thrown into the depths of the earth, and all his possessions confiscated. Ibn Tahir wrote to Hasan, son of Aphshin, to come unto him, as if it was by order of the caliph, and receive his father's position. Hasan believed him and proceeded to Naishur. Ibn Tahir seized him and bound him in iron fetters, and said to him, "The caliph orders you to shed your wife," and young Hasan agreed to let her go unwillingly. She was sent to her father Ashnuq (Ashnas)¹⁹⁵² along with Hasan's slaves and members of his family. Hasan himself was bound in iron and sent to the caliph who cast him into a dungeon with his father. Finally, Aphshin died under torture. It was rumored that he was uncircumcised, and worshipped the idol found in his house.¹⁹⁵³

In the year 1153 (A.D. 842), there appeared a man in Palestine named Tamim who was nicknamed Abu Harb, claiming that he was a king. He was followed by thirty thousand hungry and naked men. He used to cover his face with a kerchief and pretend to be zealous for the Law (Shari'a) of the Prophet, and that he came for the wronged people. He did not levy more than four piasters of jizya (tribute) which made many people happy, but he did not continue to do the same and began to plunder and kill. He went up to Jerusalem and the Tayoye (Arabs), Christians and the Jews fled. He entered the mosques and the churches and looted everything in them. He wanted to burn down the Church of the Resurrection and other churches, but the patriarch gave him much gold and he departed. Then, Raja' (ibn Ayyub al-Hadari), captain of the host, marched against him with eight thousand men. When they reached al-Raqqa, they heard that Abu Ishaq, had passed away, and they prepared to plunder. However, God showed mercy, and immediately arrived the report that Harun (al-Wathiq, 842-847), son of Abu Ishaq, had become a caliph, so the rebels did not plunder and the disturbance ended. However, Bar Baihas (Arbihus in the Syriac text) of Damascus

¹⁹⁵⁰ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 139.

¹⁹⁵¹ See Luke 10:15.

¹⁹⁵² See Tabari, 7, 301.

¹⁹⁵³ Tabari, 7, 303-308.

gathered five thousand men and began to plunder and kill. Raja' pursued him and killed four thousand of his men and the rest were scattered. Then Raja' concentrated on Abu Harb. He seized one of his spies. When he told him about his whereabouts, Raja' honored him and sent him to Abu Harb with the intention of having peace with him. He told him that he would not leave his place until he had received a response from him. But Raja' moved that evening and in the morning, he attacked Abu Harb and killed eighth thousands of his men. He also seized Abu Harb and one thousand of his men and sent them to the caliph.¹⁹⁵⁴

In this time, the people of Nisibin, Dara and Amid began to use brigandage, and a Persian force was sent against them. Fighting began near Dara and the Persians killed about two thousand Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims) and plundered everything that was in Dara. However, they did not kill the Christians because they were wrathful against the Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims). Many Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims) saved themselves by using the sign of the cross.¹⁹⁵⁵

Abu Ishaq died (843) and left tremendous possessions because he levied taxes even from the dead. He built the city of Shomra (Samarra) and enriched it. The cost of one single public bath was thirty-two thousand silver pieces. He charged thirty thousand silver pieces a year as a tax for entering into Shomra (Samara). He was lecherous and addicted to drinking wine. With his death, eight thousand slaves were freed. He left forty thousand horses for the cavalry, twenty thousand baggage mules, and thirty thousand slaves for stables. In those days also died Theophilus, emperor of the Romans.¹⁹⁵⁶

In March of the year 1154 (A.D. 843), a red sign like fire appeared in the northern part of the sky. Its appearance was repeated on April 26, and occurred on three consecutive nights. It appeared at the beginning of the night and remained until the morning; also, glaring rays were seen like torches. On the tenth of the month, God sent a heavy rain cloud that old people and we had not heard or seen before. The violent rain swept huge rocks and turned the lands into lakes. Haran suffered great havoc by the streams that flowed down the Hasme Mountains, especially the mountain called *Yutheb Rish*, or, "*the one who rides its head*." Having formed a huge river, the torrents swept the villages of the region to Beth Quba. The houses, inns and shops were filled by water and collapsed. In some regions, houses fell upon people killing them. If it were not for the fact that the torrents took place at daytime and the governor had gathered people to set up dams, the entire city would have perished. The flood reached al-Raqqā (Callinicus) leaving behind destruction and ruin. Afterwards, on Friday in June, a severe earthquake took place in Cilicia, Armenia, and eight fortresses of its wall collapsed. Several houses also fell down, and two hundred souls perished. The people remained in the open for two months for fear of thunders, which did not calm down day or night.

In July of that year, fire fell in both Baghdad and Basra on the same day and at the same hour. More than fifteen thousand shops were destroyed in Baghdad and Basra. On that same day, a city of Khurasan was overturned and buried its inhabitants. It turned into a mound, and no one was left alive except a man and a donkey.

On September 24, something like a fiery cloud appeared in the east and moved to the north and then to the west. Its upper side was red like blood, and the lower side was like a figure of the moon. Its light shone on the eastern side over the walls and the houses, while the southern side remained dark. This sign was seen from two o'clock in the evening until the cock's crow, and more dense darkness prevailed.

In December of the year 1152 (A.D. 841), the snow on the mountains thawed because of abundant rain, and the streams overflowed with water. The Tigris inundated Shomra (Samarra), killed more than ten thousand souls, and destroyed many buildings.

In this time, a chief called Malik from the murdering and blood-shedding tribe of Rabi'a, controlled his own tribe, seized many of their highway robbers, and imprisoned them in the city of Balad (Eski Mosul). When they smashed the door to escape, the natives of Balad discovered them and killed three of them. Five hundred relatives of the murderers gathered and destroyed the Tayoye (Arab) regions and villages. When the

¹⁹⁵⁴ Tabari, *Tarikh al-Umam wa al-Muluk*, 7, 312-314; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 139.

¹⁹⁵⁵ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 140.

¹⁹⁵⁶ Tabari, 7, 314-315 and 318 where he mentions the death of Theophilus; and Mas'udi, *Muruj al-Dhahal*, 4, 18; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 140.

sons of Hasan, chief of the Rabi'a tribe heard this, they went out to plunder. The caliph had previously seized their village in return for a payment of three thousand dirhams, which Hasan was still to pay for its collection of land tax. In addition, they destroyed the regions of Nisibin, Sinjar, Tur Abdin and the Qardu Mountain. The caliph sent a relief expedition to Malik, who pursued them and filled up the mountains and the plains with the corpses of the Rabi'a tribe.

In this period were two governors in Damascus: one was called Raja' who was responsible for the collection of the tribute and the necessities of the country; the other, Ali, was responsible for fighting and the protection of the regions from damage. Raja' slandered Ali to the caliph and presented (to him) a pretext that the whole region should be placed under his authority. However, when Ali learned of this matter, he seized Raja's letter to the caliph, and he himself wrote a letter in the name of the caliph considering him to be the absolute governor of the region. The caliph summoned Raja' and slaughtered him and his children and laid his hands on their private possessions, estimated to be worth thirty thousand in addition to another forty thousand, which was a tribute due the caliph. He also laid hands on their gold, silver, garments and many other objects. When Ali continued his carnage, some commissioners arrived and bound him in chains. Then, when the city was at the verge of destruction, rescue came from God as the caliph asked that Ali be brought to him. Ali, however, pretended to be insane, as if afflicted by an evil spirit, and thus he escaped death.

In the year 1135 (A.D. 824), rain did not fall in the winter and plants did not grow until May, but snow continued to fall and the cold was severe. Grains were scarce and the income meager, and there came a severe famine, pestilence and death. Worse still were the excessive and cruel jizya (tribute) and the iniquity of commissioners who were thirsty for the blood of the hapless people. The poor had nowhere to flee, and did not know whether to feed their hungry children or pay taxes to the ruffian tax collectors, or take care of the sick members of their families. A great number of poor people desired to pick firewood or herbage to eat instead of bread, but could not because of the severe cold. They perished inside the houses from hunger and cold. When the rich people could find no bread or plants, they decided mercilessly not to sell grain to the poor lest they benefit from it. In April, however, rain fell and plants improved, but God sent hail that destroyed several villages in the Jazira and the west. Then, he sent crawling locusts that devoured the late growing plants, and thorns grew up and severe windstorms uprooted the trees and hurled them far up to the skies. We (Patriarch Tell Mahre) witnessed these things with our own eyes. We also saw fields whose top soil was swept by the wind and piled up in the planted fields looking like threshing floors of grain, which buried and covered the plants.

In this same winter, armies were assembled in the region of Qardu to fight the rebellious Kurdish leader Musa. The inhabitants of the region suffered severe hardships because the soldiers occupied their houses and ate and drank. As a result, prices skyrocketed. A measure of salt was sold for forty piasters; two *uqiyyas* (equivalent to two ounces) of cheese were sold for one piaster, and fifty walnuts for one piaster, while the region of Qardu used to export cheese and walnuts. The Persians could not overwhelm the Kurds because the Kurds did not go out to fight unless they had eaten and drunk to their satisfaction and slept enough to rest. In the meantime, the Persians suffered from severe cold that paralyzed their hands. The Kurds killed about fifteen thousand Persians.

Pestilence spread for two years in Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia) and moved to the west. However, it was most devastating in Palestine and the seacoast, where many villages became desolate and fields were left unplanted. Five hundred graves were dug for the corpses at Ramla in only one day. Because the living could not dig more graves, they dug a long ditch and threw the corpses into it. About two thirds of the inhabitants of Palestine perished by pestilence.

Dionysius Tell Mahre, our patriarch of we the Orthodox, lived in this period, and he wrote down in this book most of the events in great meticulousness. In his last days, he appended his book with a solemn words mingled with counsel and admonition. He said, in this period people were distressed more than in any other period of Tayoye (Arab) reign because of the avarice of the rulers. Any increase of taxes went to the governor who imposed taxes at will. Commissioners were appointed in every department to swallow up

the miserable people in one way or another. In al-Raqqa, they appointed a governor, called Qadi, as a tax collector, and administrators for special functions. One administrator was appointed to check on those who engendered corruption, another one to watch the people and send reports to the caliph, another to report on the yield of the land, and still another to look into peoples complaints, yet he was oppressive more than anyone else. This was in fact, what they did in every city. In order to know the extent of the iniquity to which avarice had led these commissioners, I only relate some of their actions.

When Ali, governor of Damascus, heard that a certain wealthy man had died, he summoned his sons and accused them of having killed him. They answered that their father died a natural death. He retorted, "No, but you have killed him in order to inherit him." He bound them in fetters and cast them into prison. At night, he had their father exhumed, slaughtered and reburied. In the morning, he summoned the men and said to them, "If you were telling the truth, bring out the body of your father from the grave." They did not know what had happened, and found their father slaughtered. The governor whipped them and confiscated their wealth. This same governor bought lean camels and delivered them to villagers to fatten them in the winter. However, because they were so emaciated, they died. The governor claimed that the camels belonged to the caliph, and imposed thirty dinars fine for each camel.

While he was traveling from one village to the other, the governor of Qurush (Cyrus) saw camels urinating on the road. He summoned the owner and said to him, "Why do you let your camels urinate on the road? Don't you know that the Muslims who pass through this road will slip and fall?" He imprisoned him and his camels and did not release him until he paid him two dinars. On another day, this governor saw a man falling off his donkey and his head was injured. When he learned that the donkey had bucked him off, he ordered that the donkey be killed because it bucked the owner off. When the poor owner witnessed the unjust verdict, he paid the governor two dinars and saved the donkey. When two people litigated each other, he imprisoned of both them, and both ended losing. Therefore, people stopped presenting complaints to him and were forced to observe the commandment, "Do not repay anyone evil for evil."¹⁹⁵⁷

The governors forbade the picking of grapes in their season until they exacted a thousand dinars from the owners of each vineyard. They did the same thing to (wine) presses. They decreed that no one should press until he had paid an amount of money demanded by the governors. The governors sealed the wine in the jars until those who sold it and those who bought it paid them money. They even imposed taxes on the roads and city gates. During the harvest season, they received a share of the crops. They did the same thing during the season of picking olives. All of these unjust procedures were concocted by Ahmad ibn Abi Dawud.

If we discuss the deeds of the subordinates of Ahmad's clan, our minds would be boggled and tongues become speechless from the abundance of their iniquity. Indeed, they waxed so powerful that no one could resist them or prevent them from satiating their lusts. One of them would stop a Christian from plowing his field and force him and his family to harvest his own field and to work for him. However, the governor never stopped him, and if a member of Ahmad's clan coveted a village, he doubled the taxes on its inhabitants until they were forced to sell it for the cheapest price. In this method, Ahmad usurped several villages. The people, even the Muslims, endured immense atrocities by the governors and by Ahmad's followers.

I shall proceed to relate one of the governors' anecdotes, which calls for mockery and reveals their hypocrisy. A devil of the kind which speaks from the inside of a possessed man, entered into the wife of a *banfo* (Muslim) husband from that region. Her parents brought a sorcerer to exorcise the devil. The devil, however, insulted the sorcerer before the crowd that gathered to watch this illusion. When the incantation of the sorcerer failed, he held a glaring sword to kill the devil. Immediately, the devil cried out through the mouth of the young woman, saying, "Hear me, O people. Although I am one of the sons of this earth, yet, by race, I am a subordinate and a friend of Ahmad ibn Abi Dawud and this sorcerer is trying to kill me." When the sorcerer heard the name of "subordinate," he fled lest they will kill him. However, the

¹⁹⁵⁷ See Romans 12:17.

subordinates (of Ahmad) tried to take revenge of the devil that resorted to them. Thus, like the devil, many people joined the subordinates to protect them from the governors and their subordinates by whom the crops of the miserable people were scattered and there was no one to help. The king (caliph) did not open his doors to people. Worse still, God overlooked us. If we called, he would not respond because we had angered him by our bad deeds. We became just what the apostle said, "We are engaged in iniquity and fraudulence, and think of evil and other abominable matters."¹⁹⁵⁸ Because of these and other things, God handed the Christians over to their enemies. Their haters had control over them and tried to decimate the freedom, which the laws of the Christians contained, in addition to the disgrace they suffered.

Therefore, I, with severe pain and deep sorrow, write down this chastisement in order to show how God overflowed us with his wrath. He unleashed his sword and stretched his bow preparing for us the means of his anger. Now, I (Patriarch Tell Mahre) dare say, "How much longer should I endure you? And what was required of me to do which I did not? Indeed, you have considered repentance of no importance, and you have hardened your hearts because of my prolonged patience with you. You have stored for yourselves punishment for the day of wrath." You may want to retort saying, "Why you, who hold the reins of the church, did not watch over her seriously that the Lord may listen to your prayer and keep his wrath away from her as Moses did when he prayed for Israel and he was answered." I say to such people that I am a sinner like other people, and do not have the same status as that of Moses."¹⁹⁵⁹ It might be said that, "Because of your piety you have been entrusted with the incomprehensible laws of the Lord, and given stewardship of this diverse life whose administration is considered the art of arts and knowledge of knowledges. With such experience, I have learned the difficulty that confronts the shepherds, especially if they have a sensitive heart, which is like decay to the bones. It is not that I am in need to offer your prudence a picture of how much I suffer from distress, and how many nights I spent sleepless, and how many days I found no rest in addition to disturbing thoughts which burn the heart and spread fever through the body. For everyone has turned aside and there is no one who understands or seeks God. If I were a saint like Moses and affectionate like Jeremiah, I would have been of use to the people who insist on its situation and do not change it. Indeed, Moses did not pray alone although he was silent, but had the people pray with him. And when they (the children of Israel) looked up and saw the Egyptians, they were terrified, as it was written, and they cried out to the Lord."¹⁹⁶⁰ Thus, the crying out of the people and their repentance opened the door before the prayer of Moses. As to us, who is amongst us who would repent and who would not? And who would accept counsel and adhere to the canons, who does not shake his head and disdain the canons and those who issued them? It is fair to be said to us what had been said to Jeremiah, "Do not pray for this people, for I will not listen to you."¹⁹⁶¹ And his saying, "Even if these three men—Noah, Daniel and Job—appealed for this people, I will not listen to them."¹⁹⁶² Therefore, like the Prophet Jeremiah, we say, "Woe to us for we have sinned!"¹⁹⁶³ for our heart has become drunk and our eyes darkened. Let us cry out with Paul "The time is short,"¹⁹⁶⁴ and "the wrath is come upon them to the uttermost."¹⁹⁶⁵ The signs are many. One of them is the rebellion about which the apostle said, "For that day shall not come...and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition."¹⁹⁶⁶ Therefore, I, the wretched, lament my life. And because of my sins I am about to swallow the cup even its dregs to the end. I mourn and my heart is sorrowful when I see with my own eyes the calamities the sons of the church suffer, and that everyday more calamities are added unto us. Now that I am standing at the door, imagine the inevitable, terrible punishment that will take place in the hereafter. The only solution for the freedom from the

¹⁹⁵⁸ Cf. Romans 1:29-30.

¹⁹⁵⁹ Exodus 14:13-14.

¹⁹⁶⁰ Exodus 14:10.

¹⁹⁶¹ Jeremiah 7:16-17.

¹⁹⁶² Ezekiel 14:14.

¹⁹⁶³ Lamentations 5:16.

¹⁹⁶⁴ 1 Corinthians 7:29.

¹⁹⁶⁵ 1 Thessalonians 2:16.

¹⁹⁶⁶ 2 Thessalonians 2:3.

bondages of sin is death, which I desire as the best positive thing to me. Hoping that that day shall come, I nourish my soul with what one of the saints had written to a person who, like me, suffered for the sake of the church.” He said, “Do not yield to the imagination concerning the general pains of the church. However, nourish yourself with hope and piety, and remember what the Lord said to his disciples, “If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you;” John 15:18 says “If the world hates you, keep in mind that it hated me first;” and what Paul said to Timothy, “In fact, everyone who wants to live a godly life in Christ Jesus will be persecuted.”¹⁹⁶⁷

Here, the learned Patriarch Dionysius nicknamed Tell Mahre, ended his chronicle, which he penned in two volumes in sixteen books, eight books in each one, and divided into chapters. He wrote it in response to the quest of Iyawannis, metropolitan of Dara. In each of them, he included the events of two hundred and sixty years beginning with the reign of Maurice, that is, 894 to 1154 of the Greeks (A.D. 573-834); the year of the death of Theophilus, emperor of the Romans; the death of Abu Ishaq (al-Mu’tasim); the reign of his son Harun (al-Wathiq) of the Tayoye (Arabs); and the reign of Michael, son of Theophilus, who was under age and his mother administered the state.

With the end of Book Twelve, also ended the chronicles of sixty-five years, that is from the year 898 of the Greeks (A.D. 587) to the year 963 (A.D. 652). During this period, eight Roman emperors were set up as well as six caliphs of the Tayoye (Arab) kingdom.

Glory to God, the Lord of generations and times. Yes and Amen.

Remark

With the help of God, we have collected the chronicles and the events of past generations from the books of ancient and trustworthy historians. We have also derived a pericope information from the books of prudent men who wrote down the events, which took place before their time and during their time up to their departure of this world, and bequeathed them to the forthcoming generations. Of these, we may mention St. Dionysius, (Tell Mahre) whose Chronicle has enriched our writing of history until today and after his death. Following his Chronicle, we began to add to the texture of the evidences. However, other than the Chronicle of the said Patriarch (Tell Mahre), we had no source except Ignatius, metropolitan of Melitene,¹⁹⁶⁸ who commenced his Chronicle from Constantine the Great with great brevity. Indeed, he had treated events rather haphazardly. However, we added his brief writings to our book until this time. From now onward, we will use his Chronicle, which we already remarked that it contains only small portions of the chronicles of the Roman emperors. His table contains only the names of our chief priest. It did not treat the Arab kingdom, which was dominant then as Dionysius had done, or the kingdom of the Turks, which commenced in his days or little after, and which is in control today. In addition, he did not concern himself much with the churches of other denominations, and did not write down any table to be mentioned. Therefore, it is necessary to transmit what is correct of the chronicles of peoples, and add them to what already had been written in order that this texture would not be deficient. In fact, it should be woven from the beginning until the end of our life (1199) in order to become a foundation on which, those concerned with historical chronicles, will build each one in his own time until the end of this ephemeral world.

¹⁹⁶⁷ 2 Timothy 3:12.

¹⁹⁶⁸ Ignatius III, metropolitan of Melitene was a learned man well versed in the Scriptures. He was proficient in the Greek and Syriac languages. Bar Hebraeus places him on par with Thomas of Harqal, and Jacob of Edessa. He died in 1094. See Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, I, ed., and translated into Latin by J. B. Abeloos and T. J. Lamy (Lovain, 1872), 439, and Ignatius Aphram I, Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, translated by Matti Moosa (Gorgias Press, 2003), 418-419.

BOOK THIRTEEN

WITH THE HELP OF GOD WE COMPOSE BOOK THIRTEEN BEGINNING WITH THE YEAR 1155 OF THE GREEKS (A.D. 844), TO THE YEAR 825 (SIC) OF THE INCARNATION OF OUR LORD; AND THE YEAR 224 OF THE KINGDOM OF THE ARABS; AND THE YEAR 6325 OF ADAM, THAT IS FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE TEMPORAL WORLD

Chapter One: On the beginning of the reign of Harun (al-Wathiq), king (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs), and Michael (III), emperor of the Romans; and Mor Yuhanon (John), the Patriarch

In the year 1155 (A.D. 844), Michael, son of Theophilus, reigned over the Romans. Since he was only three years old and under age, his mother Theodora administered the affairs of the state. She appointed Immanuel as head of the army.¹⁹⁶⁹

In the Arab kingdom, after the death of Abu Ishaq, that is Abu al-Abbas al-Mu'tasim, his son Harun nicknamed al-Wathiq succeeded him. The people rejoiced thinking that he would lighten their burdens imposed by his father, but he indulged in drinking, singing, amusement and in morally reprehensible actions, and left the affairs of the state in the hands of three men. The people found no relief from their oppression; on the contrary, the yoke placed upon their necks became heavier with exorbitant taxes. The three men appointed by this man, named al-Wathiq, to be responsible for the administration of the state treated the people with cruelty and injustice. Al-Wathiq knew nothing about what was happening in the country because of his indulgence in drinking wine and spending his time in whoredom day and night. His reign lasted five years and nine months during which no war occurred between the Romans and the Tayoye (Arabs).¹⁹⁷⁰

After administering the state with her son for fourteen years, Queen Theodora passed away in 1168 (A.D. 859), and her son Michael reigned. During his reign, six caliphs ruled over the Tayoye (Arabs). After the death of al-Wathiq, reigned Abu Ja'far al-Mutawakkil for fourteen years (847-861), and was assassinated. Then ruled Muhammad, nicknamed al-Muntasir (861-862), but after six months and few days, he was killed by Ahmad. A great carnage took place in Baghdad because the people were divided into two factions: one followed Muhammad, and the other followed Ahmad. After three days, they (the partisans of Ahmad) hardly were able to raise Muhammad's head on a lance. Knowing that he was killed, they fled and hid. Ahmad, nicknamed al-Musta'in (862-866), ruled for three years, but the Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims) opposed him and killed him because of his indulgence in immoral abominations. He drank wine excessively and had people killed without mercy for no reason. He did not care for the affairs of the state. After him reigned al-Muhtadi, first in Khurasan and later in Baghdad.¹⁹⁷¹

In this time in the year 1155 (A.D. 844), was found in Constantinople a patriarch who was a sorcerer. The Chalcedonians themselves wrote against him. They said that after the death of Theophilus, his wife the queen administered the state. She ordered that icons should be venerated and was supported by some of their leaders. Dissension took place among them by means of their patriarch who said that icons should not be venerated lest the veneration of idols be revived. Because he did not agree with the queen's order, he was ejected fervidly from his see and another patriarch was set up in his place. Shortly afterwards, he was found to be a sorcerer who wrote down magic formulas on crusts of dry barley bread, and worshiped idols. He also worshiped icons and thus was ejected from his see. The Chalcedonians further said

¹⁹⁶⁹ See A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, 1, 272-273, and George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 197-206; Tabari, 7, 317.

¹⁹⁷⁰ In *Tarikh al-Yaqubi*, III, 206, the author says that al-Wathiq was preoccupied with pleasure and left the affairs of the state to others. Tabari, 7, 318-341 does not say anything about the frivolous life of al-Wathiq. From his account, however, we gather that he was not interested in the affairs of the state and left them to others, especially the Turk, Bugha. According to Mas'udi, *Muruj al-Dhahab*, 4, 19 and 29, says that al-Wathiq ate and drank (wine) excessively.

¹⁹⁷¹ For an account of these caliphs, see *Tarikh al-Yaqubi*, III, 208-222; Mas'udi, *Muruj al-Dhahab*, 4, 19-109; Tabari, *Tarikh al-Umam wa al-Muluk*, 7, 341-493.

that they saw him behind the curtain of the altar with men of his faith chanting cantations with them and observing the defiled mysteries of paganism. For this reason, they removed the curtains from their churches. Now, if what they said is true, then how miserable they are, for their priesthood was bequeathed to them by the servants of Satan's bondage. If what they said is not true, as they have usually done in cases like these, they should then ascribe the love of leadership to their own leaders. Still, however, they are not absolved. In them is fulfilled the words the prophet, "They have abandoned the path of the truth and followed the path leading to death."¹⁹⁷² For when they deviated from the orthodox faith, that is the faith of the blessed Apostles and the inspired fathers, they were ready to fall into everything that leads to corruption. Indeed, they could do no more than confess the deposition of the one who practiced sorcery, adored idols and set up others. However, this one too, was found having the same ideas as his predecessor, so they ejected him and banished him. He cried out and wailed saying, "Take the leadership (the patriarchate) from me for which you accuse me of worshipping idols, for I am not this way." Thus, they deposed him without compassion.

The Introduction of the book of Ignatius of Melitene

Ancient, trustworthy historians like Eusebius of Caesarea, Socrates, Sozomen Zachariah (of Mitylene), John of Asia (Ephesus), Mor Jacob of Edessa, the Patriarch Dionysius Tell Mahre and others who loved to labor, wrote about ancient generations. Some of them wrote extensively on the history of the churches, and others with brevity. However, everything they have written is beneficial. They extended their historical writings to the year 1154 (A.D. 843), and from that date onward, no one appeared amongst us, the Syrians, to write down in a complete form the chronicles of kings or churches. This (deficiency) called me, I, the weak, to exert effort in writing with brevity the condition of kings. I have also related the events in simple manner in order to be read and comprehended by those who love the truth and appreciate succinctness.

I treated in this book the events from the time of Constantine the Great until our own time. I apologize for not writing down all of the events because work, like this one, requires plenty of time and extensive illustration. I have put down the sayings of some malphone (doctors) like Jacob of Edessa and Dionysius Tell Mahre without change or addition. Most of the information I found was collected in a Greek book, and I hope that no one will blame me if he found any addition or deficiency in the correct numbers of years. The reason is the delay in setting up a successor for the king (emperor) within a period of one year, a year and a half, or more or less. The same thing applies in the case of the patriarchs. For the ordination of a patriarch may delay for one year more or less, and thus events become intertwined with each other. However, there is no harm in his.

The discerning (reader) should know what we have said earlier, that is, that this book begins with the time of Constantine the Great, and this is the opening of this book. We have also said that we have recorded the events of this period, that is, from the time of Constantine until that of Michael, son of Theophilus (Michael III 842-867), according to time series. Therefore, we continue the events of this period, saying that Mor Dionysius Tell Mahre died on 22 August 1156 (A.D. 845), in the time of Michael, emperor of the Romans and Harun (al-Wathiq), caliph of the Arabs. His holy body was interred at the Monastery of Qinnesrin. He served the patriarchate for twenty-seven years, ordained a hundred bishops and penned down a precise history. In the time of Michael, emperor of the Romans, we, the Orthodox had patriarch John from the Monastery of Mor Zakai near al-Raqqa. He ascended the throne of the See of Antioch, and his ordination was performed in the Monastery of Mor Shila in the province of Sarug, where the council had assembled on November 21, 1158 (A.D. 847), with the laying on of hands of Mor Habib, bishop of Tarsus. He served the patriarchate for twenty-seven years and departed to his Lord at Rish 'Ayna on Thursday, January 3, 1185 (A.D. 874). He ordained twenty-six bishops. He was buried in the Monastery of Euspholis.

¹⁹⁷² Cf. Proverbs 12:28.

In this time, Mor Yusuf was patriarch of Alexandria, Egypt, who is mentioned by the Patriarch Dionysius Tell Mahre at the end of his chronicle.

Chapter Two: On the period of the Romans kings (emperors) Basil I, and Leo (IV Philosopher), and the reign of al-Muhtadi, caliph of the Arabs, and Ahmad who followed al-Mu'tamid; and the chief priests set up in our church consecutively

After reigning for twenty-five years, Michael, emperor of the Romans, passed away without an issue in the year 1179 (A.D. 868). He was succeeded by a certain person named Basil I (867-886) of whom Ignatius (of Melitene) said that, "We did not find the number of years he reigned in Greek sources." However, we found in an Arabic book that contained a table of the years in which each emperor reigned, that Basil had reigned for two years. Accordingly, we fixed the years of his reign. He was succeeded by his son Leo (VI Philosopher, 886-912) who reigned for twenty-five years and eight months. During this period, al-Muhtadi (869-870), caliph of the Arabs, died and was succeeded by Ahmad, nicknamed al-Mu'tamid (870-892), who ruled the Tayoye (Arabs) in Baghdad for twenty-three years and two months.

Queen Theophano, wife of Basil, ruled with her son Leo for twelve years. Conflict, however, took place between them with the result that either he will be covertly killed (assassinated) or he will kill her overtly. However, God had compassion on both of them. For Theophano, renowned for chastity, mercy and excellent characteristics, fell sick and died, and her son reigned after her as sole emperor. A year later, Leo's wife died. Leo, disdaining the canons and violating the rules of his predecessors, took a second wife and thus dropped in the eyes of the public. His actions went from bad to worse as he trampled upon the law and divorced his second wife for no reason and took a third wife. No one dared to censure him. He went on disdaining God's long patience and his mysterious judgments and took a fourth wife. Therefore, he had two wives at the same time.¹⁹⁷³ In order to exonerate himself, he attempted to issue a law that would allow the Christians to marry more than one wife, even four. He even allowed the women to marry up to four men, but their patriarch ejected him from the church. Afterwards, he was afflicted with the gripe of the bowels and died. He was succeeded by Alexander (912-913) who reigned for one year and one month. He succumbed to sorcerers and diviners, and his heart completely deviated from God. When he felt the blow of divine justice and that the end of his life was nigh, he handed the kingdom to Constantine, his half-brother from his father and not from his mother. Constantine (VII Porphyrogenitus) reigned for fifty-five years. When, as a child he assumed the government, his father appointed regents to administer the affairs of the state until he had come of age.¹⁹⁷⁴

During the reign of Constantine, son of Leo, the Arab kingdom was transferred to the clan of Abbas, a tribe whose origin goes back to their Prophet. Abu al-Abbas, nicknamed al-Mu'tadid, was the first, who ruled for twenty years, eight months and twenty-eight days.¹⁹⁷⁵

In the time of Constantine, son of Leo, the chief of the Bulgarians, Simon went forth with an evil eye on Constantinople. He triumphed over the Greeks and imprisoned them in the capital. He also assembled a huge army and dug up a ditch from Blaquerenes (Blaqaria in the Syriac text) to the Golden Gate. A great number of Roman notables and military leaders were killed in the wars that were provoked by this man, who did not desist from fighting against the capital during the entire life of Constantine.¹⁹⁷⁶

In the 23rd year of the reign of Constantine, Abu Muhammad nicknamed al-Muktafi (902-908), ruled over the Tayoye (Arabs) for six years. In the 29th year of Constantine, Abu Ja'far al-Muqtadir (908-932) ruled the Tayoye (Arabs) for twenty-four years. In the 53rd year of Constantine, Abu Mansur al-Qahir (932-943) ruled over the Tayoye (Arabs) for two years. In the 54th year of Constantine, Abu al-Abbas ruled the Tayoye (Arabs) for seven years. In the 55th year of his reign, after he fell sick and realized that his end was

¹⁹⁷³ See George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 229-231.

¹⁹⁷⁴ Ostrogorsky, *Ibid.* 231-233.

¹⁹⁷⁵ The Abbasid caliphs were during this period under the power of the Buwayhids. Al-Mu'tadid ruled between 892 and 902. See Philip Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 470.

¹⁹⁷⁶ A.A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, 1, 315-320, and Ostrogorsky, 226-227.

nigh, Constantine designated his son-in-law, Romanus I (Lecapenus, 919-944) in his place. He and the patriarch placed the crown on his head.¹⁹⁷⁷ *End of the narrative of the emperors.*

In the year 1180 (A.D. 869), in the time of king Leo, fire kindled the capital Constantinople consuming houses, market places, inns and the Church of St. Thomas the Apostle of which no trace was left. Other churches were also burned down by fire, which almost consumed the entire city.

In the same year, an eclipse of the sun occurred in midday and stars appeared in the firmament. On the same day, there was severe thunder and lightning while there were no clouds in the sky. Seven days later, violent and disturbing wind blew forth destroying most of the high buildings. People were scared and it was even thought that the end of the world was at hand. In addition, in that year, fire broke out in the capital and seventy men of the royal placed were consumed by fire, not to mention the many houses, churches and other buildings burned down by fire. In other places, many people were consumed by fire at night as they were trying to extinguish it.

In this time, an earthquake of great magnitude took place in Thrace, and many villages and churches were buried in the ditch caused by the quake.

Patriarch Ignatius from the Monastery of Harbaz succeeded Patriarch Yuhanon. He was consecrated in the Monastery of Mor Zakai in Callinicus on June 2 of the year 1189 of the Greeks (A.D. 878), by the laying on of hands of Mor Timothy, bishop of Samosata. He served the patriarchate for four years and ten months. He was transported to our Lord in the town of Muraiba on Tuesday, 26 of March of Passion Week of the Savior, and was buried in the great church of Muraiba. He ordained twenty-six bishops. In the year 1180 of the Greeks (A.D. 869), Mor Tuma (Thomas the learned, prudent and holy) was ordained a bishop for Melitene. In 1200, Tuma was succeeded to the See of Melitene by another able bishop named Ezekiel.

After the death of Mor Ignatius from the Monastery of Harbaz, the church remained without a patriarch for four years. This was because there was no capable and righteous man on whom all the bishops could agree. Therefore, they were divided. For whenever someone nominated a candidate, others opposed him and maintained that other bishops were also qualified (for the patriarchal office). Thus, every two or three bishops had their own candidate. After four years of dissension, the faithful people were motivated by zeal to act. Each congregation pressured its own bishop to come to terms (on a candidate) soon. The bishops assembled in Amid and remained for many days contradicting each other. Finally, they agreed to cast a ballot on the names of certain bishops. They wrote down the names of twelve bishops and placed them on the altar before the Holy Mysteries. The ballot fell upon Mor Theodosius from the Monastery of Qartmin (Mor Gabriel Monastery). He was set up as patriarch on Sunday, February 5 of the year 1198 of the Greeks (A.D. 878), by the laying on of the hand of Mor Timothy, bishop of Samosata. He served the patriarchate for eight years and four months and passed away on June 1, 1207 (896), and was buried in the Monastery of Qartmin. He ordained thirty-three bishops.

In the year in which Mor Theodosius passed away, the bishops assembled in Beth Batin in Harran and conducted the election of a patriarch by lot. The winner was Dionysius, a native of the village Ashit of Sarug. He came from the Monastery of Beth Batin. He was proclaimed a patriarch on Tuesday April 3, 1208 (A.D. 897), by the laying on of hands of Mor Jacob, bishop of Homs. He served the patriarchate for thirteen years and passed away in 1220 (A.D. 919) on Tuesday, April 3 of Easter at the Monastery of Beth Batin, and was buried in the same monastery. He ordained fifty-one bishops. He was succeeded by Patriarch Yuhanon from the Pillar Monastery in Quzhil in the province of Antioch. Yuhanon was consecrated at the Monastery of Tell Safra outside Harran on Saturday 21, 1221 (A.D. 920), by the laying on of hands of Mor Yuhanon (John), bishop of Mar'ash. He served the patriarchate for twelve years and seven months, and passed away on the last Saturday of November at the Monastery of Euspholis in Rish 'Ayna. He ordained forty-one bishops.

In the year 1237 (A.D. 926), Basilius, from the Monastery of Euspholis in Rish 'Ayna, was chosen a patriarch. He was ordained a patriarch in Muraiba, a village of Rish Kipha, on Friday August 18 by the laying

¹⁹⁷⁷ On Romanus Lecapenus, see Ostrogorsky, *Ibid.* 231-239.

on of hands of Mor Jacob, bishop of Anazarba. He served the patriarchate for eleven years and seven months and passed away on Wednesday of Passion Week, April 25. He was buried in the Eastern Monastery. He ordained thirty-two bishops.

In this time, Gregorius the logician (rhetorician) of the Monastery of Mor Shila was ordained as bishop for Claudia and Melitene; Cyril from the Edessa Mountain was ordained for Jerusalem; Philoxenus from the Monastery of Euspholis was ordained for Edessa; and Iyawannis from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum in the province of Samosata, for Amid.

In the year 1247 (A.D. 936), Yuhanon from the Monastery of the Solitaries in the Black Mountain, was ordained a patriarch on Sunday, August 8 in the town of Tal'ada in the province of Antioch, by the laying on of hands of Mor Athanasius, bishop of Tarsus. He served the patriarchate for nineteen years and ten months. He passed away on July 3 in the same monastery. *End of the narrative of the fathers.*

Chapter Three: On the commencement of the reign of Romanus, king (emperor) of the Romans. During his reign three weak Tayoye (Arab) caliphs were set up and the Romans were emboldened and seized Tayoye (Arab) towns; the establishment of two monasteries in this period

During the reign of Romanus (I Lecapenus) over the Romans, Simon the Bulgarian attacked Constantinople once more. He burned by fire the countries of Thrace and Macedonia. He laid siege against Adrianople and choked it. Its inhabitants, suffering from hunger, surrendered it to him. Romanus wanted to reconcile with him by gifts and cunning. Simon stipulated to meet the emperor first and then discuss peace. The emperor prepared a suitable place, and the two met on a boat on the sea. Both expressed perfect love. When the Romans secured the tranquility of the western front, they set their faces towards the east¹⁹⁷⁸ where the regions of Cappadocia, Armenia, Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia), Syria, Palestine, Jerusalem and Antioch were subject to the Tayoye (Arabs) since they captured them in the time of Umor ibn al-Khattab, the third Arab caliph (from Muhammad), and in the time of Heraclius, emperor of the Romans, that is, from the year 950 of the Greeks (A.D. 639) to 1268 (A.D. 957), a period of 368 years. As the caliphs of the Tayoye (Arabs) Abu al-Abbas and his successors were weak and cowards who engaged in dancing, entertainment and immoral practices, the Tayoye (Arab) state began to falter. For those who pursue lust will lose even their physical prowess. It is said that the soul that is defiled with evil, loses its discretion. Thus, the Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims) having become weak, were overwhelmed by the Romans and expelled them; the Tayoye (Arabs) could not meet them in war.

In this period, a mighty man and an experienced warrior named Cyriacus, (John Curcuas, general under Romanus) appeared among the Romans. He came to Melitene in the fertile Lesser Armenia in the province of Cappadocia. Melitene was surrounded by two walls and a moat filled with water. He laid siege against it for four years but could not capture it by military force. Distressed by hunger, the inhabitants sent an envoy to the caliph asking for help. They promised that if the caliph did not send help, they would surrender the city. The Romans gave them forty days respite. However, when the envoy left Melitene, the Romans seized him, and he, fearing death, pledged to deliver the city to them. He concocted a stratagem as follows: He carried a message in his hand and entered the city. He said (to the inhabitants), "I went to the caliph of the Tayoye (Arabs) and this is his letter. The caliph will soon send troops, and they have sent me to inform you of their departure. So, you should open the gates when they arrive, in order to enter the city, have rest and then drive the Romans out." With these words, he pacified them and pretended he would go out to bring in the Tayoye (Arab) troops. Instead, he went to the Romans and informed them of his stratagem. He led their forces, which were in arms and came at night pretending that he had come from a place very distant from the Roman camp. The Romans moved and their trumpets sounded the shouts of war. Those who were ready reached the northern gate at night. The gates opened and they entered the city and seized the gates and the walls. In the morning, the entire Roman force entered in the city, but they did not kill any Tayoye (Arabs) because they had sworn to the envoy not to do so. However, when the Tayoye

¹⁹⁷⁸For a thorough analysis of these events, see Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 231-241; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, pp. 161-162.

(Arabs) departed the city, they regretted not killing them for fear that they might come back. However, accepting a worthless counsel, they destroyed the walls of the city leaving breaches in them. They transported some Tayoye (Arabs) to Theodosiopolis in Armenia. The morale of the mighty Cyriacus was strengthened, and he seized, with his brother's help, Pesilin in the province of Kharshana (Charsianon), Hisn Mansur, Kesum and the entire region of Cilicia.¹⁹⁷⁹

In this period, the Greeks controlled Antioch, all of Syria, Palestine and Jerusalem, especially since the Tayoye (Arabs) were in a state of fright. Then the Romans laid siege against Edessa and threatened it with war. During the siege, a Muslim named Ibn Hamdan¹⁹⁸⁰ assembled an army and came to Melitene, which was ruined, spoiled it and all of Cappadocia.

While Edessa was under siege, its inhabitants sent an envoy to Emperor Romanus saying, "If you lift the siege from the city, we will give you the precious kerchief which the Savior Jesus sent to the believing King Abgar." The emperor agreed, and when they handed him the kerchief, he removed the Romans outside the boundaries of Edessa.¹⁹⁸¹ It is said that this emperor is the one who forced the Edessans to hand him the kerchief.

In this time John Curcuas, captain of the host, died and another one from the emperor race named Tzimisce, nicknamed John (969-976), was appointed in his place, and he gained great renown. Before his death, Romanus handed the kingdom to Constantine (VII Porphyrogenitus, 913-959) who was born in the purple (from the royal family) and who was his son-in-law.¹⁹⁸²

In this period, Mor Basilius from the Monastery of Qartmin (the Monastery of Mor Gabriel), was ordained a metropolitan for Takrit and the east; Joseph from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum was ordained a metropolitan for Amid; Abraham from the Pillar Monastery or the Monastery of Tal'ada, was ordained a metropolitan for Edessa; Iyawannis for Melitene; and Jeremiah for Jerusalem.

In the year 1165 of the Greeks (A.D. 854), in the time of the Emperor Romanus, Mor Iyawannis was summoned from the Monastery of the Pillar in Qurzhil, situated on the River Afrin. He was set up as patriarch of Antioch in the town of Tal'ada on Sunday, July 16 by the laying on of hands of Jacob, bishop of al-Raqqa. He served the patriarchate for two years and six and a half months. He ordained ten bishops and passed away on the last Friday of January, and was buried in the Monastery of Mor Solomon in Duluk (Doliche). In his time, Mor Iliyya (Elijah) from the Monastery of Zuqnin was ordained as bishop for Melitene.

In this period, Mor Dionysius from the Monastery of Qartmin was ordained a patriarch on Sunday, November 28 in the town of Tal'ada itself by the laying on of the hand Mor Jacob, bishop of al-Raqqa. He served the patriarchate for two years and six months. He died on Sunday, June 2 and was buried at the Monastery of Qartmin. He ordained eight bishops. In his time and the time of Mor Ilyya, bishop of Melitene, the Monastery of Sergisiyya and the Monastery of Bar Jaji were established. This book contains some of their chronicles. The chronicle written by Li'azar son of the brother of rabban (monk) David from the same monastery begins from the day the Monastery of Sergisiyya was established on the confines of Jubas. It was built by a man named Gayasa, a Persian from the city of Oshnouk. He was renowned for his noble origin, good looks and piety. However, being unable to conceal his excellences in his native town, he sojourned from one place to the other until he reached the bank of the Euphrates and dwelt in a monastery near the village of Tourshana. From there he moved to the country of Claudia and built a monastery near the town of Gregoriana. Shortly afterwards, three monks came from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (the Za'faran Monastery) in Mardin. They were Noah, Sawera (Severus) and Emmanuel. They did not desire to remain there but moved to the confines of Jubas, and the natives of the country rejoiced to see them. There they found a place suitable for a monastery in which lived few men with their cattle. Since the monks liked

¹⁹⁷⁹ Cf. Ostrogorsky, *Ibid.* 244-246.

¹⁹⁸⁰ He is Sayf al-Dawla Ali ibn Abd Allah ibn Hamdan. See Philip Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, (1970), 457-458; Ostrogorsky, 244-245.

¹⁹⁸¹ Ostrogorsky, 245-246.

¹⁹⁸² A.A. Vasiliev, 1, 302 and Ostrogorsky, 260-264.

that spot, the natives ejected the men who were living in it and their cattle. They took Mor Gayasa to the governor, the protosaphaire (Head of the Royal Court) Mor Joseph, known as Goumaya. Joseph welcomed them, and they built a monastery. Gayasa, the monks and John who were akin to him, exerted great effort in building the monastery. When it was completed, they called it Sergisiyya in commemoration of the name of the two martyrs, Sergius and Bacchus, some of whose relics they had with them. This event was done in the time of the Patriarch Dionysius and Mor Iliyya, metropolitan of Melitene and Jubas, who was called from the Monastery of Zuqnin in the year 1269 of the Greeks (A.D. 958).

When the Monastery of Sergisiyya gained renown, Mor Yuhanon (John) the ascetic of the Edessa Mountain came to settle in it. As they (Mor Gayasa and the monks) adorned its church, which was built with bricks and wood and different ornaments, they, kindled by love, invited Mor Yuhanon, the disciple of Mor Marun, to the monastery. Mor Yuhanon had received high education at the hand of Amaqim, the son of the great Edessa Mountain. He became well versed in logic, profane knowledge, and in the Holy Scriptures. He was adorned with virtues and holiness, and when he began to teach, he gained greater reputation than all his contemporaries did and his fame spread far and wide. Then the monk-priest David, son of the aunt of Yuhanon (John) the Nazirite, and the priest Musa attended the monastery. After Gayas spent twelve years as an archimandrite, he felt that his end was nigh. He called unto him John the ascetic, John the disciple of Marun, and his disciple Iliyya (Elijah), to whom Gayasa trusted the administration of the monastery by proxy, and then departed this life in peace. He was buried in the southern portico of the church overlooking the north. After Iliyya (Elijah) became the archimandrite of the monastery, and the number of monks increased, he pulled down the church and enlarged it, furnishing it with household effects, books, gold and silver vessels. Joseph, the governor of the region, helped with donations. Later in his life, he became a monk. Iliyya (Elijah) appointed John, the ascetic, monk as his deputy. When the monastery became famous for science, knowledge, exposition of the Scriptures and the debates with John, the disciple of Marun, it was attended by many to be educated. In fact, no one was seen at the monastery without holding a book to read, and the monastery housed many books. In addition, many calligraphers flourished in this monastery. Patriarch Yuhanon (John) known as Sarigta (he of the mat, saddlecloth) came to the monastery and decided to stay in it, but the envious heretics forced him to leave.

John, the ascetic, and David, son of his aunt, became monks on the same day. Together they received the priesthood, lived in the same cell, and died in the same week. We mention this in order that, because of them, all people may praise God. Musa (Moses), the companion of John, the ascetic, lived four years after him. When he sensed that he was going to die, he dug his grave with his own hands. A day after he finished the digging, he died. Also died in the same monastery the priest David, and Iliyya (Elijah) the archimandrite who loved the wilderness, and the said John was appointed an archimandrite in his place. He took with him Mor Denha, bishop of Samosata, and went on traveling. They visited the people known for virtue in Syria, Beth Nahrin and Phoenicia. They went to Jerusalem and performed the pilgrimage. Then they went to the Egyptian wilderness and returned to Syria after two years. Bishop Denha concluded his life in the Black Mountain near Antioch. Iliyya returned to the monastery (Sergisiyya) where he passed away.

On the Monastery of Bar Jaji

Eutychus, patrician of the region, urged Yuhanon (John), the disciple of Marun, to accompany him and adorn the monastery, which he had bought and rebuilt in the region. Eutychus, also called Kulaib, had a man from Takrit called rabban (monk, teacher) Iliyya (Elijah) Bar Jaji dwell in the monastery. But he passed away before the completion of the monastery. Then, the patrician forced Mor Yuhanon to complete the building and ornamentation of the monastery, and adorning it with his teachings. Mor Yuhanon responded and built in the monastery a church in the name of the Forty Martyrs (of Sebastea) and cells in the interior. He called it Bar Jaji after the name of Bar Jaji who had acquired it. Many monks attended the monastery, and their number increased to one hundred-twenty. They were educated by Mor Yuhanon in religious sciences. After spending twelve years in the monastery, Mor Yuhanon desired the solitary life. He departed at night, crossed the Euphrates River and went up to the place called the Blessed Mountain where Mor

Ahrun (Aaron) had built a monastery. When the brethren learned of what he did, they went to seek him, but he refused to go back to the Monastery of Bar Jaji. When the monks of the Monastery of Sergisiyya learned this, they went to bring him back to their monastery, but he refused. He remained in that monastery (of Mor Ahrun (Aaron)), for four years. Mor Yuhanon passed away at a good old age and was buried in the Blessed Mountain. His death took place in the month of June of the year 1324 (A.D. 1013) on the festival day of John the Baptist.

After organizing the students and teachers, Yuhanon, the archimandrite of the Monastery of Sergisiyya, thought of rebuilding the church. God prepared for him a monk from Harran named Emmanuel, a disciple of Maphryono Cyriacus. Emmanuel suggested that the church be built with stones and lime, a matter that pleased the archimandrite, but lime was not found in that area. Emmanuel found stones from which he extracted lime, and paid three hundred dinars for the building of the church. They fixed the dome with fired bricks, set up three altars and built a southern wing of wood in two levels made especially for the teachers and students. They plastered the church inside and outside with gypsum. Next to the wing, they built rooms for the common people, and allotted a special room for dining and a house for strangers. The entire project took three years. The opening of the church was attended by Iliyya, the first archimandrite of this monastery, John the disciple of Mor Morun who was still living, Iyawannis, bishop of Melitene and Theodosius, bishop of Mar'ash. After the opening ceremony, each one returned to his own place. After the consecration of the church, Emmanuel passed away and was buried in the western corner of the pillar in the year 1312 (A.D. 1001). In the time of the archimandrite John, son of Elisha, a merchant from Takrit, extended the ducts to conduct water to the great wing in front of the church. He also built a cistern to the east of the church to water the vegetables planted by the monks. Joshua the priest, helped archimandrite John thirty years to make the strangers comfortable. In that year, the sea of knowledge John, the disciple of Marun, was found dead in bed, yet he was never sick. He was buried under the stone slab of the altar, and was succeeded as an archimandrite by Abraham of Semando. I, Li'azar (Lazarus) entered the monastery in 1290 (A.D. 979), and recorded this narrative in brief after the passage of forty-five years. *End of narrative.*

Chapter Four: On the reign of Constantine and his successors Romanus II, and Nicephorus; and on the reign of the Tayoye (Arabs) in this period of Abu Ishaq, Abu al-Qasim and Muti'; and on the patriarchate of Yuhanon (VII) Sarigta who built the Barid Monastery

In the year 1268 (A.D. 957), Constantine (VII), son-in-law of Romanus, reigned over the Romans. He was a well-versed rhetorician, humble and praised for his virtues.

In the same year, Abu Ishaq nicknamed al-Muktafi (902-908), became caliph of the Tayoye (Arabs) for four years and two months.

In this time, King (Emperor) Constantine sent his son Basil to fight the Tayoye (Arabs), who were led by Ibn Hamdan who could not resist the Romans. The Romans attacked Samosata and seized it. In this same time, they received the report that Constantine had died and was succeeded by his son Romanus, who ruled in the year 1272 (A.D. 961). In the same year Abu Ishaq, caliph of the Tayoye (Arabs) passed away and was succeeded by Abu al-Qasim, also nicknamed al-Muktafi. He ruled six years and one month.

Romanus (II), son of Constantine, paid great honor to the counselors (Senate) and to the nobles, and he showed magnanimity to everyone. As Ibn Hamdan had been fighting the Romans in the time of Romanus, the emperor dispatched Nicephorus (Phocas), and Iwanni (John) Tzimisces and the Roman army to fight the Tayoye (Arabs). When Nicephorus arrived in Aleppo, the people surrendered it to him. The Tayoye (Arabs) were greatly grieved because of Romans' control of Aleppo in 1247 (A.D. 936). As the Romans were preparing to fight the Tayoye (Arabs), they received the news of the death of their emperor, Romanus, and withdrew. The Tayoye (Arabs) pursued them but the Romans went back and defeated them, and Ibn Hamdan fled. However, the Romans could not tarry too long because continuous reports came from the capital urging them to return and set up an emperor. When the Roman armies reached Caesarea Cappadocia, they held the same opinion as Tzimisces and proclaimed Nicephorus II Phocas (963-969)

Domesticus an emperor in 1275 (A.D. 964). He designated (John) Tzimisces his successor and sent him to fight the Tayoye (Arabs), and Nicephorus went to Constantinople and was confirmed in the kingdom.

Tzimisces marched against Cilicia, fought the Tayoye (Arabs), and defeated them, and seized Tarsus, Mopsuestia (al-Massisa). When he reached Antioch, the Tayoye (Arabs) departed it and fled, and the Romans controlled all of Syria.¹⁹⁸³

At this time Abu al-Qasim, caliph of the Tayoye (Arabs), died and al-Fadil reigned in 1278 (A.D. 967).

After reigning for eleven years Nicephorus, emperor of the Romans, became arrogant. His wife, Queen Theophano, plotted against him for being unfaithful in marriage. She made a secret pact with Tzimisces who entered upon Nicephorus at night and killed him for the pretext that he cared no more for the wellbeing of the kingdom. Tzimisces assumed power.¹⁹⁸⁴

In this time, the Chalcedonians attracted the eunuch Stephen, metropolitan of Amasia and made him a patriarch in Constantinople, but he was disdained by everyone.

When Tzimisces was on his way to ascend the throne, he went to Neocaesarea, met a solitary named Anton, and spent the night with him in the mountain. In the morning, the solitary predicted saying, "Very shortly you will assume the kingdom." When the prediction came to be true, Tzimisces built a church on that spot with no match in the entire country of the Romans. He had it built with marble and gilded with gold and silver. He fixed on top of it a huge golden cross as tall as he was. It was so enormous that even the Turks were unable to pull it down. It was called Qir (Kyrie) Anton.

After Mor Dionysius, Mor Abraham from Tar'il in the province of Aleppo was ordained a patriarch for the See of Antioch on Sunday, May 25, 1273 (A.D. 962) at Tal'ada by the laying on of hands of Mor Ayyub (Job), bishop of Zoghma. Abraham served the patriarchate for nine months and five days. Praise God's unfathomable designs. He probably hurried to transport him to himself lest he become lax by time and his firm will wane. It was said about him that he was humble and of meek heart. Even when he assumed the office of the patriarchate, he never changed his name, his vestment or his food. He never mounted a beast with a saddle, but rather went around riding a lowly donkey, and only when he felt tired along the way. He was a disciple of Mor Anastasius, archimandrite of the Monastery of Cercesium in the province of Mar'ash. He was the one who ordained his master as bishop for Aleppo. When he felt that his end was near, he went to his master and died at a place in Aleppo on May 4. His master performed his funeral in the presence of three other bishops and more than two hundred priests, monks, deacons and a large crowd of believers. The church lamented his death. He ordained seven bishops including Cyriacus whom he ordained a metropolitan for Takrit.

In the time of Nicephorus, king (emperor) of the Romans, Mor Yuhanon (John) from the Monastery of Tar'il, was ordained a patriarch on July 29 in the town of Kafr Nabu in the region of Sarug by the laying on of hands of Sergius, bishop of Sarug. He ordained forty-eight bishops, one of them Ignatius Isaac al-Sa'i. The reason he was called al-Sa'i was that he visited every day the monasteries in the Edessa Mountain and provided them with provisions. He built a monastery close to the city (of Edessa) which until this day is known as the Sa'i Monastery. He also built the great church of Melitene. It was Patriarch Yuhanon known as Sarigta, who for his excessive asceticism, moved to the region of Melitene. Therefore, we find it necessary to elaborate on him.

¹⁹⁸³ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 165-170, treats these events with marked details, and offers a variety of information not found in the above account.

¹⁹⁸⁴ Bar Hebraeus disagrees with the reason Michael Rabo gives for the murder of Nicephorus based on the authority of Metropolitan Ignatius of Melitene. He says that Nicephorus married Romanus' wife, Theophano, who had two sons from Romanus. Nicephorus decided to make the sons eunuchs in order to continue the royal line through him. Theophano decided to kill him and save her sons. When Nicephorus was deep in sleep, Theophano brought upon him Tzimisces and some men with him. They killed him in his bed and more than seventy men of the guards who kept the gate of the palace. Bar Hebraeus says that he discovered the cause of the murder of Nicephorus in accurate books, but does not mention these books. See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 173. Cf. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 251.

Since the Tayoye (Arab) conquest of Syria, our patriarchs of the Orthodox Church moved between Antioch, Harran, al-Raqqa (Callinicus), and Edessa. Now, since the Romans controlled Syria, Emperor Nicephorus saw that Melitene and Hanzit were desolate, and thought to settle people in them. However, the Romans did not agree to this idea for fear of the Tayoye (Arabs). Some people advised him to settle the Syrians living in the Tayoye (Arab) regions within them, because they were used to living with the Romans and the Tayoye (Arab)s. Nicephorus summoned the Patriarch Mor Yuhanon, known as Sarigta, and pledged to him that he would reconcile him with the Chalcedonians and prevent the Chalcedonians from harming his people, if he agreed to the settling of the Syrians in Melitene, Hanzit and Qallisura. He also promised to establish a residence for him in these towns that he may not return to the Tayoye (Arab, Muslim) countries. The patriarch received the emperor's seals as a testimony of his pledges and agreed to reside in these places for two reasons: The first reason was that he wanted to be far away from the Chalcedonian patriarchs who were molesting our churches and bishops since the Romans ruled Syria. The second reason was that the patriarch believed that the emperor would fulfill his promises. The Patriarch came to Melitene and gathered people from every quarter. The city teemed with Syrians, so that churches and monasteries were rebuilt. He found a place called al-Barid (Syriac Qariro, cold), and in 1280 (A.D. 969), he began to build in it a church and a monastery. Thus, he fulfilled the emperor's desire, but the emperor reneged on his promises and was inclined to the stratagems of the Greeks. He summoned the patriarch to the capital pretending to negotiate with him, but his true intention was to decimate our Orthodox faith.

In 1280 (A.D. 969), Mor Yuhanon the patriarch arrived in the capital accompanied by Tuma, metropolitan of Jerusalem and brother of Anastasius, abbot of the Barid Monastery, Mor Constantine, bishop of Mar'ash, Sergius, bishop of Apamea and Jacob, bishop of Semando. They met with the Chalcedonian bishops headed by their eunuch patriarch and engaged in twenty-one debate sessions in two months. They were called to debate every two or three days, and each time the Chalcedonians were defeated. When the Chalcedonians realized that they could not condemn their opponents by debating them, they instigated the emperor who summoned the patriarch and his bishops and said to them harshly, "Either you submit to our faith and thus receive double honor, or be banished." They replied, "It is impossible that we will proclaim two natures of the Lord Christ, or accept the Council of Chalcedon." The emperor cast them into prison for four months until he decided their fate. During this period, Tzimisces killed Nicephorus and ruled in his place. He ordered that the prisoner be released. The patriarch, the bishops and their disciples returned from exile. The patriarch went to the Monastery of Mor Barsoum in Melitene. Then he returned to the Barid Monastery, renovated it, and stayed in it for fifteen years after being saved from the men of iniquity. He died and was buried in this monastery.

In this year Agapius, the Chalcedonian patriarch, entered Antioch, and saw the great number of our faith the Orthodox (the anti-Chalcedonians) who had been well established in the city since the beginning of the rule of the Tayoye (Arabs). He went back to Constantinople, received orders from the emperor, and then returned to Antioch. At the beginning, he resorted to the method of enticement and gifts to win the (non-Chalcedonian) nobles in order to make them known to the emperor. He personally rebaptized the children of the nobles and acted as their godfather. To each one of them he sent an invitation. With such methods, he seduced the nobles and pressured others to accept the Council of Chalcedon. Those who did not consent, he expelled from the city. Like a heathen, he confiscated their homes and their possessions, and destroyed their great church. The iniquitous (Chalcedonians) threw the Gospel, and other books, the *Mirun* (Holy Chrism) and the Holy Mysteries (the Communion) into the fire. Nevertheless, God made a miracle to shame them and encourage the believers. For behold the books and the Holy Mysteries were not consumed by the fire. Despite this, they, like Pharaoh, hardened their hearts. They did not give glory to God the doer of miracles, but insisted in their blasphemy saying that this was the work of magic. In them was fulfilled the saying of the Gospel, "But whoever blasphemes against the Holy Spirit will never be forgiven in this life or the life to come."¹⁹⁸⁵ Nebuchadnezzar was a heathen, but when he saw the blessed children

¹⁹⁸⁵ Mark 3:29.

unharmd by fire, he confessed and glorified the name of their God.¹⁹⁸⁶ Then, Agapius, the heretic, blasphemed the Holy Spirit and brought out the Orthodox in the night of the festival of the Savior (Epiphany). When they came out through the gate called the Water Gate, they blessed the water and fulfilled the festival (of Epiphany) on the bank of the River Oriti, which the Arabs called Maqlub (the inverted).¹⁹⁸⁷ From there, they spread into other regions. Agapius, however, continued to persecute our people and the Armenians (because they were anti-Chalcedonians), and never let any of them show up in the city. Finally, the Lord afflicted him with his wrath.

Chapter Five: On the period when Tzimisces and his successors Basil and Constantine ruled the Romans. During this period, the Tayoye (Arabs) were ruled by al-Fadil, Abu Bakr and others, and the emigration of the Armenian people to Cappadocia

In the year 1287 (A.D. 976), John Tzimisces (976-969) ruled the Romans.¹⁹⁸⁸ He was experienced in military affairs, of strong body and a courageous warrior. Before he assumed power, he resided in Melitene, Hanzit and other well-known locations, which still exist to this day. When he assumed power, he showed magnanimity to everyone. He released the prisoners and built a great church in the capital (Constantinople). He was loved by the army because of his victory in wars, and for adding cities and regions to the Roman domain. Three years after coming to power, he died and was lamented by the nobles and the people.

In 1290 (A.D. 979) Basil II (975-1025) and Constantine VIII (1025-1028), sons of Romanus reigned. They were tied by a true bond of love.¹⁹⁸⁹ Because Basil had more prowess, he left his brother in the capital and went forth to fight the Tayoye (Arabs). He reigned for fifty-five years and was famous for his victories, and for subjugating many countries. He spent his life fighting in Greater Armenia and the western regions.

In the year 1300 (A.D. 989), the Armenians began to leave Greater Armenia to Cilicia. The Emperor Basil had taken from the Armenians the domains which had been seized by Sennacherib (king of Assyria), and instead gave them Sebastea in Cappadocia.¹⁹⁹⁰ There, their number multiplied and they were scattered throughout Cappadocia, Cilicia and Syria. It is said that the name of Sennacherib came to the Armenians via the Aramaeans. After the sons of Sennacherib killed their father, as it is written by Isaiah who says, "One day when Sennacherib was worshiping in the temple of his god Nisroch, his sons Adrammelech and Sharezer cut him down with a sword and they escaped to the land of Ararat."¹⁹⁹¹ They escaped to the land of the Kurds, that is the Mountains of Qardu, where they were mingled with the Armenians and gained a great renown. Their tribe was called "the Sennacheribians," in Armenian, "the Sinkarimaya."

Emperor Basil II also subjugated the Bulgarians and seized their kingdom. After he administered the kingdom with serenity for fifty-five years, he passed away and the kingdom passed to his brother Constantine (VIII) in the year 1034. Constantine ruled for two years and ten months.¹⁹⁹² He was meek, lofty-minded and prudent in his administration. Upon his death, the kingdom passed to his nephew

¹⁹⁸⁶ Daniel, entire Chapter 3, particularly 28-30.

¹⁹⁸⁷ Could this mean the Orontes which the Arabs call al-Asi?

¹⁹⁸⁸ This is the date of the death of John Tzimisces who actually ascended the throne in 969. The readers should realize that the dates of the Roman emperors in the ninth century offered by Ignatius of Melitene do not always harmonize with the same dates offered by modern writers on the Byzantine Empire.

¹⁹⁸⁹ The actual dates of Basil II, surnamed Bulgaroctonus (the Bulgar Slayer), are 976-1025, and those of his brother Constantine VIII are 976-1028. See Michael Psellus, *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers: the Chronographia of Michael Psellus*, translated by E. R. A. Sewter (Routledge and Kegan Paul Press, and Yale University Press, 1953, reprinted Penguin Books, 1966), 27-27-49 on Basil II and 53-59 on Constantine VIII, hereafter Michael Psellus *Chronographia*; A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, I (The University of Wisconsin Press, 1964), 302, and Asad J. Rustam, *al-Rum ws Silatibim bi al-Arabs* II (Beirut: Dar al-Makshuf, 1956), p. 296-298 which contains a table of the Roman Emperors from 610 to 1453. The date of Basil and Constantine are on p. 297.

¹⁹⁹⁰ For a thorough analysis of this subject see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades: Conflict between Christendom and Islam* (Gorgias Press, 2008), 66 ff and the many sources the author consulted.

¹⁹⁹¹ 2 Kings 19:37.

¹⁹⁹² Constantine ruled for two years and ten months. The date of Constantine III as emperor was 1025-1028. See Michael Psellus, 53.

Romanus III Argyrus (1028-1034).¹⁹⁹³ In the time of these emperors, the Tayoye (Arabs) were ruled by al-Fadil for twenty-nine years, Abu Bakr for nineteen years and Abu al-Abbas for forty-two years.

In August of the year 1133 (A.D. 922), a severe earthquake occurred in Melitene followed by a violent storm. Buildings fell down and the wheat and straw were swept from the threshing floors to the River Euphrates.

In this period the Orthodox patriarch in Egypt, that is the Pope of Alexandria, was Mor Theophilus who, after his death, was succeeded by Mor Mina.

When Patriarch Yuhanon passed away at the Qariro (Barid) Monastery, the bishops assembled and elected the monk Li'azar from the Monastery of Mor Ahrun, which is the Shaghr Monastery known as the Salahi, and was called Athanasius. He was ordained on Thursday 21 of October 1298 (A.D. 987), in the village of Qattina in the province of Homs by the laying on of hands of Mor Li'azar, bishop of Anazarba. He ordained thirty-nine bishops.

In his time, Iyawannis from the Qariro (Barid) Monastery was ordained a bishop for Melitene. He was Bar Qiqi, who later turned Tayoyo (Muslim) because the devil trapped him with the snare of adultery. This outraged the Takritians who expelled the woman, but Bar Qiqi would not let her go too far. About seventy distinguished men gathered and asked him to drive her away because on her account, the people became suspicious of him, but he refused. Finally, they decided to oust him if he did not obey. Since he was summoned by the caliph, he did not hearken to them. He picked an inkpot and hit with it the head of the archdeacon, and they ejected him immediately from the church. Then he went down to Baghdad to launch a complaint against the Takritians. One of his relatives was a scribe of the caliph, but as soon as he arrived in Baghdad, he was surprised to find that his relative had died and was being carried to be buried. Thus, the prophecy was fulfilled in him that says, "Cursed the one who trusts in man, who depends on flesh for his strength and whose heart turns away from the Lord. He will be like a bush in the wasteland."¹⁹⁹⁴ He was frustrated. When he saw that the Takritians had come (to Baghdad), he was scared to death and found refuge with the king (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs), and declared his conversion to Islam as a means of vengeance against the Takritians. However, the caliph who knew this wretched man said to him, "If one of your congregation has annoyed you and you want to stay away from them, we will look into this case." However, he was scared to say before the Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims) that he wanted to become a Muslim because he was caught in adultery and said, "I declare my conversion to Islam after becoming sure that Christianity is wrong and Islam is true." Then the Muslims had him circumcised. After his wound healed, he went to see the caliph thinking that he would expel and destroy the Takritians. The Takritians were also sorrowful and afraid of the consequence. However, Almighty God touched the heart of the caliph with mercy, and he did not show him the same respect as he did before, but kept him waiting outside for a long time. It was then that he (Bar Qiqi) began to weep and beat his head. When he was asked the reason, he said, "When I was an infidel (Christian) I was honored. But when I became a Muslim I lost that honor." The caliph said to him, "You wretch! When we honored you, we in fact, honored your entire people and the leadership granted to you by God. Now that you have rejected the leadership by your own will, and deserted your congregation and came to us, tell me of which crowd of Muslims standing in my presence you are greater that I may single you out and honor you?" The caliph ordered that he be driven out so that he would not see his face again. Bar Qiqi lost hope and was ashamed, and the head of the believers (Takritians) was raised high. They obtained a letter from the caliph and went to the Patriarch Yuhanon who ordained for them a bishop who was Athanasius from the Monastery of the Mother of God near Melitene, well known as the Sa'i Monastery. However, that foolish Bar Qiqi, who became a Muslim, began to roam around begging for bread, and brought upon himself the curse that the devil bequeaths to his followers.

Patriarch Athanasius resided in the Qariro (Barid) Monastery where his predecessor passed away, renovated it, and beautified it. By his good administration, wisdom and knowledge, he was able to offer peace and tranquility to his Antiochian people. Even the Chalcedonian patriarch lauded his excellences

¹⁹⁹³ Romanus III, surnamed Argyropulus, 1028-1034. He was son-in-law of Constantine III. See Michael Psellus, 63.

¹⁹⁹⁴ Jeremiah 17:5-6.

which were only worthy of kings. He was meticulous in observing the apostolic canons and guiding the ship of the church with wisdom. He finished his life with a good old age. He served the patriarchate for sixteen years and died in the famous, priestly Monastery of Mor Barsoum in the district of Claudia, where his holy body was interred.

At this time, the number of monasteries in the region of Melitene increased. Many excellent, learned men flourished and were even begrudged by the Greek heretics in Melitene. When the Chalcedonians saw that both Patriarch Mor Athanasius and Mor Marun, the ocean of knowledge, had died, they seized Mor Iyawannis, bishop of Melitene and seven excellent learned monks, and sent them in chains to Constantinople where they were cast into prison. They ended their lives in true martyrdom. The Greeks also usurped our great church known as the Sa'i church. *End of the narrative.*

Chapter Six: On the period of Romanus, son of Basil, king (emperor) of the Romans and Ibn Abbas Qadir, king (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs), and the Patriarch Mor Yuhanon Bar Abdun whom the Chalcedonians banished to Constantinople where he passed away

Romanus¹⁹⁹⁵ went forth to fight the Tayoye (Arabs) but was defeated and fled. The Tayoye (Arabs) entered his camp and looted plenty of gold vessels and arms. They also entered the regions under the control of the Romans. When they reached Aleppo, the Romans departed it and the Tayoye (Arabs) regained control over it. However, the tyrannical Greeks did not recall that the predecessors of this emperor (Romanus) never ceased persecuting the Christians everywhere. Today, they returned to their old habits, and banished the patriarch and the bishops. Therefore, God defeated them in the face of their enemies, and made their haters control them everywhere.¹⁹⁹⁶

In the year 1348 (A.D. 1037), a severe famine took place in the inhabited world. Death devoured people, beasts, wild animals and fowl, and all people believed that the end of the world was nigh.

The Chalcedonians stirred up persecution against the Orthodox in Melitene and its environs. They seized the Patriarch Mor Yuhanon bar Abdun and the bishops and banished them by force to Constantinople without mercy, as it is written in the life-story of the holy Mor Yuhanon.¹⁹⁹⁷

Note. Here occurs a lacuna on page 563 of the Syriac manuscript followed immediately by the passage below. Since it mentions the Emperor Basil, I dare conjecture that it was a part of an account of this emperor, which for unknown reason is lost to us. Therefore, I decided to leave it where it is rather than make it an appendix.

He became angry and commanded that they be driven out of their houses. A great number of distinguished men left and were scattered in the cities of Syria and the Jazira. In all the locations where they lived, they built magnificent monasteries and churches. Among them were the exalted notables of Melitene known as the Bnai (family of) Abu Imran who were memorable for their splendid deeds. They were, like Abraham and Job, blessed by God with abundant wealth. They spent most of their possession on the building of churches and monasteries, and on the poor and the needy. In Melitene itself, they built several churches and convents for women, and outside Melitene, they built monasteries for monks. Every Friday, from morning to midday, they distributed alms to the poor. The Shaykh Abu Salim himself distributed these alms. The sons of the family of Imran were three individuals distinguished with good conduct. Even the Roman Emperor (Basil II) begrudged them and imposed on them to mint the coin of the kingdom for a whole year. They did and the year went by. When the emperor noticed that their wealth did not diminish, he realized that it was the blessing of God who said through the prophet, "The silver is mine and the gold is mine."¹⁹⁹⁸ When Emperor Basil II returned from Armenia, he was overtaken by the winter in Jubas and needed gold, especially since his messengers could not get the gold for him due to the snowfall. The

¹⁹⁹⁵ He is Romanus III, surnamed Argyropulus, 1028-1034, son of Basil II, the Bulgar Slayer.

¹⁹⁹⁶ Michael Psellus, *Chronographia*, 66-70.

¹⁹⁹⁷ On Yuhanon bar Abdun see Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, I, ed. J. B. Abeloos and T. J. Lamy (Louvain, 1872), 419-431.

¹⁹⁹⁸ Haggai 2:8.

emperor went to (the men of the Imran family) and asked them to lend him money. When they recognized him, they fell down at his feet and gave him a hundred qantar of gold as he requested. Since he was a good man, he repaid the gold he had borrowed from them. At another time when the Turks spoiled Melitene, they seized Abu Salim as he was returning from the monastery he had built. He negotiated with them and paid five dinars from his own expense for the release of every captive. The captives numbered about fifteen thousand. This is only a tiny portion of their abundant traits.¹⁹⁹⁹ We mentioned them so that the readers may praise God and pray for them.

I found this account on the margin of a folio, but could not determine its proper place, because it was deficient at the beginning.

On Thursday 5 of July 1348 (A.D. 1037), the holy Mor Yuhanon was ordained a patriarch in the Monastery of the Mother of God in the region of Goudphi, called Bunduqa, by the laying on of hands of Mor Peter, bishop of Harran. He ordained forty-nine bishops. In his time was ordained Atonos as bishop for Melitene, who later became a Chalcedonian as shall be seen later.

Ignatius bar Qiqi, who turned Tayoyo (Muslim) as we said earlier, was ordained by Athanasius. After him, Mor Yuhanon ordained Athanasius for Takrit and the East.

From the life-story of Mor Yuhanon bar Abdun

The parents of this blessed man lived in Melitene where Yuhanon was born and brought up in virtue. When he was eighteen years old, he desired the holy monastic life. He entered the Monastery of Sa'i, which was near the city and assumed the monastic habit. When his father learned of what he did, he brought him back to the city by force and wanted him to shed the monastic habit and live in the world to inherit his wealth. Following the advice of Mor Ignatius the Sa'i, the holy Yuhanon left the monastery, went to the Monastery of Mor Barsoum, and prayed before the grave of the saint. In order to keep distant from his parents, he went down to the bank of the Euphrates River and dwelt in a rugged cave. He spent his time in contemplation and vigil. God granted him the grace of doing miracles, the power of healing and the spirit of prophecy. In fact, he was able to predict beforehand the questions that were presented to him. He became well known in many countries. One day, a poor man came to him asking for alms, but the blessed (Yuhanon) could not find any one of the brethren (monks) present at that time. Therefore, he poured what they had of grain in the saddlebag of the poor man, who carried it to his house. For a year and six months, he and his family ate the grain that did not run out until the famine passed from the world.

People brought him (Yuhanon) a child tormented by an evil spirit, and his mouth was crooked and his hands and legs were weak. They placed him opposite of the rock near which the blessed (Yuhanon) used to perform the ninth-hour prayer. When he saw that the child was cast into that place alone, he lamented his condition. He placed his finger on his eyes and ears and the boy was immediately healed. The boy's father was watching at a distance. He hurried and fell down at the feet of the blessed (Yuhanon) who admonished him not to tell anyone that he had healed his boy.

One day, while the blessed (Yuhanon) was walking along the bank of the Euphrates he saw the apparition of a woman following him. God had hidden from him that the apparition he was seeing was that of a demon. He said to himself, "Yuhanon, this is your day. Either you kill or be killed." He signed the cross and rushed to the river in order that the woman would not chase after him. He crossed to the other bank walking on water and did not drown, and the demon disappeared. Since then, the blessed gained another grace of walking on water as if walking on land, and the brothers with him realized this (grace) and glorified God.

In the summer, he walked the distance of one day in two days because of the severity of the heat. One day he was very thirsty and slumbered while standing. When he woke up, he found, much to his amazement, water gushing out of a rock. He heard someone saying, "Yuhanon! Glorify God and quench

¹⁹⁹⁹ See Aphram I Barsoum, *The Collected Historical Essays of Aphram I Barsoum*, translated by Matti Moosa (Gorgias Press, 2009), 112-114.

your thirst.” Realizing that this was not his imagination, he prayed, and signed the cross over the water and drank.

Following these wonder works, the blessed saw that his name had become popular in those countries and wanted to stay away from them. He decided to go to the Monastery of Mor Barsoum to pray, and then moved to the Black Mountain. At that time the holy Yuhanon, the disciple of Marun, was at the Monastery of Mor Barsoum. One day before his arrival at the monastery, God revealed to him saying, “Tomorrow will arrive a saintly man who will become the leader of the church of God.” On the first night of his arrival, the holy Mor Barsoum appeared to him surrounded by sons of light. On the next night, a voice called him to pray. He rose up and found the door of the church shut, and heard the voices of angels chanting inside. From there he went to the Black Mountain, where, by great exertion and virtuous deeds, he overwhelmed the devils and the fantasies of darkness.

After the struggle of forty years, the Patriarch Mor Athanasius passed away. The entire group of bishops met and unanimously agreed that Yuhanon bar Abdun should be their shepherd. In a vision, the blessed (Yuhanon) saw an eagle soaring high in the sky followed by beautiful birds. They were calling him to descend and cover them by his wings, but he would not respond. He heard a voice from heaven saying, “O blessed eagle, don’t run away and descend to earth, for I have given you these birds which are seeking you. Behold, today, I have granted you a power on high and down.” When Yuhanon was sure that his call was from God, he surrendered himself. He was not even then ordained a deacon because he was too humble to accept the office of the deaconate, and because he was awed by sacerdotal ranks. However, he was ordained a deacon on July 24, a priest on July 25, and a patriarch on July 26. He was then sixty years old. His ordination was attended by Peter, bishop of Harran who ordained him by the laying on of his hands, Theodosius, bishop of Mar’ash, Tuma, bishop of Anazarba, Paul, bishop of Tarsus, Cyriacus, bishop of Jihan, and Iliyya (Elijah), bishop of Semando. Despite his strict adherence to the holy canons, he had no experience in administrative matters. Therefore, he handed the administration of the dioceses to a certain monk named David and entrusted him with his complete affairs. David did tremendous harm to the churches, but the blessed Yuhanon succeeded in doing miracles.

The Roman prefect of Antioch was afflicted with leprosy. He heard that Yuhanon healed the sick by the power of God. He sent a message asking him to heal him. Yuhanon blessed some oil and sent it to the prefect who received it with faith, anointed himself with it and was cured. When the Chalcedonian patriarch heard of this miracle, he longed to see the blessed Yuhanon, and both exchanged letters. The blessed Yuhanon sent one of his garments to the Greek patriarch who put it on every festival day.

When the blessed (Yuhanon) came to Melitene, they brought him a demented and dumb child whose tongue was tied up, and he healed him. He also healed a woman afflicted with blood issue. When he witnessed her uncleanness, he blessed water and gave her to drink and she was healed while promising to repent of her sins.

The devil had planted evil thoughts in the heart of a monk, and caused him to suffer. The blessed (Yuhanon) knew through the spirit that the monk was tormented. He prayed for him and he was freed from these thoughts. Another monk, whose comrades accused him of committing a certain sin came to the blessed Yuhanon to condemn him if he was guilty. However, the blessed knew, by the spirit, that the monk was guilty. He said to him, “Confess your guilt,” but he kept resisting. The blessed said to him, “Go and don’t do this act again, or else the evil spirit will torment you.” Actually, the evil spirit did torment him, and he confessed his guilt.

The blessed Yuhanon found it necessary to build a bridge over the River Jihan, and men brought him wood over the river. While they were carrying the wood, a boy fell into the water and drowned. They brought him out and went to bury him. While they were carrying him to the grave, the blessed Yuhanon stopped them and spent all night praying. In the morning, he anointed him with oil and the boy came back to life. Yuhanon wanted to hide the miracle by telling the crowd, “Didn’t I tell you that his spirit was still in him?” Nevertheless, the people knew that it was a miracle and glorified God with tears flowing down their

eyes. In addition, they brought to him a man who was mute and deaf. He put his finger in his mouth and ears and the man began to talk and to hear.

God made many miracles like these through this holy man. Nevertheless, we should be satisfied with the miracles we have related lest we overburden the book with more than its capacity.

Now we come to the conclusion of his life and say that after twenty-one years in the sacerdotal service, Satan begrudged him, nay, begrudged the entire church of God. This happened by means of a temptation of a Greek metropolitan of Melitene named Nicephorus, who could not swallow the report of the wonder works that God made through this saint. He abandoned Melitene and went to Constantinople saying, "I cannot become a shepherd where this sorcerer is found. He has attracted the Greeks unto himself." However, the two Emperors Basil II and Constantine VIII paid no attention to him. Moreover, when Romanus who was a schoolmate of the metropolitan reigned, he urged him to address letters to the prefect Krysoborgios. Because he knew the blessed Yuhanon and trusted him, he sent letters secretly to the chiefs of Melitene asking them to transport the patriarch immediately to the Tayoye (Arab) regions. To the messengers, however, he said, "We have no idea where the Patriarch of the Jacobites is today." But before the messengers, who were disciples of the metropolitan (Nicephorus), arrived in Melitene, they gave the second Judas, Bar Gigra, a Roman, thirty pieces of silver in order to tell them where the patriarch was. They said to the prefect that they knew where the patriarch was and only asked him to provide them with armed soldiers. However, the prefect, who could not save him (Yuhanon), gave them only nine horsemen. The second Judas said, "These men are not enough and there are more than a thousand monks out there who will prevent any one to take him." Therefore, the prefect rose up and went with them. They attacked the Qariro (Barid) Monastery taking the monks and the people of the region with surprise. Within three hours on the morning of Friday, the monastery was filled with soldiers. The prefect stood at the door of the patriarchal cell. They said to the patriarch, "The prefect of Melitene is standing at the door of the cell." The patriarch tarried a little to go out to him because he and the monks were engaged in prayer. When they finished the prayer, and the blessed Yuhanon was told about the prefect, he said to his disciples, "Truly my children, we will be taken to the capital. Let the will of the Lord be done." He went out and, holding the prefect by the hand, brought him into the cell. He said to him, "Why all this concern, your highness?" The prefect said calmly, "Don't be disturbed, holy man. The emperor wanted to see you in the capital." The patriarch said, "But why did you exert yourself so much? One of your servants was enough to take me." They took him to Melitene amid the tears of the monks and the whole body of Christians. It was something that could not be forgotten by men of discernment, and the people of Melitene felt as if they were on fire. Someone bribed the leaders who hardly agreed to leave him stay during the winter. The patriarch celebrated Easter in Melitene, but the majority of people (of Melitene) determined that he should leave. They even asked him to ordain for them children as deacons thinking that no other patriarch would be set up for them. Not only our people grieved for his parting, but even more the Armenians and the Chalcedonian Greeks of the city wept and hustled each other to receive blessing from his holy hands. Everyone predicted that God's wrath would afflict the kingdom of the Romans, and this is what exactly happened.

The Patriarch Mor Yuhanon departed Melitene accompanied by six bishops. They were: Iliyya (Elijah), bishop of Semando; Iyawannis, bishop of Hadath; Ignatius, bishop of Melitene; Ishaq (Isaac), bishop of Arqa; Musa, bishop of Hisn Ziyad; Dionysius, bishop of Tell Batriq; and twenty monks and priests including Yeshu, abbot of the Monastery of Bar Jaji; Basil, abbot of the Qariro (Barid) Monastery; and the disciples of the patriarch: David, Yeshu, Iyawannis and Musa and others. In the middle of June (A.D. 1028), Yuhanon, bishop of the Chalcedonian Malkites, entered Constantinople after having delayed twelve days in Chrysopolis. In the city, they found two hundred Chalcedonian bishops waiting to see the new emperor. They assembled in the church called Hagia Sophia, but the Patriarch (Mor Yuhanon) and the bishops did not attend the assembly. When they (the Chalcedonian bishops) were asked about us they said, "We know that these men are Christians, and it is inappropriate to inquire about them." They said this because they knew that the blessed Yuhanon was a man of God. However, the metropolitan of Melitene, the second Caiaphas, instructed someone to cry out in the streets that these men (patriarch Yuhanon and his

bishops), did not confess that the Virgin is the Mother of God, and other similar things. Just imagine how much they were spat at, while refuse was thrown on their heads from the rooftops. Even the choleric metropolitan (of Melitene) forced his patriarch and the bishops not to sit down and discuss the faith. However, one of our monks defeated all their bishops with his debate, as it is indicated by Yuhanon, one of their bishops.

The Chalcedonians ordered Patriarch Yuhanon (bar Abdun) and his bishops to stand before them from morning until the ninth hour. Because of their old age, the patriarch and Iliyya, bishop of Semando, were supported by others. The Chalcedonians asked them with fury, "Why do you disdain the metropolitan of Melitene?" The patriarch said, "If for this reason you brought us here, its solution is easy. It is impossible to disdain you while you are our judges and we are under your authority." Therefore, they were ashamed, but they inquired about faith. There were ready two documents containing matters of the faith, one was written in the time of the late Patriarch Mor Yuhanon, and one written recently. As they read a little, they said, "We have not brought you to learn the faith from you, but to teach you the faith. So, confess like us two natures (of Christ) after the union." The interpreter, whose name was Theodorus and a follower of the Chalcedonians of Melitene, was appointed by the metropolitan of Melitene (to interpret). The metropolitan deluded him by promises and he twisted his interpretation, but he was rebuked by Yuhanon their bishop. Then the patriarch said, "We did not say two natures and will never change the faith of our fathers." The metropolitan (of Melitene) said, "Wouldn't you accept the faith of the emperor?" The patriarch said, "We are under the authority of the holy emperor in everything. But it is impossible to change our faith." At this point, the iniquitous metropolitan stretched his hand and in great anger slapped the patriarch across the face, and the blessed turned the other cheek. Many of the leaders, who witnessed this, were grieved and wept. One of them rose up and left saying, "I cannot sit and see Christ tried and slapped across the face." Then, the rest of the leaders murmured and left. In this manner, the council ended on the first day. They (the Chalcedonians) moved the patriarch and the bishops to the Monastery of Mor Mennas and on the next day to Mor Gregorius.

The leaders did not attend the second meeting on the next day in protest of what had happened during the first meeting, especially that the (president) of the meeting did not allow the Patriarch (Yuhanon) and Iliyya (Elijah), bishop of Semando, to be seated according to the canons. However, they allowed them to be seated in the second meeting. After lengthy deliberation, they asked them not to add olive oil to the *furbsono* (Sacrificial Bread), and not to sign the cross with one finger but with two, hoping to attract them gradually to their own belief, but they failed. Having thus failed, they thought of separating them from each other. They placed the patriarch and Dionysius, (bishop of Tell Batriq) in a monastery for the whole month of July, and placed each two of the others in another place.

Finally, the emperor summoned four of them. They were Ignatius, Iyawannis, Musa and Ishaq (Isaac), accompanied by the Chalcedonian metropolitan of Melitene, and Butrus (Peter) Sarfi acted as an interpreter. This one, also deluded by the metropolitan, twisted the interpretation, and like the former interpreter, God struck him dead. Three times Iyawannis told the emperor, "We will not change our faith forever. Either you have compassion on us and release us, or we are ready to die for the sake of Christ." It was then that the emperor issued an order that they should be imprisoned in Numera, where they remained from August to October under heavy torture. The emperor was wrathful against the metropolitan who was the reason for bringing them to him. This is what made him use tricks and deceive every one of them separately in order to snare some of them and gain the emperor's acceptance.

It was then that the wretched Ignatius, bishop of Melitene, Musa, bishop of Hisn Ziyad, and Ishaq, bishop of Arqa, were deceived by the devil. They believed the words of the Chalcedonian bishop of Melitene who said to them, "We are not forcing you to change your faith; but only to adore the emperor and the (Chalcedonian) patriarch. Then you may return to your dioceses." They submitted to that low man, especially when he told them that the emperor would release them. He took their signatures (of endorsement) to the emperor. He told the emperor, "If you wait a little, I will bring all of them to our way (to accept the Council of Chalcedon)." Then the emperor sent a word to the Patriarch (Bar Abdun) saying,

"We will give you the See of Antioch, if you would accept out (Chalcedonian) faith." The blessed (Bar Abdun) replied, "I have an Apostolic See on earth and in heaven and desire nothing else. If you desire to give me a see rich with money and people in order to change my faith, you should know that even if you offered me your throne I will not change my belief." Thus, the emperor and the Chalcedonians lost hope of converting them. The emperor said to the Chalcedonian metropolitan, "Make sure that these bishops have pledged to you their endorsement, or else, have all of them released." The metropolitan sent secretly someone to ascertain their opinion. They said, "We cannot do anything while this old man is here (meaning the Patriarch Yuhanon Bar Abdun)." Then the metropolitan ordered that the patriarch should be taken to the interior of Constantinople within four days. They brought him out of Numera and took him to the house of the metropolitan who insulted him and disdained him immensely. He spat in his face saying, "Where are those who followed you and surrounded you in Melitene? You hypocrite, I am the one who brought you here." He said this in order to incite the patriarch's zeal, and he would excommunicate those bishops who became Chalcedonians. Then he would inform the emperor that the patriarch had excommunicated them and condemned our (Chalcedonian) faith. Then the emperor would issue an order for the patriarch's death. However, filled with the Holy Spirit, the blessed patriarch said, "My Lord did not order me to curse my persecutors, but set for me the law to love my enemies. However, if your Lord has ordered you to hate and persecute, you ought to know this more than anyone else." After reviling and abusing the patriarch immensely, he banished him on October 13 to the Monastery of Gaius (in Bulgaria).

Then the emperor instructed that accursed metropolitan to take the bishops to his home. He discussed with them many subjects hoping to deceive them and have them accept (Chalcedon). However, when Iliyya, bishop of Semando, Iyawannis, bishop of Hadath and Dionysius, bishop of Tell Batriq, did not submit to him, he returned them to Numera. The three bishops who succumbed (accepted Chalcedon); he took them to the house of Barsoum Sarfi. When they appeared before the emperor, he asked them, "Did you sign before the metropolitan by your free will?" They said, "Yes." He rejoined, "Would you then condemn Severus (of Antioch) and Dioscorus (bishop of Alexandria)?" and they kept silent. The emperor said, "They are cheats." The metropolitan said to them, "Why don't you answer as you used to? Now, if you are telling lies you will die as liars." At this point, and being afraid of death, they said, "Yes." When the emperor witnessed their vacillation, he sent them to the (Chalcedonian) patriarch who asked them to condemn the fathers, and they did. In this manner, they fell into the snare of perdition. They were actually drawn slowly into the mockery of the devil without knowing it. The (Chalcedonian) patriarch said to them, "You should then accept to be rebaptized in order to become true Christians, and then receive the priesthood." They said, "We are bishops, what kind of a talk is this?" They (Chalcedonians) said, "You wretched. The priesthood which you have emanated down through Severus and Dioscorus who you have already condemned, and thus, you have no more priesthood." When they heard this, they were immensely perplexed and continued to be so from October until Easter. On Wednesday of Passion Week, the (Chalcedonian) patriarch summoned them, at the behest of the metropolitan. Pretending to adhere to the canons, he said to them, "This altar bears witness against you that you by your own will have presented yourself and not by force." After waiting for a few days, they baptized them in water in which the Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims) were baptized, and they departed in disgrace like Jews.

Ignatius bar Atonos, bishop of Melitene, repented and died from grief. Musa, bishop of Hisn Ziyad and Ishaq, bishop of Arqa, escaped to Syria and ended their lives repentant.

After that holy old and learned man Mor Iliyya, bishop of Semando, refuted the (Chalcedonians), they stoned him to death in front of the royal palace. His disciple Stephen was also martyred. Iyawannis, bishop of Hadath, spent his life in prison. Dionysius, bishop of Tell Batriq, was released among the prisoners according to the general pardon following the death of the emperor, and he returned to his see in true faith.

He who desires to know the chronicle of the life of the noble Martyr Mor Yuhanon the Patriarch, his spectacular wonder works, and the divine visions which God granted him during his banishment at the monastery of the Greeks and the rest of his apostolic deeds, should consult his life story and the letters of

his disciple. He should also consult his memoirs and the letter the blessed sent to Syria concerning those who have recanted the faith, and his instruction that they should be accepted in case they repented. May his prayer and the prayer of those who remained firm in the true Orthodox faith be with us and protect us all. Amen. *End of the account.*

Chapter Seven: Concerning the end of the life of Romanus. *With this chapter ends Book Thirteen.*

The Emperor Romanus (III Argyropulus) died suddenly because God was displeased with the persecution he waged against the faithful (Orthodox).²⁰⁰⁰ Michael (IV the Paphlogonian) reigned in the year 1354 (A.D. 1043) for eight years.²⁰⁰¹ In this period, Abu al-Abbas ruled the kingdom of the Tayoye (Arabs).²⁰⁰²

A person from the race of Michael called Calaphates, rebelled against him.²⁰⁰² He remained in rebellion for five years until he was captured and blinded. In the time of this same Michael, the Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims) surrendered Edessa to the Romans. After his death, the kingdom was administered by Zoé and Theodora, daughters of Constantine, for three months.²⁰⁰³

After four years of exile in a Roman monastery in the Gaius Mountain, the blessed Mor Yuhanon bar Abdun passed away on February 2, 1357 (A.D. 1046)²⁰⁰⁴ on the Day of the Presentation of our Lord at the Temple. He was buried by his disciple Iyawannis, who wrote down the miracles and the visions the blessed made and saw by the power of God while in exile. The bishops assembled in the village of Tamanin in the district of Claudia and summoned Haya (Syriac for the living one) the archimandrite of the Monastery of Li'azar in the region of Jubas. They chose him as a patriarch and had him ordained in the Monastery of Mor Demit in the same region, and he was called Dionysius. When the Chalcedonians of Melitene learned of his ordination, they transported the news to Constantinople. An order was issued to arrest him and send him to the capital, but the faithful notables of Melitene informed the patriarch of the matter, and urged him to move immediately to the Tayoye (Arab, Muslim) region. He crossed the Euphrates and reached Amid accompanied by Mor Abraham, bishop of Qallisura. Mor Abraham, who ordained Haya by the laying on of his hands, had rebuilt the old church of the Monastery of Mor Barsoum in the year 1335 (A.D. 1024). Since then, Amid became the residence of the See of Antioch because Haya resided in it and ordained bishops. The Greek (Roman) prefect of Melitene sent envoys and gifts to the prefect of Amid in order to execute the will of the emperor and arrest the patriarch and deliver him to the Romans. The prefect of Amid responded saying, "Our laws do not allow us to seize those who seek asylum with us and hand them to their enemies. Also, they do not allow us to force anyone to embrace any faith." The Greeks were ashamed, although they knew not what shame and rebuke is," as it is said.

As to Mor Dionysius, he spent all his life in the region under the Tayoye (Arab, Muslim) rule. Sometimes he lived in the Monastery of Mor Hananya (the Za'faran Monastery) east of Mardin, and sometimes in Amid. He served the patriarchate for ten years and passed away on March 21, 1368 (A.D. 1057), and was buried in the great church of Amid. He ordained twenty-six bishops.²⁰⁰⁵

In Egypt, the patriarch was Shenudin.

Mor Yuhanon, from the monastery of Shina in the province of Mar'ash, was ordained a bishop for Amid instead of Bar Atonos who had recanted. Patriarch Mor Dionysius ordained Yesu, the archimandrite of the Monastery of Mor Abhai, as bishop for Edessa and he was called Athanasius.

God made miracle at the hand of Dionysius, and he was renowned as one of the holy apostles.

With the end of Book Thirteen, a period of two hundred fifty years had gone by during which twelve Roman emperors and eleven Tayoye (Arab, Muslim) caliphs were set up.

²⁰⁰⁰ For the death of Romans see Michael Psellus *Chronographia*, 81-83.

²⁰⁰¹ He reigned for seven years and eight months. See Michael Psellus, *Ibid.* 118.

²⁰⁰² He is considered Michael V Caliphates.

²⁰⁰³ For Michael V, Zoe and Theodora see Michael Psellus, *Chronographia*, 121-162. They ruled in the year 1042.

²⁰⁰⁴ According to Bar Hebraeus, Bar Abdun died on February 2, 1344 (A.D. 1033). See Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Abbeloos and Lamy, I: 429.

²⁰⁰⁵ On Haya, see Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, 431-433.

BOOK FOURTEEN

WE DEVOTE THIS BOOK TO THE TURKOYE (TURKS) WHO BEGAN TO CONTROL THE CITIES AND COUNTRIES, AND DIVIDE IT INTO CHAPTERS

Chapter One: Concerning that the Turkoys are the Turks themselves, and on their origin and the regions they inhabited

The Turkoys are the Turks, who by origin, date back to Japhet. They are the children of Magog as the Prophet Moses had written that, "Magog is the son of Japhet, the son of Noah."²⁰⁰⁶ From him descended this great and mighty people who scattered throughout the earth and settled in the northeastern part of it.²⁰⁰⁷ The Prophet Ezekiel said about them that they shall spread throughout the earth and even unto Jerusalem. His prophecy is as follows, "Son of man, set your face against Gog, of the land of Magog, the chief prince of Meshech and Tubal; prophesy against him and say, 'This is what the Sovereign Lord says: I am against you, O Gog, chief prince of Meshech and Tubal. I will turn you around, put hooks in your jaws and bring you out with your whole army—your horses, your horsemen fully armed, and a great horde with large and small shields, all of them brandishing their swords. Persia, Cush and Put will be with them, all with shields and helmets, also Gomer with all its troops, and Beth Togarmah from the far north with all its troops—the many nations with you. Get ready; be prepared, you and all the hordes gathered about you, and take command of them. After many days, you will be called to arms. In future years you will invade a land which has recovered from war.'²⁰⁰⁸ After a while he says, "This is what the Sovereign Lord says: Are you not the one I spoke of in former days by my servants the prophets of Israel?"²⁰⁰⁹ After some length he says, "Son of man, prophesy against Gog and say: 'This is what the Sovereign Lord says: I am against you, O Gog, chief prince of Meshech and Tubal. I will turn you around and drag you along. I will bring you from the far north.'²⁰¹⁰ He said many other like things, which the prophetic spirit revealed to us about this people, and he repeated this speech twice, symbolizing a double invasion. However, since the commentators mentioned through the spirit only on the first invasion, we, following their example, say that these are the people meant by the prophet. In addition, the words of Ezekiel have been confirmed by Jacob of Edessa when he discussed the Turks. He said, "These are the people of Gog and Magog who emerged in the time of Cambyses, king of Persia, (529-521 B.C.) whom the Hebrews call Nebuchadnezzar II. He dispatched his army general Hofernes, as it is written in the Book of Judith. He said to him, "Go forth and take with your men of valor, a hundred and twenty thousand infantry and twelve thousand cavalry, and proceed against all the land of the West, because they did not comply with the order I issued."²⁰¹¹ As to when and in the time which king of the Turk went forth (invasion) for the first time, it is explained in the books. In fact, their first going forth precedes the Nativity of our Lord in the flesh by eight years. Since then, and until their second going forth (invasion), nothing is written about them. They were also mentioned by John of Ephesus (d. 587) who said, "In the seventh year of his reign, Justin, king of the Romans, sent ambassadors to the people of Turchois who returned to him after three years. They said that they saw the Turks innumerable people like locusts and flies, having nine kings (chiefs). When the king of the Turks saw the Roman ambassadors, he began to weep. They asked him, "Why do you weep?" He said, "We have learned from our fathers that when we receive envoys from the kings of the West, it is an indication that the time has come for us to go

²⁰⁰⁶ Genesis 10:2.

²⁰⁰⁷ Bar Hebraeus quotes Michael Rabo's account that the Turks are the children of Gog and Magog, but gives no details. He is more concerned with the origin of the Seljuk Turks which he elaborates based on a Persian book called *Mulk Namah*. See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 195.

²⁰⁰⁸ Ezekiel 38:2-6.

²⁰⁰⁹ Ezekiel 38:17.

²⁰¹⁰ Ezekiel 39:1-2.

²⁰¹¹ Judith 2:4-6.

forth and destroy the whole earth.”²⁰¹² The Turks are also mentioned in the last days of the Persian kingdom known as the Sassanid, where it is said that when Yazdagird, the last Sassanid king, was defeated by the Tayoye (Arabs), he fled and to Marw (Marv), a Turkish town. A Turkish person murdered Bar Haya as well. Again, Dionysius Tell Mahre says in the second volume of his Chronicle regarding the city of Amorium that it was attacked by Abu Ishaq (al-Mu’tasim) with four thousand Turkish fighting men.²⁰¹³

Chapter Two: Concerning the manners of the Turks

The Turks, who are the people of Gog and Magog, settled in the north eastern region. We know this not only from the prophecy but also from whom our fathers and we have heard and seen. From there they came forth and they always have come forth. The region is situated in the east where the sun rises and to the end of the north, near the western region at a distance of extreme length and width extending to the end of the northern part of the inhabited earth. It is said that this region is surrounded by rugged and uninhabited mountains. It has two outlets serving as two gates for going out and coming in. The first gate is situated in the eastern part at a distance from Persia. The second gate is situated in the north in the interior of Iberia, and contains strong and fortified buildings. The gate which is said was built by order of Alexander the Great, the Macedonian, to prevent those people from going out, is today in the hand of the Iberians. The outlet we said is situated in the east is actually a road extending for a distance of two-days distance. At the end of it were erected fortified buildings where guards were stationed to prevent the barbarians from going out. In ancient times, the guards were appointed by the kings of the east. In the time of the Arabs who succeeded them in kingship, the Turks, who emigrated from there and settled in the region of Margiane, guarded them. This is attested to by the chronicles recorded in many books. In some of these chronicles, it is said that Tiberias, king of the Romans, sent a delegation to the kings of the Turks. The Turks asked them if the Romans were subject to the Persians. They said that they were not. On the contrary, the Persians were for a long time subject to the Romans so much so that Trajan, king of the Romans, set up a statue of himself in Persia and forced them to adore it.²⁰¹⁴ When the kings of the Turks heard this, they drove the Persians out of Margiane because they deceived them. When Shapor devastated the city of Dara, he chose young women from the captives and sent them to the king of the Turks. These were the young women who threw themselves into the river in the region of Margiane. From these and other reports, it is understood that the Turks, who were known as “the spoilers of the earth,” emigrated a long time ago from the region of the rugged mountains.

What we have said about their homeland is sufficient. Concerning their barbarism and bad characters, it is said that in their interior land they had no law distinguishing the kinds of food. They ate everything that crawled on earth of animals, beasts, insects, and fowl, even stench and the placenta of women, and human corpses. If they found a stranger in their land who had no guide from them, they would kill him, roast him and eat him. This is what their neighbors, the Iberians who guarded the gates, say about them. Of their characteristics is simplicity and meekness, however, they are cunning concerning their mode of living. They forbid fornication and moral depravity but they have no law forbidding polygamy. They are ignorant and do not have any kind of knowledge or wisdom. They have never heard of Moses or any other prophet, or that Christ our God and Savior had come. It is believed that no messengers or missionaries have reached them. In addition, they do not wear cotton or silk garments, but only cloth made of sheep wool and goat hair. They especially raise animals like beast of burden, oxen and sheep, which are abundant in their region. Their manner of raising animals and beasts is astonishing. They are not used to too much talk. They confess the one god of heaven by nature, consider the firmament as god, and have never heard of anything else. In fact, they have no readiness to listen.

²⁰¹² See *The Third Part of the Ecclesiastical History of the holy Mor John, bishop of the City of Ephesus*, III (Oxford, 1853), 395-396. The reference here is to the original Syriac copy discovered by William Cureton.

²⁰¹³ See above Book Twelve, Chapter Twenty.

²⁰¹⁴ *The Third Part of the Ecclesiastical History of the holy Mor John, bishop of the City of Ephesus*, III, 396.

Chapter Three: Concerning the second invasion of the Turks and their seizure of Persia, Assyria, Beth Nahrin, Armenia, Syria, Palestine, Cilicia and until the sea and Egypt

As the first going forth (inyasion) of the Turks took place according to the prophecy of Ezekiel, their second going forth (invasion) would have taken place according to the same prophecy. Let the reader understand that their first going forth was the command of God. For the divine revelation had inspired the prophet (Ezekiel) to prophesy about them. Their second going forth, too, was by the command of God. It was fulfilled as far as I can ascertain, in the following manner:

When the Arabs overwhelmed the pagan Persians and ended their rule, the Greeks (Romans) who were persecuting the Christians (non-Chalcedonians), fled. The Roman kingdom flourished as long as it was ruled by just kings (emperors) who did not persecute the Christians. However, after four hundred years of rule, God withdrew his help from the Greeks (Romans) who returned and controlled Syria, Palestine, Armenia and Cappadocia. Immediately, they resorted to their old bad habits and began to persecute the believers in these countries with great cruelty. God was justly wrathful against them. He provoked the Turks who went forth the second time (their second invasion) as follows:

When the Arabs that is Tayoye weakened and the Greeks (Romans) seized many countries, the Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims) were forced to seek the help of the Turks not as masters, but slaves, and wherever they went, these Turks returned triumphant. They became used to victory and carried the treasures of the earth to their country. They exhibited them to others to urge them to go forth with them and settle in a land abundant with those treasures. Thus, the Turks set their eyes on leaving their country and settling the countries inhabited by other people.

Some men and women here and there, especially in Edessa, went around moaning and raving like mad people down the streets saying, "Behold! Barbarous people have come from the eastern region to dwell among you. Their faces are the faces of men, but their hearts are the hearts of dogs." The Christians, however, ridiculed them. They would not hush up despite that, the governors pressured them to hush, but whatever they said was proved later to be true. The Turks came in and covered the whole earth that even the original Turks were fed up with them because the region could not accommodate all of them, and forced them to leave. As they proceeded to leave, there appeared that person who had guided the pioneer Turk émigrés in the form of a dog, and walked in the vanguard while they could not draw near him. When they proceeded to set out, he would yell, "Arise," and they would arise and walk behind him until he stopped, and they stopped. After leading them for a few days, he disappeared and would not be seen or heard of anymore. However, we cannot determine whether he was a guide directing these people to practice what was beneficial, like the Hebrews in connection with the sacrifices of sheep and oxen, or the Magians in connection with the stars. Did he appear to these people in the form of the animals of which they were used? This is what we cannot substantiate.

Nevertheless, after their guide disappeared and after reaching countries ruled by kings, the Turks saw that the region could not accommodate them. Therefore, they were divided into three groups, each one intended to proceed to a definite direction whether south, north or middle. They took three pieces of wood and hurled them above where god exists according to their belief, and they fell to the ground. Those, whose piece fell in the direction of the south, went to the elevated regions of India. They had already pledged that each tribe should adhere to the worship of the god of the people among whom they would dwell. Those who moved southward met Christians and heathens and followed their faith until this day. Today some of them are Christians and others are heathens who worship idols. Those who moved northward are now neighbors of the Greek kingdom. They are called Cumans after the name of the region. They follow the Christians whom they found there although their affairs are not in order. Those whose lot was to the west or, in the middle of the earth, mingled with the Arabs and embraced their religion. Thus, we are in a position to say that, "All of this was done by the inspiration of God who runs everything in the way he finds fit." We also say with the prophet, "The Lord does what pleases him, in the heavens and on earth in the seas

and all their depths.”²⁰¹⁵ Truly, “Great is our Lord and mighty in power,”²⁰¹⁶ and “the most High is sovereign over the kingdoms of men and gives them to anyone he wishes and sets over them the lowliest of men.”²⁰¹⁷

Chapter Four: On how (the Turks) began to leave their confined habitat

The habitat of the Turks was confined within the mountains in the region called “the spoilers of the earth.” They had only two outlets (exits, gates) from which to leave. When kings needed them, they chose a number of them to fight their enemies and then sent them back to their country. This was how the kings of the Persians, Medes and Assyrians, who had control over that region, brought out a great number of Turks from their habitat. Upon their return, they related to their compatriots the treasures they saw in the earth. They showed them the fruits and the magnificent garments they had brought with them, and they were enticed to leave and settle in those lands of abundant treasures. In fact, they cunningly discussed with each other the course of action to be taken. Once, the Persians asked them (the Turks) to join them, and they did. After completing their mission, the Persians ordered them to return to their country. However, when they reached the region of fortresses and garrisons, they killed the Persian guides and seized the fortresses, lest the guards inside would get out and inform the king. They contacted their countrymen who were inside, and they emerged and fought the Persians who were in the fortresses and seized this outlet (gate). From there, they marched forth and captured the whole region up to Margiane where they established their state. Indeed, the nine kings of the Turks who were visited by a Roman delegation in the time of Emperor Justin were in this region, that is, outside their original homeland. They had guarded that outlet strictly in order not to let those inside leave except when they wanted them to leave. As to their going forth and their capture of the Margiane region, it seems that it was done at the end of the last Persian kingdom, one hundred years before the arrival of the Arabs, that is, sixty years before this period. It is said about them that during their passage from the east to the west, they saw an animal looking like a dog walking before them, but they did not know who it was and where it had come from. In addition, they could not draw close to it.

However, when the time came to move along, he would call to them in their own language saying, “Arise,” and they arose and followed him wherever he went, and halted wherever he stopped until they reached these countries where they settled. Then, this guide disappeared, and they did not leave that region.

Chapter Five: Concerning the unity of belief between the Turks and the Arabs

The Turks were united with the Arabs (Muslims) easily and accepted their belief for three reasons: The first reason was their belief in one deity since they were still in their homeland, although they considered the firmament to be that deity. Even to this day, if someone asked someone gullible among them about the deity, they would respond that it is “*qan tangri*.” For in their language *qan* means blue, and *tangri* means god, based on their belief that the firmament is the deity. However, when they learned that the Muslims confessed one God, they followed them. The second reason was that the first group of Turks went forth and settled in Margiane in the time of the Persians. Shortly afterwards, Muhammad appeared and was followed by the Arabs and then by the Persians. Then, the kingdom of the Arabs waxed strong and the kingdom of the Persians and other kingdoms of the East waned. Like the Persian and the Kurdish people, the Turks in Margiane followed the Arabs, and when the second group of Turks went forth and met with those of their race and language, they adopted their belief according to a former pledge between both of them. The third reason was that the Turks were united (in their belief) with the Arabs, because the Arabs hired them as mercenaries in their wars with the Greeks (Romans).²⁰¹⁸ They entered regions rich with

²⁰¹⁵ Psalm 135:6.

²⁰¹⁶ Psalm 147:5.

²⁰¹⁷ Daniel 4:17.

²⁰¹⁸ This happened in the time of the Abbasid Caliph al-Mu’tasim (833-842) who employed the Turks and even built for them the city of Samarra. See Philip Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 328. Eventually, they became so powerful that the latter Abbasid caliphs were their lackeys.

BOOK FOURTEEN

treasure, spoiled them, and carried away their spoils. They heard the Arabs iterate the words of Muhammad, who said that if they rejected the worship of idols and believed in his faith, all this good and fertile land would be given to them. Thus, they believed the words of Muhammad. They accepted circumcision, and all the ceremonies of the ancient law, and the washing of sexual members before praying. For these three reasons, the Turks accepted Muhammad, united with the Arabs, and became one with them. In turn, the Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims) accepted the Turks. The Turks consented to have anyone become their ruler provided that he was appointed by the caliph of the Muslims. In this and other manners, the Turks were united with the Arabs. When they entered Persia and subjugated the Persians and their cities, they wanted to set up a king of their own. Seventy men assembled, each from every noble and prominent tribe. Each one held a staff in his hand. They drew a circle on the ground and decided that the staff of the one that falls in the circle would be proclaimed a king. Each one of them hurled his staff as high in the sky as he could. All the staffs fell outside the circle except one that fell in the middle of the circle. It belonged to a man who came from a rather lowly tribe, and he was proclaimed a king. All these events took place only by the divine dispensation which is all-powerful and in control of times and periods. In fact, the assembling of these men to cast a lot and their worship of God was motivated by the finger of God who is alone worthy of glory, now and evermore. Amen. *This Book on the Turks and the beginning of their kingdom in this period is ended.*

BOOK FIFTEEN

IT BEGINS WITH THE YEAR 1361 (OF THE GREEKS) WHICH IS THE YEAR 1031 OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA, AND THE YEAR 430 OF THE KINGDOM OF THE TAYOYE (ARABS) IN WHICH BEGAN THE KINGDOM OF THE TURKS, WHICH IS STILL STANDING. IT IS ALSO THE YEAR 6050 FROM ADAM THAT IS FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE WORLD, IN WHICH (CONSTANTINE IX) MONOMACHUS REIGNED OVER THE ROMANS AND ABU AL-ABBAS QADIR OVER THE TAYOYE (ARABS). IN THIS YEAR AROSE TUGHRUL BEG, THE FIRST TURKISH RULER IN KHURASAN, AND YUHANON (JOHN), NEPHEW OF THE HOLY YUHANON (JOHN) BAR ABDUN, WAS SET UP AS PATRIARCH FOR OUR CHURCH

Chapter One:²⁰¹⁹ In the year 1361 of the Greeks (A.D. 1050), Constantine (IX) Monomachus reigned for twelve years (1042-1055).²⁰²⁰ He was magnanimous and generous, but suffered from gout.²⁰²¹

In the same period, Abu al-Abbas Qadir (991-1031) reigned over the Arabs. In fact, since the year 945 until 1055 when the Seljuk Tughrul captured Baghdad, the caliphs, including qadir, were under the authority of the Buwayhid Shiites.

In the same period began the kingdom of the Turks in Persia where Tughrul (Torgher in the Syriac text) Beg ruled Khurasan in the year 430 of the Arab (Islamic) Calendar (A.D. 1038). He dispatched an army to Armenia, which was subject to the Romans, and they looted, spoiled and burned by fire without mercy. He repeated this action several times without opposition. In the winter of 1369 of the Greeks (A.D. 1058), Melitene was attacked by three thousand (Turkish) soldiers, and since it had no wall because its wall had been demolished by Cyriacus, the Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims) captured it. The people fled to the mountains afflicted by cold and hunger.²⁰²² In fact, from the first day, the Turks slaughtered the people without mercy, but some escaped death hiding among the corpses.²⁰²³ The Turks did not stay overnight in the city but camped outside it near a hillock. All night they used the candles of the church for light. On the next day, they began torturing the people to show them the places where treasures were hidden. Many of them died from torture including Peter, deacon and teacher of children who was transcribing a *fanqitho* (Service book) and writing down the passage, "The head of John (the Baptist) is like unto a cluster (of grapes) plucked by Herodia." In addition, when they found with him many books, they thought he was a leader of the Christians and ordered him to trample upon the cross. When he refused, they beat him, threw him into the fire and his hair was stuck to his head. They poured boiling tar on his head and put brands of live coal on his chest. Before he breathed his last, he saw fire stuck to his legs. He said, "Blessed are you (his two legs), for today you have become purified." Then, he gave up the soul. May his memory be a blessing.

The Turks remained in Melitene for ten days ravaging and destroying the wretched city before burning it. They destroyed all the villages they passed on their return. They destroyed the Monastery of Bar Jaji and the countryside, but then they lost their way and were faced by rugged mountains and big rivers. They camped in a valley near the mountain of the Sinisaye, but heavy snow prevented them from going forward. The Sinisaye came down and closed the outlets from all directions. Therefore, the Turks perished from hunger and cold and those left were killed by the Sinisaye; not a single Turk was rescued.

²⁰¹⁹ The Syriac text does not mention Chapter One or its contents. The numbering is the translator's.

²⁰²⁰ See Michael Psellus, *Chronographia*, 161-260. Matthew of Edessa says that Monomachus had occupied the throne of the Roman Empire for forty years. See Matthew of Edessa, *The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, translated from the original Armenian into English by Ara Edmond Dostourian (University Press of America, 1993), p. 88, hereafter Matthew of Edessa.

²⁰²¹ The Anonymous Edessan, translated by Rev. Albert Abouna into Arabic under the title *Tarikh al-Ruhawi al-Majhul* (Baghdad, 1986), 63 and Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 200, but both writers give no date of his reign. For an account of the admirers and detractors of Monomachus, see *The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, Section 4, footnote 1 by Dostourain, on 308. For a thorough analysis of Monomachus' character, education and his administration of the state see Michael Psellus, *Chronographia*, 163-180.

²⁰²² The Anonymous Edessan, 63.

²⁰²³ For details see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades: Conflict between Christendom and Islam* (Gorgias Press, 2008). 71-72.

The captive people of Melitene escaped the carnage and returned to the miserable city. Those who hid in the mountains also returned to the city. The monk Joseph, one of the captives, composed three odes about these events. Also, Mor Yuhanon (John) bar Shushan composed four discourses, two in the seven-syllabic meter (peculiar to St. Ephraim), and two in the five-syllabic meter (peculiar to Mor Balai), on the destruction of Melitene. When the emperor and the Senate heard of what happened to the believing city, they grieved immensely.

In this period, Emperor Monomachus died and his daughter Theodora assumed power for one year. After a reign of twelve years, Monomachus died on 11 January 1055 cursing his fate.²⁰²⁴ In addition, Michael, the Aged, assumed power for one year.²⁰²⁵ He was meek and made a living making spoons secretly. The Turks took advantage of his meekness and faith and ferociously harassed the Roman kingdom. When Michael saw that the Turks had reached the Pontus (Black) Sea ravaging, spoiling and burning, he felt compassion for the Christians and sent beasts and carriages to carry them, but they were plunged into the sea. Thus, the cities and villages were desolate, but the Turks continued to devastate the region of the Pontus (Black) Sea, where they found a place to settle. Many people blamed the emperor for this action. However, I say that, "This dispensation was not from the emperor but from above (God)."

After the death of the Patriarch Mor Dionysius, our church was bereft of a leader. Some bishops dared to move from one see to the other contrary to the canons. It was then that the bishops assembled in August 1360 of the Greeks (A.D. 1049), to elect a patriarch. They advanced the name of the monk Theodore from the Monastery of Bar Jaji in the province of Melitene. He was the nephew of the holy Yuhanon Bar Abdun who ended his life in exile. The bishops and the faithful unanimously approved him, but he apologized and fled to the district of Doliche (Duluk). The bishops went to Doliche, but Theodore disappeared in the fields. While they were looking for him, they sat on the river's bank and let their beasts graze. One of donkeys that was grazing reached the place where the blessed Theodore was hiding, and stood there. Theodore tried to shew him off by hurling stones at him, but the donkey would not budge and began to bray. Hearing the donkey's braying, the monks rejoiced because they thought he was lost. When Theodore saw the monks advancing toward the donkey, he stepped into the water to hide among the bushes, but the donkey followed him. The monks were so glad to have found the blessed, and taking him by force, they ordained him a patriarch in Farzaman by the laying on of hands of Iliyya (Elijah), bishop of Zoghma, president of the council; and Athanasius, bishop of Karshana; Cyril, bishop of Cyrus; Basilius, bishop of Harran; Abraham, bishop of Samosata; Basilius, bishop of Hadath; Athanasius, bishop of Edessa; Philoxenus, bishop of Doliche; Athanasius, bishop of Laqbin; Iyawannis, bishop of Anazarba; and Yuhanon, bishop of Kesum. When Theodore settled in his position, he straightened out the wayward bishops and ejected those who were greatly impertinent. He ordained Zachariah as bishop for Jerusalem and after him Tuma (Thomas). He divided the diocese of Samosata into two sections. He ordained Basilius for Hisn Mansur, Dioscorus for Samosata and another Yuhanon after the name of his uncle. He also ordained thirty bishops secretly. He used to move between Amid and its villages. He served the patriarchate for fourteen years and ten months, and passed away on Saturday, May 14 and was buried in the church of the Mother of God.

In this time, Christodolous was the patriarch of Alexandria and Egypt.

After the death of Patriarch Yuhanon, nephew of Patriarch Yuhanon Bar Abdun, schism occurred in our church on account of Athanasius, bishop of Samosata. While still living, Athanasius abandoned his congregation and confined himself in the Monastery of the Butm, that is, the Monastery of Mor Ahrun (Aaron) al-Shaghr. When Patriarch Yuhanon died in Amid, the bishops of the west assembled and chose Athanasius Haya as patriarch. However, the bishops of the east suspected whether he was even a bishop since he was set up without their consent. Some of them agreed with each other and forced Yeshu, secretary of the patriarch, to accept the position of the patriarchate. Yeshu was a secretary of Yuhanon and was raised by him. He was further a learned man. Therefore, they ordained him in Amid, but since the majority of

²⁰²⁴ Michael Psellus, *Chronographia*, 260. On Theodora (1055-1-56), see the same, 261-271.

²⁰²⁵ Michael Psellus, *Chronographia*, 275-277. Matthew of Edessa, 88-89, says he reigned for seven months.

bishops had already approved the ordination of Athanasius Haya who had been chosen by lot, he was recognized as a patriarch. He was ordained a second time in an irregular manner because his ordination was done in the Monastery of Caris in Hisn Mansur. He was ordained by the laying on of hands of Mor Basilius, bishop of Harran. As to Yeshu Bar Shushan, he criticized Bar Haya, concentrating on his second ordination, which was the subject of the suspicion of the sons of the church because it was uncanonical. Haya and his partisans heaped up invective on Bar Shushan who consented to be ordained after Haya. Meanwhile, Bar Shushan filled the church with mockery and sarcastic letters to the extent that, overwhelmed by zeal, Haya and his partisans took this church case to the emperor. When Bar Shushan learned of this, he preferred to abandon church administration and devote himself to writing. Haya was confirmed and served the patriarchate for five and a half years and ordained twenty bishops.

The partisans of Haya, who were the majority, said that Haya's election was a testimony of his first ordination, and that he was a pious man and this was what caused Bar Shushan to step aside.

Ignatius, nephew of the patriarch, from the Butm Monastery, that is, the Monastery of Mor Ahrun (Aaron), was ordained a metropolitan for Melitene. He was ordained hastily because of the death of Mor Yuhanon, bishop of Melitene on Good Friday April 3, 1704 of the Greeks (A.D. 1093). His ordination was performed on Sunday of the same month at the Monastery of Mor Ahrun. He was in the company of the patriarch when he visited Melitene with Basilius, bishop of Tarsus, Iyawannis, bishop of Hisn Kipha, and Iyawannis, bishop of Qallisura, and they performed the ceremony of his enthronement.

In the year 1356 of the Greeks (A.D. 1054), the Armenian city of Ezanji was inundated with water by God's order. There were in it people who were Syrian by origin and Orthodox by faith from the family of Cyriacus, whose home was not inundated despite that it was engulfed by water from every direction. This was because they were merciful and philanthropists. This miracle was accomplished by the permission of God Almighty to support and encourage the believers.

In this same year, a violent earthquake took place on Friday, which followed the week of the fasting of Nineveh, and many buildings fell down.

In this time also, a deplorable thing happened in Antioch. Instigated by the devil and ambitious designs, the sons of our Orthodox Church began fighting with each other. Some of them, incensed by bitter wrath, contacted the Chalcedonian patriarch in Antioch and became heretics (turned Chalcedonian). Now, they had the opportunity to suck blood. They usurped the recently built church of the Orthodox. Consequently, many Orthodox weakened and joined the Greeks (Romans). Thus, the persecution (of the Orthodox non-Chalcedonians) was renewed, and the Chalcedonian patriarch used all kinds of stratagem to persecute those who rejected the Council of Chalcedon. For a long time, the sons of our Orthodox Church could not even see Antioch. However, the Lord, who always punishes the oppressors, struck the great church of Cassianus with lightning and burned to death the persecuting patriarch while he was offering the sacrifice (Eucharist) and the entire congregation who were in the church. This calamity took place on Sunday at the third hour, and fear gripped the persecutors who admitted that what happened was revenge for their unlawful usurpation of the church. Thus, they halted the persecution, and the Orthodox returned to their homes. Because they did not have a priest or a church in the city, they, during festival seasons, went out to the villages and partook in the divine mysteries whenever they found an Orthodox priest to celebrate the Eucharist.

In this time, Armenian robbers assaulted the monastery of Mor Barsoum.

In the year 1377 of the Greeks (A.D. 1066), a group of Armenians called the sons of Khazrij (Bazrij?), rebelled against the emperor using the pretext of the invasion of the Turks, and began to practice robbery. They were joined by three hundred iniquitous men who behaved like ravaging wolves and blood-shedders disguised under the name of Christianity. They committed ugly crimes in many places. Afterwards, they moved to the province of Melitene and hid in the mountains. They pillaged the country of Claudia and Jubas. They ravaged the Monastery of Madiq, the Monastery of Mor Asia, the Monastery of Martyrs, the Monastery of Mor Marcus and the Monastery of Mor Sergius, and cast the divine mysteries (consecrated bread and wine) and the *Mirun* (Holy Chrism) on the floor. They smashed with sticks the bones of the

martyrs Sergius and Bacchus together with the relics of the saints in the churches and monasteries, and cast them to the ground. In addition, they took the coffins (of the relics of these saints), and when they were censured for what they had done, they claimed that they had no knowledge of what they did. Of course, they were liars and heathens. What they had looted from the village of Sergius was estimated to be worth one thousand and one hundred dinars, not to mention oxen and donkeys. What they had looted from the Madiq Monastery was estimated to be worth five hundred dinars. The notables of Melitene pledged to give them a share from the countries of Claudia and Jubas. In addition, they obtained for them a decree from the emperor putting four villages of the region under their control in order to settle down and live in peace, but they waxed stronger and continued for a short while to lie to the notables and spoil the poor. Eventually, the devil enticed them to attack the Monastery of Mor Barsoum, control it, kill its monks, dwell therein, declare rebellion and make a living by spoiling the cities and the countryside. When this demonic plan was going on in the mind of these Armenian robbers, suddenly, the voice of the Turks was heard that they had captured Melitene. The people of Claudia fled to the mountain of the Monastery of Mor Barsoum accompanied by these robbers. At the beginning, only ten robbers entered the Monastery of Mor Barsoum pretending to be monastics, but the monks discovered their trick. At the monastery were strong guards from Tell Tura who seized these robbers. They killed a great number of other robbers by the sword and stoned the rest. These things happened without the knowledge of the prior of the monastery and the great number of the monks except for the administrative monk, Iyawannis, and the secular guards. When it was intimated to the robbers that their comrades had been killed, they fled. Then, Krinotes, governor of Melitene, sent some men to collect their arms. These things took place on August 9, 1377 of the Greeks (A.D. 1066), and on October 20, 1378 of the Greeks (A.D. 1067). While the monks and the captives were returning (from Melitene), they were suddenly attacked by the robbers who were in the Mountain of Claudia and in the spot called Hazourin. They exchanged arrows and ten Armenian men were killed. In addition, the monks and captives were killed whose names are as follows: David, Musa, and Iyawannis. Of the guards were killed Barsoum and Iliyya (Elijah). He who reads this let him pray for them because they killed the murderers, and were killed for the sake of the holy Monastery (of Mor Barsoum). Seven robbers were seized and taken to Melitene, but the accursed Jiri received a bribe from those who connived against the monks and killed them, and they in turn, were killed. Upon the murder of the governor of Melitene, the robbers entered the home of the accursed Jiri. They killed him, pillaged everything that was in the house, and left for Melitene which was still without a wall. May the memory of Jiri and the robbers be cursed.

In the year 1380 of the Greeks (A.D. 1069), the monks built two lofty towers. Thirty-two years later, in the year 1412 of the Greeks (A.D. 1101), a new tower was erected between these two towers. After forty-five years, in the year 1457 of the Greeks (A.D. 1146), the eighth tower was built.

Chapter Two: Concerning the Turks' attack of the region of Cappadocia; on the building of the wall of Melitene, and the intensification of the conflict between the Chalcedonians and the Orthodox, and between each other

In this time while the Turks attacked the Roman territory looting, spoiling, burning and devastating, the Romans stood against each other. Isaac Comnenus (1057-1059) waged war against the capital. He marched with a great army against Nicomedia and Nicaea, the two cities of Bithynia. He reached the capital and wrested the government by force.²⁰²⁶ Michael (VI Stratioticus 1056-1057), left for the monastery which he had built, tonsured his hair, became a monk, and spent his life at the monastery.²⁰²⁷

When in the year 1375 of the Greeks (A.D. 1064) Isaac assumed government, he directed his attention towards the west.²⁰²⁸ He waged a ferocious war against the Pastiqoye (Patzinaks) and triumphed

²⁰²⁶ Michael Psellus, *Chronographia*, 275-316. Matthew of Edessa, translated by Dostourian, 89-90 and George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 298-301.

²⁰²⁷ Michael Psellus, *Chronographia*, 302 says that Michael died soon after his abdication a private citizen; Ostrogorsky, *Ibid.*, 299; Matti Moosa, *The Crusades A Conflict between Christendom and Islam* (Gorgias Press, 2008), 75-76.

²⁰²⁸ This date of Isaac Comnenus cannot be correct, for Isaac reigned in the year 1057.

over them. He was mighty, arrogant and avaricious. In his time, the Turks invaded Melitene and the Roman country spoiling and pillaging unopposed. After two years of reign, Isaac died and Constantine Ducas ruled in the year 1377 of the Greeks (A.D. 1066).²⁰²⁹ He was from the province of Paphlagonia. He rebuilt the wall of Melitene. He died nine years after coming to power. The kingdom was administrated by his wife and sons for eight months. In this period, Krinotes, governor of Melitene, his wife and sons were murdered, and since then the city saw no peace.²⁰³⁰ *The End.*

In the year 1372 of the Greeks (A.D. 1061), Constantine (X), nicknamed Ducas (1059-1067), king (emperor) of the Romans, issued a decree that two walls and trenches be built around Melitene, and the trenches refilled with water as they had been in the past. When this decree was announced, some notables, mostly Syrian Orthodox originally from Melitene, left the capital and came to Melitene which housed the remains of their fathers. The work commenced immediately. As the emperor's decree was very urgent, artisans and engineers from the land of the Romans and Antioch joined those who were in the city. The notables who came from the capital sponsored a section of the city. In a very short time, they surprisingly rebuilt the city walls. However, because of constant wars and raids against the city, they could not add any substantial building to it, but built on its former foundations.

In this time, the patriarch of Constantinople ordered that any one of our Orthodox people or Armenian in the capital who did not accept their heresy (the Council of Chalcedon), should leave the city. He forced them to accept his heresy but they would not yield. He ordered Mari to collect the books and the mysteries found in the Syrian churches and burn them in the furnace. They did the same to the Armenians. They cast the Body and Blood and the *Mirun* (Holy Chrism) on the floor and trampled them by foot. However, the patriarch, who did these iniquities, was immediately stricken by the wrath of Divine justice. A day later, he exploded and died in bed for no apparent disease or accident. Thus, he ended up his life here (on earth) with this destiny and will await the merciless judgment kept for him there (in the world to come).

Ignatius, nephew (son of the sister) of Patriarch Haya, was ordained a metropolitan for Melitene.²⁰³¹ He was well versed in the Syriac and Greek languages and the Holy Scriptures, that is, the Old and the New Testaments, in addition to his proficiency in profane sciences, grammar, rhetoric, philosophy, dialectics and translation from one language to the other like Jacob of Edessa and Tuma (Thomas) Harqali. He was simple, meek, compassionate and abstinent so much so that he never kept in his cell anything to the next day.

In this period, the Chalcedonians stirred up persecution against the Orthodox, not only our people alone but also the Armenians under Roman rule. A decree was issued that they be expelled if they refused to accept their heresy. This persecution was harsher and bitterer than the one waged by the heathens against the Christians in the past. At the time the Christians were exposed to the persecution, pillaging and spoiling by the Turks from the outside, they were even more oppressed by the Chalcedonians from the inside. However, the reader should know that Divine justice did not wait too long.

Patriarch Athanasius Haya was arrested and the bishops with him and imprisoned in the Monastery of Matran outside the city.²⁰³² Five months later, they were transferred to Constantinople. When they reached 'Arqa, west of Melitene, Patriarch Athanasius died, and his body was returned for burial at the Butm (Oak) Monastery, which is the Monastery of Mor Harun (Aaron) al-Shaghr. After the death of the patriarch, the Greeks took his nephew Metropolitan Ignatius to Constantinople for questioning. He wrote down saying, I, Ignatius, Metropolitan of Melitene, suffered harsh and violent persecution." He went on to say that, "I am writing about my ordeal not for the love of vainglory, but for the information of the reader. For I do not want him to weaken in case anything like this might happen to him in the future. He should not languish in his piety because of the forthcoming distress and be deprived of eternal life." He continued

²⁰²⁹ This date of Ducas is incorrect. Constantine X Ducas came to power in A.D. 1059 and died in 1067.

²⁰³⁰ Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 303-304.

²⁰³¹ He is Ignatius III, who was ordained a bishop by his uncle Athanasius V on April 25, 1063. See Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, translated by Matti Moosa (Gorgias Press, 2003), 418-419.

²⁰³² The Monastery of Eubdocos of the Greeks outside Melitene.

saying, "They took us to Constantinople and we appeared before the Greek patriarch like common criminals, and he was intent to condemn us." Nicolaus, the Greek bishop of Melitene, pointed to Ignatius saying, "This is the one who will win the whole city of Melitene to his doctrine because he is learned and discerning." Then, the patriarch asked Ignatius and his colleagues to explain to him their doctrine, and they answered briefly saying:

"We believe in a Holy Trinity equal in substance, indivisible, one in power and honor, and nothing in it high or low. All of it is worthy of adoration and kingdom, and equal in position. It is beyond quality or quantity. The Father is unborn, the Son is born and the Spirit proceeds (from the Father.) One of the Trinity, God the Word, took body, that is, he was incarnated from the Virgin Mary, Mother of God, in unchangeable manner. He is one. He is the Son and Lord Jesus Christ. He is equal to the Father in divinity and equal to us, we human beings, in humanity. He is out of two: divinity and humanity both of which are ultimate perfection as the holy fathers said. We maintain One Nature of the Incarnate God the Logos and One *qnumo* (hypostasis). From these two natures is compounded the One and the Only One (Christ) without change or confusion, nay he remained without change. As it is also known, we accept three Ecumenical Councils of Nicaea, Constantinople and Ephesus. We do not accept those who worked out an innovation of the faith proclaiming two natures, two substances, two activities and two wills (A reference to the Council of Chalcedon). In fact, the testimonies of the holy fathers are sufficient to reveal the truth." Many other subjects were presented but we prefer not to mention them lest we deviate from the target.

Ignatius went on to say that, "Since we did not submit to them even in one matter, they condemned us and banished us to the Gaius Mountains in Macedonia. In fact, this was their intention and not the veracity of the faith. We spent three years in exile subjected to insults and harassment for no reason. However, when Emperor Constantine Ducas died (in 1067), Queen Eudocia²⁰³³ ordered that all prisoners and exiles be released. In fact, many senators were also in exile for fear that they might rebel against the emperor and depose him for his cruelty. It is true that the lack of experience to do good yields such dispositions. For this reason, some advised the queen to issue this order in order to secure her control of the government. Accordingly, we were released together with other exiles. We returned to Melitene while the Chalcedonian patriarch knew nothing about us, but we did not submit to them in a great or small matter despite their enticements. We, by the help of God, preserved our Orthodox faith and never mingled with the heretics (the Chalcedonians).²⁰³⁴ *The End*

Chapter Three: On the beginning of the reign of Romanus Diogenes, king (emperor) of the Romans, his defeat and capture by the Turks; and the affairs of the church in this period

In the year 1368 of the Greeks (A.D. 1068, Romanus Diogenes ruled the Romans for three years and eight months. He was extremely harsh in his judgments.²⁰³⁵ He waged war against Hierapolis (Mabug, Manbij), captured it and evicted the Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims) from it.²⁰³⁶

In this same year, the first king of the Turks died and Alp Arslan who was from the same tribe ascended the throne in Khurasan. He sent Sulayman, one of his relatives, to plunder and then he followed him and seized the Armenian regions. When King (Emperor) Romanus heard of this, he assembled the Roman armies and went forth to Greater Armenia and faced the Turks. He said with arrogance that he wanted to defeat the Turks, capture their king and burn him in fire. However, the king of the Turks had it in his heart that if he captured Diogenes and defeated the Romans, he would treat the king (emperor) with mercy and send him back in peace to his country. These things were revealed by a wondrous means. The Roman leaders quarreled with their emperor, and the Armenian forces rebelled because the Romans pressured them to accept their heresy (the Chalcedonian faith), and they fled and retreated. Therefore, the

²⁰³³ On Eudocia see Michael Psellus, *Chronographia*, 345-349.

²⁰³⁴ For this episode see Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Abbeloos and Lamy, 436-444, Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, 418-419, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 84-85.

²⁰³⁵ For an example of his behavior, See Michael Psellus, *Chronographia*, 352-356.

²⁰³⁶ Matthew of Edessa, 128-129.

united Turks defeated the Romans.²⁰³⁷ During this war, a significant thing happened. Sulayman, the sultan's cousin, asked the Sultan (Alp Arslan), to trust to him the conduct of the battle, and that he should sit in his chair at the top of a hillock. The sultan gave him permission to handle the war. Sulayman gathered his twelve sons and gave each one of them a thousand horsemen. They put on their armor and entered the war with the Romans, and the two sided engaged in battle. Behold a man, the son of the sultan's sister standing before him, asked him his permission to enter the battle, but the sultan would not agree. However, when he kept insisting, the sultan yielded and gave him permission to enter the battle. As he was on his way to battle, he chanced to face Diogenes who was a mighty and courageous man. Diogenes was still fighting despite that most of his great men and the Armenians had fled. That man struck him and he fell to the ground. He tried to finish him, but someone told him that he was the emperor. The Turk rejoiced, held him and brought him to their king. On the road, he met another person who asked him who the captive was. He told him that he was the king of the Romans. The wretched man, desiring to have the glory for himself, stabbed to death the man (son of the sultan's sister) who captured Diogenes, by the sword. Then, he bound Diogenes in chains and brought him to the sultan. In the evening, the sultan, noticing that his sister's son did not return, sent men to search for him. They found him lying flat on the ground still alive. They brought him to (the sultan), and Diogenes recognized him, and informed the sultan of what had happened. Immediately, the sultan ordered that this imposter be executed and gave his possessions to the wronged man.

Then, the sultan asked Diogenes what he intended to do with him if he had captured him? He confessed saying, "I would have burned you by fire." The sultan said, "But I intended to treat you with compassion if I had captured you. You ought to know that God answers those who think of what is good." He sent him accompanied by soldiers to the boundaries of the Roman country and left him there. It is said that Sultan Alp Arslan was just and renowned for many good deeds. When the Romans learned that their emperor was captured, they set up Michael, son of Constantine, (Michael VII Ducas Parapinakes 1071-1078) as emperor. Michael appointed a certain Iwani (John) as heir apparent. When Iwani learned that Diogenes had been saved, he swore falsely to the emperor and departed. Then, when Diogenes arrived, he gouged out his eyes and Diogenes died a day later. Thus, without God, they (the Romans) dispensed of their affairs always.²⁰³⁸

Remark

We found in the books of the Tayoye (Arabs) that the name of the sultan who defeated the Romans was Abu al-Fath, and that the war between the Romans and the Turks took place near Amid. Maybe the cognomen of Alp Arslan was given him by the caliph when designating him a sultan. *End of the account.*

The kingdom of the Turks commenced in Khurasan when Sultan Tughrul Bey assumed power. He dispatched a great company of Turks commanded by al-Basasiri.²⁰³⁹ He reached Balish (Balis) and remained in it for one year, and then returned to Khurasan. In the year 1379 of the Greeks (A.D. 1068), he went forth again and reached Aleppo. This was the first time the Turks attacked interior Syria and the coastal country of Palestine. They captured these countries and wreaked havoc plundering and spoiling.

²⁰³⁷ Romanus Diogenes was defeated in 1071 at the battle of Mantskert, Manzikert, Malazkird, Malasgird, north of Lake Van in Armenia. See Matthew of Edessa, 135. Michael Psellus, *Chronographia*, 355-356, does not mention Manzikert by name. But he attributes the defeat of Romanus on his ignorance of military sciences and bad judgment.

²⁰³⁸ The Anonymous Edessan, translated by Albert Abouna, under the title *Tarikh al-Ruhawi al-Majbul* (Baghdad, 1986), 64-65, follows this account with slight variation. Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 220-223, produces Michael Rabo's account at length and with some difference. He says that he found this history in an Arabic and Persian manuscripts. He produces a lengthy conversation between Alp Arslan and Diogenes. Alp Arslan demanded from Diogenes ten thousand dinars as ransom, and the surrender of several Roman cities. And when he sent Diogenes back to his country, he had one hundred slaves to accompany him to Constantinople. Alp Arslan rode side by side with Diogenes and they kissed each other and then separated. Also, regarding the blinding of Diogenes and his death is different from that of Michael Rabo. See Matthew of Edessa, 135.

²⁰³⁹ Abu al-Harith Arslan al-Basasiri, the Turkish general and governor of Baghdad under the last Buwayhids. See Philip Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 474.

Upon the death of the Patriarch Mor Athanasius (V in 1063), the bishops assembled in the Monastery of Mor Abhai on the bank of the Euphrates River and decided to invite Mor Yuhanon (John) Yeshu, the scribe known as Bar Shushan to assume administration of the church. He was a man of piety and learning not only in religious but also in profane and civil sciences. He was skillful in speech and very efficient in the refutation of heretics. He was adorned with excellent characteristics. He chose the path of asceticism, and when he was invited (to become a patriarch), he refused. He admitted that he regretted to have accepted (to becoming a patriarch) at the beginning. Later, however, he yielded, especially when some solitaries and holy men assured him that they had seen through the Spirit that God had chosen him to take charge of the church. He accepted the request of the people and the lawful insistence of the clergy. It was then that (the bishops) celebrated his enthronement as patriarch at Mor Abhai.

Bar Shushan issued twenty-four canons. He decided that they should be applied to him, to the bishops and to all the members of the church. When the canons were announced, pious men welcomed them while some coward bishops doubted them. He (Bar Shushan) deposed five bishops and ordained selected men known for excellent character, but he never changed his ascetic behavior. He exhausted his body with fasting and wakefulness and walking on foot on the road. If he felt tired, he would mount a donkey to receive some rest. He also asked those who traveled with him to ride donkeys in case they got tired walking, and he walked with them in great meekness. He never quit writing even during the respites they took during their travels. He filled the world with his letters, commentaries and sound directives. Every year, he assembled a council according to the canons, and carried out adjustment according to the law. He devoted specific concern to learning and writing. He specifically concentrated on the teachings of St. Ephraim and St. Isaac. In his old age, he collected them in one volume, but his life ended before he completed it. He ordained seventeen bishops. He served the patriarchate for nine years. He preferred to live in the region under the authority of the Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims) to escape the wickedness of the Greeks (Romans). He lived in Harran, Miyafarqat, and Amid where he is laid to rest. (He died in 1072). His body was placed in a marble urn and interned in the church of the Mother of God next to the grave of Patriarch Yuhanon (John) his master who had raised him. May the memory of both of them be a blessing. May their prayers be with us. Amen.²⁰⁴⁰

Chapter Four: The commencement of the reign of Michael, son of Constantine, king (emperor) of the Romans, and the reign of the Turks in the region of Pontus, and the disturbances which took place in the church, and on the Armenian Philaretus in this period

Having been defeated by the Turks, the Romans could no more face them. Fear gripped Emperor Michael (VII Ducas Parapinakes), who assumed power in the year 1389 of the Greeks (A.D. 1078). (The correct dates of Michael are 1071-1078). He listened to worthless counsels, confined himself to the royal palace and never went forth to meet the Turks.²⁰⁴¹ He gathered the rest of the people in the Pontus region and sent them by sea. Nothing was left (in Pontus) except garrisons to guard the fortresses and the cities. When the Turks won an astounding victory and controlled Armenia, sultan Alp Arslan, also known as Abu al-Fath, nicknamed "the Just," sent his cousin Sulayman to the districts of Cappadocia and Pontus and granted him the authority to become sultan over them.²⁰⁴² The Romans fled before him. He occupied the cities of Nicaea and Nicomedia and settled in them, and the whole country was filled with Turks. When the caliph in Baghdad heard this, he sent (Sulayman) various gifts and proclaimed him a sultan, that is, a king

²⁰⁴⁰ For a biography of Bar Shushan, see Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, translated by Matti Moosa, 416-417.

²⁰⁴¹ Psellus has nothing but praise for the character of Michael VII, especially that he was an avid reader of history and literature. See Michael Psellus, *Chronographia*, 367-373. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 305 says that Psellus pitifully puppets Michael as a cloistered bookworm. Be that as it may, with him, the *Chronography* of Psellus comes to an end.

²⁰⁴² Sulayman, cousin of Alp Arslan, is founder of the Sultanate of Rum Seljuks in 1077. See Philip Hitti, *History of The Arabs*, p. 475. The Anonymous Edessan is mistaken in making Sulayman the son of Alp Arslan. See *Tarikh al-Ruhawi al-Majbul*, translated by Rev. Albert Abouna, 66.

and confirmed him in the leadership. Now, the Turks had two sultans: one in Khurasan and the other in the country of the Romans in addition to those in Margiane.

In the year 1396 (A.D. 1085), the Egyptians, although they were originally Arabs, conflicted with the first Arab state regarding leadership on account of the doctrinal difference between those in Egypt and those in Athor (Assyria) and Babylon (Mesopotamia). The sultan of Khurasan sent a prince from the tribe of Artuk called Aqsiz (Atsiz), who captured Damascus from the hands of the Egyptians. Then, he marched against Jerusalem and entire Palestine and Tyre and Sidon because the Romans were defeated by him and fled through the sea.²⁰⁴³ When Sultan Sulayman, who reigned in Iconium (Konia), learned that the Romans in Antioch were weak and only few of them remained in the city, he took three thousand horsemen without their families, went through the rugged mountainous path, attacked Antioch at night and seized it by surprise. They killed a great number of its inhabitants and converted the great Church of Cassianus into a mosque.

In this same year (A.D. 1085), a prince appeared among the Turks named Tanushman (Ahmad Gümüshtigin ibn Danishmend). He attacked Cappadocia and captured Sebastea, Caesarea and other northern regions. At this juncture, the rule of the Danishmendids began. While these events were taken their course, another authority suddenly appeared in the region led by a group of Armenians. They formed a gang of fifty persons, entered stealthily into region of the Turks, and began to practice robbery. At Mar'ash (Germanicia), they met an Armenian young man from the village of Shirka named Philardus (Philaretus).²⁰⁴⁴ When they saw that he was strong, cunning and courageous in plundering and killing, they made him their leader and guide. Since these countries were under the Turks but without a leader, these Armenians spoiled them. Philaretus seized one fortress in Cilicia, and a group of Armenians banded together around him. Then, he went further and seized several hard to reach places in Cilicia. When the king (emperor) of the Romans heard about him, he sent him gifts. Then, Philaretus entered Constantinople and the Greeks, rejoicing, offered him arms and gold and proclaimed him a Sebastos "Augustus." He went out and ruled Tarsus and Missisa. In addition, he took possession of Mar'ash, Kesum, Ra'ban, Edessa and Anazarba. He entered Antioch and gained more power. Then, he entered into the countries of Jihan and Melitene. When his power waxed, he began to fight the Turks with Roman forces. But when he could not stand up to the Turks, this miserable man went down to Baghdad and Khurasan and denied his faith.²⁰⁴⁵ He received documents from the caliph and from the sultan of the Turks to leave for him the countries already under his authority. When he returned, he found that the Turks had already controlled most of the countries under his authority. Since he had forfeited his faith for leadership, he lost hope of retaining this leadership. He went to Mar'ash and there he died. It is said that before his death, he became a Christian. This Philaretus set up Theodore, son of Hetum the Greek, as governor of Melitene. After him came Harib the Armenian, then Balatianos, then Gabriel in whose time it was ruled by Buzan.²⁰⁴⁶

Remark

We found in other copies that Philaretus did not seize these cities from the Turks, but the Greeks themselves empowered him to take them in order to keep them protected for them. When Sulayman came to Antioch, he seized it from Philaretus. This is the truth. In the time of Sulayman, the people of our faith obtained an order to build in Antioch the two churches: one for the Mother of God and the other for Mor Georgius. The Turks took from Philaretus Kesum, Ra'ban, Jihan and other cities, and left him only Mar'ash.

²⁰⁴³ Atsiz, a Turkish term for (horseless), son of Awq (Abeq), a vassal of the Seljukid Sultan Alp Arslan. He captured Jerusalem from the Shiite Fatimids of Egypt in 1071. See Abu Ya'la Hamza ibn al-Qalanisi, *Diwan Tarikh Dimashq*, ed. H. F. Amedroz ((Beirut, 1908), 98-99, Matthew of Edessa, 152, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 120.

²⁰⁴⁴ On Philaretus see Matthew of Edessa. 137-138, 141, 147, and 151-153, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 75, 89, 90-94, 162, 344, 364 and 487.

²⁰⁴⁵ Matthew of Edessa, 153.

²⁰⁴⁶ Matthew of Edessa has nothing good to say about Philaretus. He calls him wicked, the offspring of Satan, tyrannical, perfidious, the abominable Anti-Christ, etc. p. 137. Buzan is Mujahid al-Din, an army commander of the Seljuk Sultan Malik Shah called Abu al-Fath by the Anonymous Edessan, 66.

After the death of Patriarch Yuhanon (John bar Shushan), some bishops stirred up trouble anew when they met in Hisn Mansur to elect a shepherd. When they could not reach an agreement on a specific person, they decided to cast a lot. At that time, there was a learned monk proficient in sciences named Abdun from the family of the holy Patriarchs Yuhanon bar Abdun and the other Yuhanon, who aspired to the position of the patriarchate. However, the bishops did not approve of him because of his impudence, as it is written, "The impudent strikes terror in the village." However, since some bishops had nominated him, they inserted his name in the ballot. Regardless, the ballot fell for the monk Basil, steward of the Monastery of Mor Barsoum, but he tenaciously refused to accept the position and even shaved off his beard that they may leave him alone. Basil, being meek, serene, somehow simple, and pious and God fearing, was awed by the magnitude of this position (the patriarchate). However, the bishops would not let him go even if he had shaved off his beard. They ordained him a patriarch at Hisn Mansur in January 1385 (A.D. 1074) by the laying on of the hands of Mor Athanasius, bishop of Edessa. Basil ordained the already mentioned monk Abdun, abbot of the Monastery of Bar Jaji, a metropolitan of Semando and called him Yuhanon (John) at his ordination. He also ordained Yuhanon a metropolitan for Takrit. After his death, both of these metropolitans rebelled and disturbed the church and its order. Woe to them by God. After serving the patriarchate for one year and six months, Basil died in Miyafarqat and was buried in its church.

Some bishops who participated in the election claimed that the lot fell upon Abdun, but the president of the council and some bishops manipulated the election. The liar who related this matter to Abdun was Simon, bishop of Kesum, who the congregation of Melitene wanted as their bishop following his uncle, nicknamed the Egyptian. Then Patriarch Haya hastened to ordain his nephew Ignatius as bishop for Melitene, which made Abdun angry against Ignatius. Therefore, no one believed Simon, and since they abhorred Abdun for his harshness and arrogance, they rejected him. However, Abdun, removing the fear of God from his heart, left no stone unturned, and bribed the rulers with gold. He would not even feel ashamed despite that he was condemned by both the easterners and the westerners. He went on to force the bishops, the monks and the rest of the clergymen to proclaim him a patriarch. He gave Philaretus, the army general, plenty of gold (to support him). Philaretus seized ten bishops from the region of Melitene and other regions and imprisoned them that they may endorse Abdun. He gave each of them a hundred dinars but they would not endorse him.

Yuhanon (John), bishop of Takrit, took advantage of the riot that prevailed in the church, and he, in turn, removing the fear of God from his heart, trampled on the canons and ordained a bishop for Nisibin. Soon, however, the bishop he ordained was stricken by God's wrath and died. He ordained another bishop instead of him and controlled the country of Tur Abdin, but he was resisted by the monks of the Qartmin (Mor Gabriel) Monastery. In addition, some bishops who were partisans of Simon, namely, the bishop of Kesum, and Athanasius, bishop of Samosata, usurped sees of dioceses that do not belong to them.²⁰⁴⁷

Chapter Five: On the period of the reign of Nicephorus and Alexander, kings (emperors) of the Romans, and the assumption of power by the Turks, and the bishops' opposition of Abdun

The kingdom of the Turks extended into Beth Nahrim (Mesopotamia), Syria and Palestine, at the time when there were also here and there some Turkish amirs in the lands of the Arabs. Now the Arabs and the Turks were living as one people. The Turks were also in control of Greater and Lesser Armenia, Cappadocia, *Bithynia* and Pontus, and they always were standing in opposition of the Romans. Whenever an amir from Khurasan appeared and seized a part of the Roman country, he was confirmed as a governor of that part by the sultan in Khurasan, called Sinjar, and the caliph in Baghdad, who was their religious leader. Thus, Greater Armenia was governed by an amir from the tribe of Sukman whose name in Persian was Shahraman (Shahr Armen). Other governors were appointed to Beth Nahrin called Artukids. The family of Tunishman (Danishmends) ruled in Sebastea, Caesarea, and Pontus, while the clan of the sultan Sulayman ruled in Nicaea, Nicomedia and Iconium (Konya). Thus, the kingdom of the Turks was one with the Arabs.

²⁰⁴⁷ For these lengthy episodes see Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Abbeloos and Lamy, 449-453.

In the kingdom of the Greeks, also called Romans, Emperor Michael (VII Ducas Parapinakes) was very feeble and preferred solitary life. Nicephorus, nicknamed Botanicu (Botaneiates) rebelled against him in the year 1397 (A.D. 1086, actually, Nicephorus rose to power in 1078). He assembled an army, marched against Constantinople and sieged it for some time, then stormed it and killed the inhabitants by the sword. When he reached the royal palace, Michael went out on foot and carrying the crown in his hand, he said to him, "Take this, and withhold the sword from the people. If you had asked me, I would have given it to you without war." Nicephorus gave orders that he was to be tonsured, become a monk and spend his life in a monastery. Then Nicephorus had Michael's two sons castrated and married his wife. He was despised by everyone. Divine grace departed from him, and fear fell upon him. He sat down in the palace, and never went out to war.²⁰⁴⁸

When Alexius Comnenus, captain of the host, witnessed that Nicephorus received power unlawfully and that the affairs of the kingdom had gone into ruin, he made a secret agreement with the nobles to take over the government, and then waited for the convenient time. One day as he was with the emperor alone, his brother came to enter the palace, but the guards would not let him in, and there was commotion. Going out, Alexius learned the reason of the commotion, but feared that the emperor might know what was going on. He handed a letter to a certain person and asked him to go through the gate of the city, and then turn around and come back through another gate, and into the royal palace, as fast as he could. The messenger did what he was told. The letter was read to the emperor. It contained the information that the enemies had entered into his country. The emperor commanded the captain of the host (Alexius) to assemble an army and go forth to meet the enemies. With this false information, Alexius achieved his goal. He went with the nobles, who backed him up, to a convenient place where they proclaimed him an emperor. Immediately, they returned to the city (Constantinople) without opposition. Alexius went to the palace, and Nicephorus departed. He was rewarded according to what he had done, and he had his fill of disgrace and contempt.²⁰⁴⁹

Alexius assumed power in the year 1400 (A.D. 1089). The period of his reign was twenty-nine years and not thirty-eight years as mentioned in some sources. We have computed these years to show the correctness of the affairs we will have the occasion to refer to in the course of our relation of the historical sequence.²⁰⁵⁰

After the bishops freed themselves from Philaretus, who pressured them to accept Abdun, they met in the Monastery of Mor Barsoum. They invited Li'azar, archimandrite of the monastery, but he categorically rejected (their invitation), and pronounced an excommunication of himself forty times that he would not accept becoming a patriarch. However, to forbid Abdun from taking hold of the church, the bishops overlooked the excommunication of archimandrite Li'azar and forced him to become a patriarch. He was well known to the governor and to Philaretus. Finally, and under the bishops' pressure, he yielded to become a patriarch. He was ordained on the last Friday of Lent, and the bishops asked him to consecrate the *Mirun* (Holy Chrism) on Maundy Thursday, but he could not because his right hand had withered. After his ordination, he lived only one year and ordained no bishops. He died in Hisn Mansur.

The rebel Abdun continued to stir up disturbance. The bishops, motivated by divine zeal, assembled and excommunicated him as a heretic, and circulated letters to this effect everywhere. Then the bishops chose John the solitary from the region of Kharshana, and ordained him a patriarch in the church of Mor

²⁰⁴⁸ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 226-227. Matthew of Edessa tells a different version of the story. He says that Michael was a pious and virtuous man who lived a saintly life of fasting and praying. He was so ascetic that he stopped having sex with his wife who resented him. She became sexually involved with Nicephorus Botaneiates and instigated him to rebel against Michael and take the throne from him. Nicephorus did usurp the throne and took Michael's wife as his wife. One year later, he became remorseful of the sins he committed against Michael and, like him, ended up becoming a monk. See Matthew of Edessa, 140-142, Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 307-308.

²⁰⁴⁹ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 227-228. Matthew of Edessa, 143, says that after Nicephorus, Melissenus ruled in Constantinople for four months. See Ostrogorsky, 308-309. But the inhabitants of the city rose up against him, seized his crown and placed it on the head of Alexius.

²⁰⁵⁰ The above date of Alexius coming to power is incorrect. Alexius assumed power in 1081 and died in 1118. Thus, he ruled for thirty-seven years.

Jirjis (George) in Melitene in the year 1391 of the Greeks (A.D. 1080), by the laying on of the hands of Mor Ignatius, bishop of Melitene. John served the patriarchate for one and a half years and ordained five bishops. He died and was buried in the Qariro (Barid) Monastery. He was a quiet man, meek and simple.

In that year, locusts swept the region of Jihan. The patriarch and the people went out supplicating to stop it. When the patriarch saw that the poor people were wailing and the children crying, he felt compassionate for them. With sheer simplicity of his holy soul, he ordered the locusts not to ruin the planted fields, except the field in which he was standing. By the order of God who has power over everything, the locusts swarmed against that field and devoured it. This miracle took place for the glorification of God. For many years, the faithful gathered earth from that field, and wherever they threw it, a miracle took place on that spot.

At this time, Cyril was the pope of Alexandria and Egypt.

Upon the death of Mor Iyawannis, the audacious Abdun went into action. He was supported by some people who inculcated to him that his election was from the Lord. Their pretext was that the two former patriarchs were chosen, ordained and died in a very short time. Abdun wrote saying, "They have forsaken me, the spring of living water; and have dug their own cisterns, broken cisterns that cannot hold water."²⁰⁵¹ However, despite being excommunicated, Abdun had the temerity to ordain four bishops. The faithful were sorely distressed for the confusion in the church, and many lost hope for the lack of faith. *End of the narrative.*

Chapter Six: On the period of the reign of Alexius, king (emperor) of the Romans, the kingdom of the Turks waxed strong, and the affairs of the church worsened

At the outset of the reign of Alexius over the Romans in the year 1400 (A.D. 1081), a Turk named Tutush Alp Arslan Taj al-Dawla, ruled Damascus and killed Aqsis (Atsiz).²⁰⁵²

In the same year, Mahmud ruled Aleppo after his father Salih. Both were Arabs.

In the same year Abu al-Hasan Ali ibn Munqidh usurped Shayzar (fortress) from a bishop who was appointed by the Romans.

In the year 1404 (A.D. 1085), Mahmud, son of Nasr, son of Salih died and his three sons Sabaq, Shabib and Atiyya ruled Aleppo. In this year, Muslim ibn Quraysh marched against them, and after prolonged wars, he seized it from them.

In 1414 (A.D. 1103), Sharaf al-Dawla ibn Qurush (Cyrus) marched against Harran and wrested it from the judge who was ruling it, and killed him. In this same year, Sharaf al-Dawla ibn Qurush (Cyrus), ibn Sulayman the Turk, marched against Antioch to wrest it from Sulayman ibn Kutulmish the Turk, who had wrested it earlier from Sharaf al-Dawla ibn Qurush.²⁰⁵³

Then Sultan Abu al-Fath went forth and captured Aleppo peacefully from Malik ibn Salim, and gave him the fortress of Ja'bar, which he had taken by the sword from Sabiq and killed him.

In this period the Turks seized Tarsus, Massisa (Mopsuestia) and Anazarba and the rest of the cities of Cilicia.

In this period, the kingdom of the Greeks (Romans) was harassed from every direction.

In this period, the Romans went forth with the Franks from Rome to oppose King (Emperor) Alexius. They fought against Constantinople in order to wrest it from the Greeks. When Alexius was locked up in the royal city and embattled by the Franks, the Arabs and the Turks began to control the regions under the authority of the Romans. In Melitene there was a governor named Gabriel, a Greek, who was appointed by Philaretus. When Philaretus died, Gabriel became the governor. When he saw that the Greeks

²⁰⁵¹ Jeremiah 2:13.

²⁰⁵² See Matthew of Edessa, 152..

²⁰⁵³ Sulayman ibn Kutulmish was the founder of the Seljuk state of Rum, or Anatolia, 1077-1086. In 1085, he captured Antioch from Philaretus. See Matthew of Edessa, 147-148; The Anonymous Edessan, 67, says that Sulayman converted the great Church of St. Peter known as Cassianus into a masjid, see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 162, 342 with the footnotes.

were defeated by the Turks, he sent his wife to Baghdad, and she obtained a decree from the king (caliph) of the Tayoye (Arabs) confirming him a governor of Melitene.

In Edessa, was (a governor) Theodore son of Hetum. When the Turkish al-Farij came to Melitene in the year 1406 (A.D. 1095), Gabriel treacherously took him to Edessa and administered to him poison, and he died.²⁰⁵⁴ Upon his death, Gabriel deceived the Turks and took them to Melitene with the pretext that he would surrender the city to them, but left them outside and shut the gates.²⁰⁵⁵ However, they set up a leader named Tawit (Armenian form of David), and spoiled the region and then descended on the city (Melitene). Afterwards arrived Tunishman (Danishmend) from Sebastea and reconciled them.

In this period, another crime was committed against the church by Mark, archimandrite of the Barid Monastery. Mark was wealthy, and money consumes even the wise. Noticing that the orders of church were in a state of great confusion created by Abdun, he gave Philaretus three thousand dinars: two from his own treasury and the other thousand from the monastery. He forcibly got hold of two bishops: one was the bishop of 'Arqa, who had usurped the diocese of Jihan unlawfully, and they set up Mark as patriarch by the order of Philaretus in order to defend him. All bishops, including Yuhanon (John), metropolitan of Takrit, renounced Mark as they did Abdun. After six years of disturbance, the bishops assembled and, by the advice of Yuhanon, metropolitan of Takrit, to whom was entrusted Nisibin, accepted Mark (as a patriarch) as a lesser evil, just to keep Abdun away. Mark was ordained a patriarch and was given the name of Dionysius. He served the patriarchate for one year and seven months, and ordained ten bishops. He passed away and was buried in the Monastery of Zarnuqa in the region of Melitene.

Abdun tried once more to usurp the patriarchate, but was rejected by the bishops. In the year 1401 (A.D. 1090), the bishops assembled in the village of Qaramis in the region of Melitene. They cast a lot (for a new patriarch) and the monk Abu al-Faraj from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum won. He was born in the city of Amid in Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia), but was raised and educated in Melitene, and became a monk at the Monastery of Mor Barsoum. When the invitation was addressed to him, he refused to accept the new position, and the bishops suspended him from service. This situation continued for nine months. The reason he declined was because of the disturbance Abdun had created in the church. However, when the bishops saw that he insisted on not accepting the position (of a patriarch), they sought the aid of the Greek Gabriel, governor of Melitene, and he forced him to accept. He was ordained a patriarch in the Sa'i church in Melitene on the first Sunday of December 1402 (A.D. 1091), by the laying on of the hands of Timothy, bishop of Tell Batriq who also chaired the council. Timothy was assisted by Ignatius, bishop of Melitene, Iyawannis, bishop of 'Arqa, Basil, bishop of Laqbin and Iyawannis, bishop of Samosata.

Abdun went to see Gabriel (governor of Melitene), and offered him two thousand gold dirhams just not to have Athanasius (Abu al-Faraj mentioned above) accepted (as a patriarch). Since Gabriel knew that the ordination of Athanasius was performed in his own city, he repelled Abdun. He hoped that the patriarch would visit him and bring him gifts as a token of thanks. However, when the patriarch did not fulfill Gabriel's hope, he had him brought by force from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum. When he arrived at the door, Gabriel went out to welcome him and receive his benediction, but the patriarch refused to respond. He told Gabriel, "You are a Greek (Chalcedonian) and we are Syrians." Gabriel became indignant and ordered the patriarch imprisoned in the house of a prostitute in order to augment his humiliation. He also ordered him to close the churches and not to ring bells until he released him. However, the faithful people collected money and paid Gabriel nine hundred dinars, and he released the patriarch, who returned to the Monastery of Mor Barsoum.

In the year 1393 (A.D. 1082), a Turk named Qaraoul ruled Melitene.

In this year, there was famine and a pound of bread was sold for one dinar and two pounds of wine for the same price. In addition, in this same year earthquake took place and eighty-six towers collapsed.

²⁰⁵⁴ He is the Sultan al-Faraj of Matthew of Edessa, 163, and the Anonymous Edessan, 67-68.

²⁰⁵⁵ Matthew of Edessa, 163, does not mention the faith of Gabriel. But his translator, Ara Doutourian, says in footnote 3 that he was of the Byzantine Orthodox faith. The Anonymous Edessan, 67 and 80, says that Gabriel was a Chalcedonian who governed Melitene.

In 1396 (A.D. 1085), an earth tremor took place in Constantinople and several thousands of people drowned.

In the year 1407 (A.D. 1096), Gabriel the Greek (Roman), was appointed by the Turks as governor of Melitene. He killed the chief Abu Salim, the son-in-law of the late sons of Abu Imran and Abu Uqayal. On April 28 of the year 1408 (A.D. 1097), Gabriel killed eight prominent and believing merchants. They were Barsoum, son of the nun and his two sons, Gurgis, the bridegroom and his two sons, Basil Hawa and his son Abd Allah 'Arqi, and Sahdo, a famous deacon of Tantini. He plundered from their homes and from Abu Mansur abundant gold, silver and vessels. From the church of the Episcopus, he pillaged crosses, censers, the jar of *Mirun* (Holy Chrism), and the entire church vessels. Furthermore, he destroyed houses and constructed a citadel and a wall. *End of the narrative.*

The story of Phesqin

In this time began the construction of the Phesqin Monastery in the following manner. In the Monastery of Mor Abhai were many Nazerites (ascetics), of whom was the pious monk David and his mates. They followed a virtuous life and excellent conduct that God endowed them with seeing visions and doing wonder works. They were visited by the venerable old man Plotiusa from Kharshana, who was an ascetic in the Monastery of Mor Barsoum. David and his companions took him as a guide and counselor. One day, as they were deliberating a certain matter, Plotinus told them that God had revealed to him that next to the cavern on the bank of the Euphrates was a monastery known as the Monastery of the Samosatians, that it would become a home for pious solitaries. David and his companions went to the place and lived in huts. They were preoccupied with good works, fasting, and prayer day and night. By their hands, many sick were healed and anyone who asked them by faith was healed. The son of the governor of the district, a young man tormented by evil spirits, went to them, was healed, and became a monk. His mother also became a nun and in a short time attained a high degree of virtue. By her prayers, many sick people and those afflicted by evil spirits were healed. In addition, rabban (teacher, monk) Basil received the grace of healing and revelation. However, Dionysius, metropolitan of Melitene, Sa'id and his brother Abu Ghalib Sabuni, wanted to have the monks of Phesqin and the aged Plotinus excommunicated because they were followers of the heresy of the Messalinas.²⁰⁵⁶ They also maintained the revelation of the old man Plotinus to the people who visited him, by saying to them, "This one committed sin and the other did this and that," was done by the influence of evil spirits that appeared to him. However, the Patriarch Athanasius disagreed with them. He said, "When Satan deceives, he destroys the soul and the body and cannot be restored. The grace with which the ancients were endowed, like the healing of bodies and souls, is from God. We, on our part, support his idea."

Rabban (monk) Habakkuk, who succeeded David as the archimandrite of the monastery, built its church. He implemented the canons laid down by David who forbade the monks from owning a vineyard, a field or a beehive. In addition, he forbade them from asking anyone for something or charity. *End of the story of Mor Demit in Gargar.* (The Monastery of Phesqin was also called the Monastery of the Canal and the Monastery of Mor Demit in Gargar.)

Chapter Seven: The expedition of the Franks against Jerusalem, and the visit of the Patriarch Athanasius to the caliph in Baghdad

When the Turks dominated Syria and Palestine, they inflicted the Christians who came to worship in Jerusalem with many evils by beating and humiliating them. They imposed on them heavy tributes that they exacted at the city gate or at Golgotha and the Holy Sepulcher. Moreover, they killed the Christians in one way or another especially those who came from Rome and the rest of Italy. As a result, a great number of them lost their lives. This kindled the zeal of the kings and princes in Rome who marshaled an army in those

²⁰⁵⁶ For Sa'id Sabuni (d. 1095), and his brother Basilus Abu Ghalib Sabuni (d. 1129), see Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, translated by Matti Moosa, 419-422.

regions and came by sea to Constantinople.²⁰⁵⁷ However, when the King (Emperor) of the Greeks (Romans, Byzantine) Alexius, prevented them from passing through, they determined to occupy the city and wrest it from the Greeks. They fought the inhabitants of Constantinople from 1090 to 1097 A.D.²⁰⁵⁸

While the Franks were busy with the people of Constantinople, Antioch was rocked by an earthquake. A great temple appeared in the foundation of a ruined fortress containing huge brass statues representing the Franks mounted on horses, fully armed with lances and swords. They were all in chains. The Turkish governor Aghusin (Yaghi Siyan)²⁰⁵⁹ ordered a search to establish the truth of this discovery, but no one seemed to know about it and no book has referred to it. So, the statues were considered as pagan idols. The king (governor, Yaghi Siyan) ordered that they be destroyed. However, a blind old woman said, "I have heard old people say that under one of the fortresses are laid cryptic characters belonging to the Franks to caution them not to cross the sea." When the governor heard what the woman said he felt sorry for destroying those characters. He asked the woman whether she had heard how they were made and whether it was possible to make others like them. She answered in the negative, and they killed her.²⁰⁶⁰

The Franks vowed to God that in case they occupied Jerusalem they would grant safety to all the Christian churches. In addition, they would hand over the churches and monasteries to all those who believed in Christ.²⁰⁶¹ In the meantime, Sulayman was killed by the Turks and by Alp Arslan. The Franks who reached Antioch were two kings and seven princes. The kings were Ma'mun (Bohemond I of Taranto, son of Robert Guiscard), and Tanjari (Tancred, nephew of Bohemond I). The princes were Rajil (Roger of Salerno), Baimond (Bohemond, apparently, the name is repeated), Baghdawin (Baldwin of Boulogne I, brother of Godfrey of Bouillon), Gosselin (Joscelin I, of Courtenay, first cousin of Baldwin II), Galeran (of Le Puiset), Gondofer (Godfrey of Bouillon) and Salgis, (Saint-Gilles, (Raymond of St. Gilles, count of Toulouse).²⁰⁶² When Theodore, son of Hetum who ruled al-Ruha (Edessa) after the murder of Buzan (Seljukid governor of Edessa 1087-1094), heard that the Franks had besieged Antioch, he promised to hand over Edessa to Duke Godfrey. The Franks rejoiced saying that as Edessa believed in Christ before Jerusalem, so did the Lord Christ hand it to us before Jerusalem.²⁰⁶³ Godfrey sent his brother Baldwin to rule Edessa.

²⁰⁵⁷ For a thorough analysis of the causes of the Crusades and the western and eastern writers on the subject, see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades: Conflict between Christendom and Islam* (Gorgias Press, 2008), Chapters 1 and 2, 11-33.

²⁰⁵⁸ See *Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, translated into English by Rosalind Hill under the title *The Deeds of the Franks and the other Pilgrims to Jerusalem* (London, Thomas Nelson, 1962), 2-4, hereafter the *Gesta Francorum*, Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, translated by Elizabeth A. Dawes (London, 1967), 249-252; William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done beyond the Sea* I translated by Emily Atwater and A. C. Krey (Columbia University Press, 1943): 110; and Steven Runciman, "The First Crusade: Constantinople to Antioch," in *A History of the Crusades I*: 280-284; and by the same author, *A History of the Crusades I*: (Harper Torch Books, 1965):115-118; L. Bréhier, *Vie et Mort de Byzance*, (Paris, 1947), 310; F. Chalandon, *Histoire de la Première Croisade jusqu'à l'élection de Godefroi de Bouillon* (Paris, 1925), 76-77; René Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades et du royaume franc de Jérusalem*, (Paris, 1934): 8-10.

²⁰⁵⁹ Mu'ayyid al-Dawla Yaghi Siyan, Seljukid governor of Antioch 1087-1098. Bar Hebraeus calls him Gaisan. See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 235. According to Matthew of Edessa, Yaghi-Siyan was a vicious, vile, invidious and savage-minded man. See Matthew of Edessa, 154.

²⁰⁶⁰ This anecdote seems to be peculiar to our author. It is not found in other Syriac sources. A similar anecdote is related by Ibn al-Adim as told by al-Qadi Hasan ibn al-Mawj al-Faw'i. See Kamal al-Din Ibn al-Adim, *Bughyat al-Talab fi Tarikh Halab*, ed. Suhayl Zakkar, I (Damascus, 1988), 481-482, and Suhayl Zakkar, *Madkhal ila Tarikh al-Hurub al-Salibiyya* (Beirut, Dar al-Amana, 1972), 125-126, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 341-342. While our author does not give the source of this anecdote, Ibn al-Adim bases it on the word of mouth of al-Qadi Hasan ibn al-Mawj al-Faw'i. For more information on Barakat ibn Faris al-Faw'i known as al-Mujann, imprisoned, tortured and then killed by Ridwan, lord of Aleppo in 1097, see Ibn al-Adim, *Zubdat al-Halab min Tarikh Halab*, in *Recueil Des Historiens Des Croisades. Historiens Orientaux* III (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1844): 585-586, and the same ed. Sami al-Dahhan, II (Damascus, 1954): 139-141; Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, ed. H. F. Amedroz (Beirut, 1908), 135.

²⁰⁶¹ See Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, and Matthew of Edessa, 165.

²⁰⁶² See August C. Krey, *The First Crusade*, 57; Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Ierosolymotana*, translated into English by Martha Evelyn McGinty, as *Fulcher of Chartres Chronicle of The First Crusade*, (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1941), 21-22; William of Tyre, I: 95 and 116 The Anonymous Edessan 73. Matthew of Edessa, 228, 230 and 232, Bar Hebraeus, 251, and Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 208.

²⁰⁶³ Theodore, son of Hetum became governor of Edessa after the death of Buzan in 1094.

The Franks attacked Antioch for nine months.²⁰⁶⁴ The city was ruled by the Turkish chiefs Gasian and Aghusin.²⁰⁶⁵ Because of the Franks' siege of the city (Antioch), Yaghi Siyan departed it for Aleppo. On the way, he was met by a group of Armenians who cut off his head and brought it to the Franks. It also chanced that two Armenian brothers who were responsible for guarding the fortresses collaborated in delivering the city to Bohemond by night. On the same day the Franks arrived in Antioch, the Turks arrived in Baghras. The citadel was still in the Turks' hand. They besieged the city and the Franks suffered violent hunger until they ate their horses and resorted to prayer. In a dream, King Tancred saw an opening in the Church of Cassianus inside which was the nails of the Lord's cross. He made from them a cross and a Roman lance, put them on and went to fight the Turks. Indeed, God made the Franks triumphant and the ground was filled with corpses. The Franks chased the Turks a distance of one whole day. After the Franks had total control of Antioch, the Turks left Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia) and came to Ma'arra (Ma'arrat al-Nu'man) and Sarug, which belonged to the Bani Utayr.²⁰⁶⁶

Before the arrival of the Franks, the Egyptians had invaded Jerusalem and captured it from the Turks.²⁰⁶⁷ When the Franks came, they first occupied Jaffa and then marched to Jerusalem, which was ruled by the Egyptian Fadil.²⁰⁶⁸ They set up a wooden tower in the middle of the eastern gateway called Stephen's Gate and conquered it in July (1098), in the second year of their march. A great number of Arabs were slain and the ground was filled with their corpses. The Temple of Helkun, that is, the Temple of Hope was likewise filled with the slain. They (the Franks) burned the corpses by fire. Godfrey ruled the city for two years as the first king of the Franks followed by Baldwin who ruled the city for seven years.²⁰⁶⁹

Up to the time of King (Emperor) Alexius, our people had a church in Constantinople. The Armenians had also a church and each of them was ministered by a priest. They (Syrian and Armenian congregations) included a group of merchants and others. One day, a Syrian priest visited Constantinople but the Syrian priest in the capital who came from Semando, did not accept him. He was possessed by a demon and said to the Greeks, "The Syrians and the Armenians in your capital are in league with the Turks." This outraged the emperor who ordered the two churches be burned down, and expelled our priest. The Syrian congregation joined the heretics. *End of the narrative.*

In September of 1406 of the Greeks (A.D. 1095), Ignatius the writer, metropolitan of Melitene, passed away. He was succeeded by Athanasius Sa'id bar Sabuni, the learned erudite and excellent writer who was well versed in both Syriac and Greek. He was ordained a bishop on Assumption Day in the town of Qanqart in the district of Amid, and was called Yuhanon (John). His ordination was performed in

²⁰⁶⁴ See Matthew of Edessa, 167. William of Tyre, I: 186-260. For a thorough analysis of the capture of Antioch by the Franks see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, entire Chapter 11, 341-380.

²⁰⁶⁵ No other source mentions that Antioch was ruled by two Turkish governors. It seems that the author mixes up Gaisan and Aghusin who is one person, Yaghi Siyan, governor of Antioch 1087-1098. Bar Hebraeus calls the Turkish governor of Antioch Gaisan while the Anonymous Edessan, 77, calls him Aksin. For other sources on Yaghi Siyan see Matti Moosa, *Ibid.*

²⁰⁶⁶ In order to have a better understanding of these events, the reader is advised to read Chapters 11 and 12, 341-427 of Matti Moosa's *The Crusades*.

²⁰⁶⁷ According to Ibn al-Qalanisi, in Sha'ban (July, 1097), al-Afdal, commander-in-chief of the Egyptian (Fatimid) army came to Jerusalem and encamped before the city, which then was in the hands of the Turkish amirs Sukman and Ilghazi, sons of Artuk. Al-Afdal stormed the city and occupied it and returned to Egypt. See Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 135-136, Ibn al-Athir says that when the Egyptians saw the weakness of the Turks, they sent an army commanded by al-Afdal, son of Badr al-Din al-Jamali, an Armenian slave and Chief Vazir of the Fatimid caliph from 1073 to 1094, who attacked the city of Jerusalem for forty days and captured it. See Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil al-Tawarikh*, in R.H.C., Or., I: 197-198, Muhammad ibn Ali ibn Muyyasir, *Muntakhabat (extracts) from Tarikh Ibn Muyassar*, in R.H.C., OR., III: 462-465; Abu al-Mudaffar Yusuf ibn Kizoghlu known as Sibte Ibn al-Jawzi, *Mir'at al-Zaman fi Tarikh al-A'yan*, in R.H.C., OR., III: 518-519, and Ibn Taghribirdi, *al-Nujum al-Zahira*, in R.H.C., OR., III: 485-486. William of Tyre says that al-Afdal, whom he calls Amireius, was an Armenian born of Christian parents. More correctly, it is that al-Afdal's father Badr al-Jamali was an Armenian and a slave in the house of the Fatimid caliph. See William of Tyre, I: 393.

²⁰⁶⁸ More correctly Sayf al-Islam Shahanshah al-Afdal, the Fatimid Vizir who was the virtual ruler of Egypt 1095-1121. See former notes.

²⁰⁶⁹ Bar Hebraeus says that the Franks set up siege towers, one on the south side at a place called Sihyawn (Zion), and the other in the middle of the eastern gateway, that of St. Stephen, and killed more than seventy thousand Arabs in the Temple of Solomon. See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 235-236.

compliance with the wishes of Gabriel, governor of Melitene.²⁰⁷⁰ Gabriel came to Melitene when the Turks were attacking it. After he entered the city, the gates were closed because Kilij Arslan, Sultan of Iconium was investing it. Gabriel asked the bishop (Sa'id bar Sabuni) to stand next to him and watch the guards. The pious bishop took this matter seriously and began to encourage the people. Meantime, the sultan sent a deacon in his company as a messenger to negotiate with the bishop by the permission of the governor (Gabriel). The bishop received the deacon, but Gabriel was hiding listening to their conversation. The deacon said "The sultan (Kilij Arslan) says if you deliver the city to him, he is ready to grant you safety and bounty. Otherwise, he will take the city by the sword. Blood will be shed and God will take revenge of you for the shedding of blood." The bishop said to the deacon, "Have no delusion. No one has ever conquered this city and no one will ever be able to conquer it. There is enough food in it sufficient for more than ten years. "With this response, he dismissed the deacon. Turning to Gabriel the bishop said, "My Lord, you have heard what was said. It is better to deliver the city by our own will." Since then Gabriel bore a grudge against the bishop. Likewise, the Greeks (Romans) detested him, and the Franks berated him (the bishop) because he wanted to deliver the city to the Turks. They also loathed him because he offended them in his disputation with them about doctrinal matters.²⁰⁷¹

On Friday, the bishop was conducting the service of the Third Hour at the wall of the city with the congregation repeating after him. Gabriel and the Greeks noticed how greatly the congregation was devoted to him, and decided to kill him. When he descended the wall, he was told that Gabriel ordered the killing of one of the faithful. The bishop, accompanied by a priest, hastened to intercede on behalf of the wronged man. They found the wicked Gabriel mounted on a horse between the two walls surrounded by infantrymen. The bishop implored him saying, "Blessed governor have pity on poor men. It is not appropriate to do killing inside and outside the city." However, the ignoble (Gabriel), who kept in his heart to kill the bishop, said, "But you yourself want to deliver the city to the Turks?" Outraged, he ordered a carrier of his armor to strike the bishop with a lance, but he had no courage to do it. Gabriel, then, grabbed the lance from him and struck the pious bishop on the head and he fell dead. This took place on Friday, July 4, 1406 (A.D. 1095). The priests who were present fled and scattered and the whole city was shaken, and the people congregated where the pious bishop was martyred. When the murderer Gabriel saw the crowds, he was scared and ordered that the body of the pious bishop moved to the garden to be hidden in the reeds. Two days later, they carried him to his final resting place, and he was buried in the Great Church of al-Sa'i.²⁰⁷²

Patriarch Athanasius, who could not administer the affairs of the church without fear because of Abdun's audacity, decided to journey to Baghdad and meet with the Caliph Abu Ja'far. He received from him letters addressed to all the Arab and Turk governors of the districts of Athor (Assyria), the Jazira, Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia), Syria and Cappadocia, ordering them to accept Athanasius and reject the rebel Abdun. However, Abdun had already ordained four bishops: Iyawannis, bishop of Tell Hamdun who was devoured by dogs; Eupdocus, bishop of 'Arqa, who was rejected and joined the heretics; Ignatius, bishop of Mardin, who repented and was accepted; and bar Khoriza who converted to Islam in Amid.

Chapter Eight: On the Turks' rule of Melitene for the first time; the murder of Gabriel and Ibn Hetum; the beginning of the rule of Kilij Arslan; the building of the wall of Kesum, and church affairs in this period

²⁰⁷⁰ Gabriel or Khoril, Armenian, ruler of Melitene to 1103. He was a lieutenant of Philaretus, ruler in Anatolia to 1085 who succeeded Philaretus as the governor of Melitene. By faith, he was Chalcedonian.

²⁰⁷¹ The doctrinal matters here concern the doctrine of the manner of the union of the two of Christ, the human and the divine, in the Incarnation. It was basically a refutation of the new definition of faith by the Council of Chalcedon.

²⁰⁷² A shorter account of this gruesome incident is given by the Anonymous Edessan. He says that Satan entered this accursed (Gabriel) who maliciously murdered the bishop. Gabriel was killed and his household exterminated. See the Anonymous Edessan, 83 of the Arabic translation, and Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 233, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 95-96. William of Tyre, I: 450 says that Gabriel was Armenian by birth, language, and habit, but Greek in faith, on 522 he makes him a Greek nobleman.

After Sulayman, first Turkish governor of Iconium was killed,²⁰⁷³ he was succeeded by Kilij Arslan (1092-1106-7), who was the first to be appointed to Melitene in the time of Gabriel who had killed the bishop (Said Ibn Sabuni). When Gabriel heard of the coming of Kilij Arslan, he left Melitene and went to protect his own country. Meantime, Tunishman came from Sebastea (to Gabriel's region), and for three years devastated it, looted the crops and departed in the winter.²⁰⁷⁴ However, inside Melitene, Gabriel oppressed the poor people more than the Turks. Among the persecuted was Theodore son of Hetum, *Curopalates* (guardian of the palace), who was killed by the Edessans. When the Franks seized Edessa, Gabriel tried to help them take hold of Melitene where a group of Armenians ruled some areas since the time of Pilardos (Philaretus).²⁰⁷⁵ One of these was Basil (Vasil in Armenian), governor of Kesum and Ra'ban.²⁰⁷⁶ In his time, the wall of Kesum, which had been ruined when the Arabs ravaged the region, was restored. There was a group of Armenians who ruled some regions of Cilicia, and were known as the sons of Rafan.²⁰⁷⁷ In the time of King (Emperor) Basil, the Armenians left the region. The Turks also left in the time of Emperor Michael, who had appointed Philaretus a governor of Cilicia to resist the Turks after he had proven his capability as we have sufficiently said before. Since then the Armenians settled down in

²⁰⁷³ Sulayman son of Kutulmish, Seljuk Sultan of Rum 1077-1086. He was killed in 1086 in the battle near Aleppo between him and Tutush, brother of the Seljuk Sultan Malikshah. See Ibn al-Adim, *Zubdat al-Halab min Tarikh Halab*, ed. Sami al-Dahhan, 2 (Beirut: al-Matba'a al-Catholikiyya, 1954): 97-98, Ibn Wasil, *Mufarrij al-Kurub fi Akhbar Bani Ayyub* I: 16. Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, 154-155, Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 230; Runciman, I: 76-77.

²⁰⁷⁴ The Tunishman of our author is actually Danishmend. Danishmend is a Persian term meaning "learned men" or "preachers" which indicates religious connotations. The Danishmends were *Ghazis*, or zealot Muslim dervishes determined to spread Islam into the heart of Christian Roman (Byzantine) land, but their faith was not in conformity with orthodox Islam. They were Alawis (Alevi) extreme Shiites, or propagators of other heterodox beliefs combined with Sufism. They exerted great influence on the Turkoman tribes. One of these Ghazis was the Turkoman Amir Ahmad Ghazi who established a principality in 1063 which lasted until 1174 around Sebastea (present day Siwas), Comana, Amasya and Niksar or Neocaesarea where he resided, and Gangra in Cappadocia under the suzerainty of the Seljuk Sultan Malikshah. See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 229 and 236-237; Grousset, *L'Empire du Levant*, 170-173, and Claude Cahen, "The Turkish Invasion: The Selchukids," in *A History of the Crusades*, I:163-164. I. Melikoff, "Danismendids," in *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, ed. B. Lewis, Ch. Pellat and J. Schacht II (Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1965): 110-111, Matthew of Edessa, 176-177 the Anonymous Edessan, 74 and 80-81; William of Tyre, I: 411; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, I: 320-321, and E. Honigsmann, "Malatya," in *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, ed. C.E. Bosworth et al., VI (Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1991):230-231, and Matti Moosa, *Extremist Shiites: The Ghulat Sects* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1988), 11-13.

²⁰⁷⁵ Our author mentions Pilardos or Philaretus for the first time in Book XV, Chapter IV, in the context of showing how two powers, one of the Danishmends and the other of the Armenian Philaretus simultaneously emerged in 1085. He states that in this year the Turkish amir Tunishman (Danishmend), entered the region of Cappadocia and captured Sebastea (Siwas), Caesarea and other northern regions. With him began the leadership of the Danishmends. While these events were taking place, another leadership suddenly emerged in the region at the hands of a group of Armenian robbers who formed a gang of fifty men. They surreptitiously entered the region with the Turks and engaged in the acts of robbery. In the region of Mar'ash they met an Armenian young man from the village of Shirka named Pilardos. In Chapter V, we hear about Philaretus interfering in the affairs of the Syrian Church, especially in the case of the recalcitrant Bishop Abdun. In Chapter VI, the author states in passing that there was in Melitene a Greek governor named Gabriel who was appointed by Philaretus and succeeded him as governor of that city. Here in Chapter VIII, we learn that since the time of Philaretus, a group of Armenians governed some of the regions where Melitene was situated. Shortly afterwards, and in the same chapter, we learn that Mikha'il (Michael VII, Ducas 1071-1078), had appointed Philaretus a governor for Cilicia to resist the Turks. The author could not be correct because Philaretus did not recognize the authority of Michael Ducas. See Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, I: 73; Grousset, *L'Empire du Levant* (Paris, 1949), 177; Bréhier, *Vie et Mort de Byzance*, 284, Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, 153, Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 229.

²⁰⁷⁶ Kogh Vasil, that is Vasil the Robber, so called because he stole many fortresses of the *thugbur* (northern border fortifications between Byzantine and Muslim territories extending from Syria to Armenia). See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, pp. 237 and 246 and by the same author, *Tarikh Mukhtasar al-Duwal*, ed. Anton Salihani (Beirut, al-Matba'a al-Catholikiyya, 1958), 199, Matthew of Edessa, 196, 200-201, 211, 219-220, William of Tyre, I: 304-305, and Galust Ter Grigorian Iskanderian, *Die Kreuzfahrer und ihre Beziehungen zu den armenischen Nachbarfürsten bis zum Untergange der Grafschaft Edessa*, (Leipzig, 1951, published as a thesis by the University of Leipzig), 61.

²⁰⁷⁷ By sons of Rafan, the author means the Rubenids, or Roupenids who are members of an Armenian dynasty in Cilicia from 1080 to 1375. Roupen was one of the men of the Armenian King Gagik II (reigned 1042-1045). About 1080 he settled in the fastness of the Taurus Mountains at Bardzrberd, or Partzapert northeast of Sis where he established an Armenian principality. See Matthew of Edessa, 166, and 174; and David Marshall Lang, *The Armenians: A People in Exile* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1981), 58, and Sirapie Der Nersessian, *The Armenians* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970), 44-48.

Cilicia and Syria.²⁰⁷⁸ A hundred years later, and because of the Turks' oppression of the Armenian Catholicos in Armenia, the Armenian chiefs moved his See to Cilicia. Meantime, being oppressed by Tunishman (Danishmend), Gabriel of Melitene swore three times to the Franks that he would deliver Melitene to them. He married his daughter, (Morphia), to the Edessan Count (Baldwin II, Le Bourg) who was the nephew (son of the sister) of Baldwin I, king of Jerusalem, who later became a king of Jerusalem. Therefore, Bohemond (prince of Antioch) was confident that he would take hold of Melitene. However, when he reached the regions under the control of the Armenians, the Armenians betrayed him. They feared that he might evacuate them if he became a king. They secretly appealed to Danishmend (Ilghazi) for help. And so did Gabriel by secretly appealing to Il-Ghazi when the king (Bohemond) reached the town of Jafna. The accursed Gabriel would not let him enter the town. Gabriel continued to double-cross him (Bohemond) until the Danishmend had arrived. He set up ambushes against him and captured him. Thus, the Turks were able to establish more footholds through Gabriel and the Armenians. Danishmend sent Bohemond to Sebastea and then went to lay siege against Melitene. Meantime, Gabriel increased his iniquities and wickedness by plundering, ravaging and killing without mercy. Thus, two quislings delivered the city to the Turks. Danishmend entered the city on Wednesday of September 18, 1102 and spoiled it, but he did not allow the killing of any person because he considered the people his own share. He released those who long time ago were taken captive to his county and returned them to their homes. He brought bread, oxen and other necessities from his country and offered them to the people, and the people were filled and satisfied. He appointed for them a governor named Basiligh, a just and God-fearing man.²⁰⁷⁹ (Divine) justice prevailed against Gabriel. The Turks tortured him violently, and some Christians took revenge against him and beat him. They reminded him of murdering the righteous bishop (Said Ibn Sabuni), subduing the chiefs and other people, and for the crimes he had committed. After they scourged him enough and made him swell bitterness, they took him to an isolated invincible fortress (The Qat'a Fortress) where his wife was confined. The Turks forced him to ask his wife to deliver the fortress to them. He tried to double-cross them by a devilish trick telling his wife, "I am sending you the boy Midas as a signal to deliver the citadel." However, the term of Midas in the Armenian language means, "Do not deliver." Discovering his deception, the Turks killed him and threw his body to the dogs that devoured him. Then Danishmend (Ilghazi) brought Bohemond to Melitene and sold him for hundred thousand dinarii.²⁰⁸⁰ When Bohemond was released, he gave Antioch to his nephew (his sister's son) Tancred, and returned to his homeland. He begat a son whom he called Bohemond, after his name. Later, Bohemond (the son) became governor of Antioch. Meantime, Saint-Gilles (Raymond) marshaled an army, and after bitter fight, wrested Tripoli from the hands of the Muslims. He had earlier wrested Jerusalem from the Muslims and gave it to his children. He returned to his homeland taking with him the lance that had been discovered in Antioch. Upon his arrival in Constantinople, King (Emperor) Alexius knew about the lance and demanded to see it in order to be

²⁰⁷⁸ In this very brief statement, the author touches upon one of the most important events in the history of the Middle East in the tenth and eleventh centuries, e.g the Turks' penetration and settlement of Asia Minor which came to be known as Turkey. In conjunction with the Turks' penetration of Asia Minor, the Armenians migrated to Cilicia in south-east Asia Minor where they settled and founded Armenian principalities. See Steven Runciman, *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and His Reign: A History of Tenth-Century Byzantium* (Cambridge, 1929), 125-133 and 151-7, M. Canard, "Arminiya," *The Encyclopedia of Islam* I (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960): 636, Matthew of Edessa, 28-33; George. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*. transl. by J. Hussey (Oxford at the University Press, 1956), 254-257; N. Iorga, *L' Arménie Cilicienne*, (Paris: J. Gambe, 1930), 87-88, Sirapie Der Nersessian, *The Armenians*, 44, A.A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, I: 355, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 66-74.

²⁰⁷⁹ Il-Ghazi Ibn Danishmend captured Melitene in 1123-24. See the Anonymous Edessan, 108. Matthew of Edessa does not specifically mention the fall of Melitene into the hands of Ibn Danishmend. But he gives a detailed account of the violent assault of Melitene by the forces of Ibn Danishmend. He also says that Gabriel appealed to Bohemond for help and both Bohemond and Richard (of Salerno) went to meet the Muslim but without precaution. Their troops put aside their weapons and dressed like women appearing like captives. Their action may have been a kind of deception but they failed and were defeated by Ibn Danishmend, and Bohemond and Richard were taken captives. See Matthew of Edessa, 176-177.

²⁰⁸⁰ See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 237. According to Matthew of Edessa both Bohemond and Richard were taken captives by Danishmend, lord of Sebastea. See Matthew of Edessa, 177, Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil al-Tawarikh*, in R.H.C. Or. I:203, R. B. Yewdale, *Bohemond I, Prince of Antioch* (Princeton, 1924), 96, and William of Tyre, I: 451, footnote 49.

blessed and then to return it to him. Because of his foolishness, Saint-Gilles sent the lance to Alexuis who made a copy of it and returned it to Saint-Gilles. This was the lance with which the Jews, out of mockery, pierced an icon in Tiberias from which issued blood and water. *End of this account. He who reads let him pray with affection for the weak and sinful Mikha'il (Michael), son of Barsoum Urbishoyo. He has written as much as his weakness can allow these events, whether deficient or complete, in the year 1909 of the Greeks (A.D. 1598) in disorder and confusion.*

During the three years in which Tunishman laid siege to Melitene, severe famine took place that one corn measure (modius, about eight quarts) of the Marzuban's (Margrave) wheat was sold for one dinar.

In the year 1414 (A.D. 1103), conflict was stirred up among the Christians of Melitene and its environs, and even in Constantinople, regarding Lent. The Syrians and Armenians fasted only eight weeks and celebrated Easter on April 13, while the Chalcedonians observe it on April 26. When the news arrived that the Light appeared on the Sepulcher in Jerusalem on April 13, the Greeks began to blaspheme the Light because it appeared, in truth, only to the Syrians and the Armenians.

In February, in the first week of Lent of the year 1414 (A.D. 1103), an earthquake took place everywhere. Some attributed it to the controversy over Lent of the year before, and regarded it a sign of (Divine) wrath.

Shortly after Patriarch Athanasius returned from Baghdad, the rebel Abdun passed away in Hisn Mansur. He gave instruction to be buried in front of the church's door in order to be trampled by the people because he had sinned against the church of God. Patriarch Mor Athanasius assembled the bishops and they participated in his funeral. The patriarch uttered the prayer of forgiveness. He said that, "Although he (Abdun) was possessed by the love of leadership and trampled upon the holy canons, yet, because he did not deviate from the Orthodox faith, we should pray for him that he, a sinner, may be forgiven."

After Sa'id Bar Sabuni, or, Metropolitan Yuhanon was murdered, and the Turks devastated the city and its environs, the patriarch ordered Dionysius, son of the Confessor, to come and he ordained him a bishop for Melitene because he was a learned man and wise. He entered Melitene on 1 December 1413 (A.D. 1002). Dionysius had become a monk in the Monastery of Bar Jaji where he studied under the Patriarch Mor Yuhanon Bar Shushan who ordained him a bishop for Jubas. However, when Jubas was ruined by the first attack of the Turks, he came to the Monastery of Abu al-Faraj, who had become a patriarch, and he ordained him a priest. In his old age, he rewarded him by giving him the see of Melitene. Seeing that the city was in want of learning, he began to teach the reading of the Holy Scriptures of both Old and New Testaments, together with the writings of learned men and dialectics and oratory. Afterwards, the patriarch ordained Abu Ghalib, brother of Sa'id Bar Sabuni who was murdered in Edessa, a bishop. Both brothers were famous in religious and profane sciences, and the Syriac and Greek languages, and disputation with the heretics. In sum, they were the exemplaries of their generation among the Orthodox. However, despite their wealth of knowledge they were wanting, as it was said, in meekness of heart, which is the source of goodness and the cause of the flourishing of virtues.

Sa'id Bar Sabuni, called Yuhanon, who was ordained a metropolitan for Melitene, was murdered by Gabriel forty days after his ordination as we have already said.²⁰⁸¹ Abu Ghalib, who was ordained a metropolitan for Edessa and called Basil, conflicted with the patriarch forty days after his ordination, and was suspended from service. This conflict disturbed the peace of the church as shall be explained later.

When the Franks seized Antioch, they kept the Greeks away from the great churches and expelled their clergy. They set up their own patriarch and ordained several bishops: one for Tarsus, a second for Massisa (Mopsuestia), a third for Edessa, a fourth for the See of Manbij in Duluk (Doliche), a fifth for Euphemia, and a sixth for Tripoli and Ladhahiyya (Latakia, Laodicea). In addition, they set up other bishops in Gabbula, Cyrus, Mar'ash, and Harim. Their patriarch in Jerusalem ordained bishops for Bethlehem, Hebron, Samaria, Yafa (Joppa), Nazareth, Caesarea, Sidon and Beirut. When they occupied Tyre, the Patriarch of Jerusalem also ordained a bishop for it because the Patriarch of Antioch did not pay them a subsidy when they demanded it from him for the capture of the city.²⁰⁸²

²⁰⁸¹ See above Book Fifteen, Chapter Eight.

²⁰⁸² This incident caused a dispute between the Latin patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem. See Reinhold Röhrich, *Geschichte des*

The first Frankish bishop of Edessa was named Brikha (Benedict)²⁰⁸³ who saw in a dream the relics of St. Addai (Thaddaeus) and Abgar (King Abgar V, Ukomo, the Black) of Edessa who was healed from leprosy by Thaddaeus, which were discovered inside the coffin of St. John.

Chapter Nine: On the second siege of Amid and the trouble in some of the region in the kingdom of the Turks during this time; and the trouble in Egypt, Syria and Armenia, and on church affairs

At this time, the Turks' rule in Khurasan was firmly established. They coexisted with the Arabs in all of Athor (Assyria, northern Iraq), al-Jazira, Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia), and Egypt where the Arabs governed some of these regions. When the Turks were fighting each other in Khurasan, the status of the Arabs was enhanced. In 1412 of the Greeks (A.D. 1101), the Arab Mula'ib departed Homs and occupied Afamiyah (Apamea).²⁰⁸⁴ In the same year, the Arab Duqaq²⁰⁸⁵ began to govern in Damascus. In Aleppo Ridwan ibn Malik Arabi ruled.²⁰⁸⁶ In 1420, the Arab Umar ibn Salim took hold of Sukarah and Haburah (Khabur) with the result that warfare ensued between the Arabs and the Turks. However, in Cappadocia and Bithynia, where there were no Arabs, the warfare was between the Turks and the Greeks (Byzantines), or the Greeks with each other. Sultan Kilij Arslan waged war against Melitene, but was forced to leave it in order to protect his own country from the Franks, hoping to return and occupy it. However, Tunishman (Danishmend Ghazi) came and occupied it as we have already said. From this point on an incurable enmity began between the two (Kilij Arslan and Danishmend) which extended through their generations.

Having felt safe that the Franks would not attack (his country), and after the death of Tunishman (Malik Ilghazi ibn Danishmend in 1106) in Sebastea who ruled Melitene for two years, Sultan Kilij Arslan came to Melitene which was then ruled by Aghousin, son of Danishmend.²⁰⁸⁷ He attacked the city on January 28 and a heated battle took place. He set up mounds on the circular tower in the northern part pointing toward the eastern section of the city. When the one (Aghousin) who was inside learned that its fall was at hand, he asked for a pledge and then delivered it to him. Kilij Arslan entered the city on 2, September 1106.

At this time, a conflict arose between the Turks and the Arabs in the region of Athor (Assyria, northern Iraq) for the following reason. The Sultan of Khurasan, Ghiyath al-Din²⁰⁸⁸ dispatched Abu Mansur Jawli (Chavli)²⁰⁸⁹ to challenge the Franks. When Jawli reached Baghdad, he diverted his attention toward Mosul, which was then ruled by Jekermish.²⁰⁹⁰ When Jekermish learned that Jawli was marching against Mosul, he fortified the city, gathered his army, and went forth to fight (Jawli). Although he was too weak, yet he defeated Jawli. He seized him and brought him to Mosul in chains. Few days later Jekermish died and Jawli gained freedom. He assembled an army in the district of Haburah (Khabur) with the intention of

Königreiches Jerusalem 1100-1291 (Innsbruck, 1989, reprinted Amsterdam, Adolf M. Hakkert, 1966), 184.

²⁰⁸³ According to J. B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, III: 191, the first Archbishop was Benoit.

²⁰⁸⁴ Sayf al-Dawla Khalaf ibn Mula'ib al-Kilabi. He was lord of Homs and then Afamiya (present day Qal'at al-Madiq on the Orontes or al-Asi River) Ibn Mula'ib was engaged in constant warfare with his Muslim neighbors especially the Banu Munqidh, lords of Shayzar. See Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil al-Tawarikh*, in R.H.C. Or. I: 232-234; Abu al-Fida, *al-Mukhtasar fi Akhbar al-Bashar*, in R.H.C. Or. I: 8-9; Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 149-150 of the Arabic text and 72-73 of the English translation; Ibn Taghri Birdi, *al-Nujum al-Zabira*, in R.H.C.Or. III: 594; Usama ibn Munqidh, *Kitab al-I'tibar*, 83, 125, and the English translation by Philip Hitti under the title *An Arab Syrian Warrior in the Period of the Crusades: Memoirs of Usama ibn Munqidh* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1929), 156-157.

²⁰⁸⁵ Shams al-Muluk Duqaq, son of Tutush was a Seljuk Turk and not an Arab. He ruled Damascus from 1095-1104).

²⁰⁸⁶ Ridwan, a Seljuk Turk, was another son of Tutush. He ruled Aleppo from 1095 to 1131.

²⁰⁸⁷ There is an apparent confusion about the name Aghousin. The author used the name of Aghousin or Aghusian earlier for Yaghi Siyan, ruler of Antioch. In this context he says that Aghousin is the son of Tunishman (Danishmend) who was ruling Melitene. The correct name must be Malik Il-Ghazi ibn Danishmend, whom the author said earlier that he had occupied Melitene in 1102. Bar Hebraeus who follows our author closely does not mention the name of Aghousin. From the context we learn that he was Malik Il-Ghazi. See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 239 and The Anonymous Edessan, 63-64 and 83.

²⁰⁸⁸ Muhammad Ghiyath al-Dunya wa al-Din, Abu Shuja', son of Malikshah, Seljuk sultan 1105-1118.

²⁰⁸⁹ Jawli Saqawa, or Chavli Saqaveh, Turkish governor at Mosul till 1108.

²⁰⁹⁰ Shams al-Dawlah Jekermish or Chükürmish, Turkish governor at Mosul, d. 1106.

returning to Mosul whose people had set up Jerkermish's son as their ruler. They were afraid that they were unable to withstand Jawli, and when they heard that Kilij Arslan was reigning in Melitene, they sent a delegation asking him to come and they would deliver the city to him. Kilij Arslan proceeded (to Mosul) and crossed the Euphrates. When the rulers of the towns of Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia), who were Turks from the clan of Artuk, heard of the coming of the Sultan, they were scared, and rushed to pay him homage. They were Ibn Shafik of Hisn Ziyad, Abraham (Inal) of Amid, and Ghazi (Ilghazi son of Artuk) of Mardin. Upon seeing them, Jawli did not go down to Mosul. Kilij Arslan, however, entered Mosul and ruled it and Jawli ruled in Rehabout (al-Rahba). When the sultan learned this, he came with a huge army to fight Jawli. A fierce battle was fought on the bank of the River Khabur, but dissension occurred within the ranks of the sultan's force caused by the machination of enemies, and the sultan's troops deserted him and fled. He remained alone fighting with prodigious valor, and tried to cross the river but was drowned because of the heavy armor he was wearing. Then Jawli ruled Mosul and Nisibin. He persecuted his opponents severely, collected abundant wealth, and returned to Khurasan. Then Ghazi Najm al-Din (he is the same Ilghazi son of Artuk) left Mardin and seized Nisibin.²⁰⁹¹

In the year 1417 (A.D. 1106), during the first week of Lent, a comet appeared in the west with its tail pointing to the east. It remained from the evening until the end of the night.

After they seized Palestine and expelled the Egyptians, the Franks came to Hebron, and built a magnificent church. It was revealed to some of those who fasted and prayed that the cave Abraham had bought contained tombs of three Patriarchs (Abraham, Isaac and Jacob). They (Franks) ornamented it with marvelous edifices.²⁰⁹²

As to the cause of the disturbance that occurred in our church in this period, it was as follows: After ordaining Bar Sabuni a metropolitan for Edessa, the patriarch demanded from him and from the Edessans the copies of the Gospels that belonged to the patriarchate. However, the copies had fallen into the hands of Bar Abdun who left them in Edessa as a pawn against the money he exacted from the Edessans to bribe the rulers at that time. When the patriarch demanded to have them back, Abu Ghalib Bar Sabuni and the Edessans who were present at his ordination promised, that upon their return to Edessa, they would send the Gospels studded with gold and silver to the patriarch. Bar Sabuni wrote down in his own hand that if he did not deliver the Gospels, he would have no more authority to serve the episcopate. However, when he was ordained and went his own way, he refused to deliver them. His pretext was that the nobles of Edessa forbade him to deliver them. This was the beginning of the conflict. The patriarch suspended Bar Sabuni saying to him, "Since you have determined and wrote down in your own hand, you are suspended by God. From now on, you have no authority to serve, or be called a chief priest." Bar Sabuni apologized that there was nothing to forbid him to serve because he did not get hold of the copies of the Gospels by his own will. Moreover, the Edessans split into two groups: one group supporting the patriarch against the metropolitan (Bar Sabuni); the other group agitated the metropolitan and encouraged his recalcitrance.

Chapter Ten: On this period where the affliction of Melitene intensified following the death of the Sultan (Kilij Arslan); the growth of the Franks' power, and their dissension and troubles; the rise of a new Turkish chief in Khurasan, and his coming to al-Ruha (Edessa), and the deterioration of church affairs

When the news of the death of Sultan Kilij Arslan arrived, they (his men) appointed his young son called Tughrul Arslan (a sultan) in his place in Melitene.²⁰⁹³ In addition, they appointed as his regent an old

²⁰⁹¹ See Bar Hebraeus, *Tarikh Mukhtasar al-Duwal*, 197-198, and his *Chronography*, 239-241; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh*, in *R.H.C. Or.* I: 224-225 and 240-242, and Said Abd al-Fattah Ashur, *al-Haraka al-Salibiyya*, I (Cairo, 1963): 414-416.

²⁰⁹² See William of Tyre, I: 340 and II: 346.

²⁰⁹³ According to the chronological and genealogical table of the dynasty of the Seljuk or Rum, there is an interrugnum of six years between the death of Sulayman in 1086 and 1092 the year his son Kilij Arslan Dawud assumed power. At the death of his father, Kilij Arslan was still an infant and hence the interrugnum of years just mentioned. After the death of Kilij Arslan in 1107, or in 1106, according to Stanley Lane-Poole, Kilij Arslan was succeeded by his son Malikshah I, who ruled until 1116. See Stanley Lane-Poole, *Muhammadian Dynasties Chronological and Genealogical Tables with Historical Introductions*, (New York: Ungar Publishing Co.,

man named Phazmish together with another person named Aslan. The mother of the little boy plotted with Aslan who killed Phazmish and married her. Aslan perpetrated heinous crimes against the people of the city including collecting gold with the pretext of preparing to oppose the Rum (Byzantines). When the wife (of Kilij Arslan) learned this, she plotted with her son, arrested Aslan and cast him into prison until he was thought to be dead. A year later, they brought him out and sent him to the sultan (Sultan Ghiyath al-Din in Khurasan).

Kilij Arslan had three other grown up sons: Arab, Shahanshah and Mas'ud. Arab was killed by the Amir Ghazi the Danishmend and Shahanshah was proclaimed a sultan. He had his brother Mas'ud chained and cast into prison. He went to see King (Emperor) Alexius in Constantinople. The commander of his army revolted against him, released Mas'ud, and his men and set up Ghazi, son of Danishmend, a sultan. As Shahanshah left Constantinople laden with gold, they (the sons of Danishmend) ambushed him, captured him and gouged out his eyes.²⁰⁹⁴

When the Franks saws that the Turks were fighting each other, they were emboldened, and Bohemond marched to occupy Ablastain and the district of Jihan. The entire region of Melitene was subject to him. In Edessa, huge crowds gathered to express their joy for the victory (of Bohemond). The Franks, however, quarreled for many days over the possession of the country and the division of cities. As they were quarreling, the Turks gathered to fight them, and the Franks departed while still opposing each other over the division of the regions.²⁰⁹⁵ When they reached Harran, the people welcomed them and handed them the keys of the city, but Baldwin (II, of Le Bourg), governor of Edessa, did not receive the keys although Harran was part of his share. He feared that the Turks might spoil it and kill its inhabitants. Therefore, they (the Franks) departed the city. Their disagreement became more intensive because they did not enter Harran but left in it their families. When they encountered the Turks, they were defeated, and Baldwin and Joscelin were captured and sent to Mosul.²⁰⁹⁶ Tancred fled to Edessa and Richard (of the Principate of Salerno, cousin of Bohemond) was appointed as its governor. These events took place in the year 1414 (A.D. 1103 (more correctly 1104) on the Balikh River which springs from Paddan Aram and pours into the River Euphrates near al-Raqqa (Callinicus), where a masjid of the Muslims was built and called Bayt Abraham (the House of Abraham).²⁰⁹⁷

Richard afflicted bitterly the people of Edessa and then departed for Antioch without attempting to rescue Joscelin because of the conflict between him and Joscelin.²⁰⁹⁸ However, people from Tell Bashir agreed with the Turks on ransom money. They entered the prison as hostages until Joscelin could go and return with the ransom money, but they readily made a hole in the house where they were imprisoned and escaped. Thus, Joscelin went without ransom while the amount of seventy thousand dinars was fixed for the ransom of Baldwin. Joscelin took thirty thousand of gold to the fortress of Ja'bar and offered himself as

1965), p. 155.

²⁰⁹⁴ Bar Hebraeus offers a somehow different variant of the narrative. He mentions that when Kilij Arslan gained control of Mosul he made his son Malikshah, then a boy of eleven years old, a 'king' of that city. His mother was with him. A little later, Bar Hebraeus says that Bazmish took the wife of Kilij Arslan from Mosul and went to Melitene where he proclaimed Tughrul Arslan, the little son of Kilij Arslan, a king. We may infer from Bar Hebraeus that Bazmish took young Malikshah to Sultan Ghiyath al-Din Muhammad in Khurasan, and that the sultan sent Malikshah to Melitene and had him proclaimed "king." The sultan had dismissed Tughrul Arslan and imprisoned him with his other two brothers Mas'ud and Arab. The question is what became of Malikshah who was set up a "king" in Mosul by his father Kilij Arslan after the death of the latter in 1107? Bar Hebraeus gives no explanation. See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 243.

²⁰⁹⁵ The Anonymous Edessan explains lucidly the disagreement between the leaders of the Franks. See The Anonymous Edessan, 78-79 and 88.

²⁰⁹⁶ See Reinhold Röhrich, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem 1100-1291* (Innsbruck, 1989, reprinted Amsterdam, Adolf M. Hakkert, 1966), 49.

²⁰⁹⁷ The Anonymous Edessan, 88-90, Matthew of Edessa, 191-193, gives a slightly different account of the conflict between the Franks and the Turks at Harran; William of Tyre I, 456-459, gives the impression that the leaders of the Franks were united in their intention of capturing Harran.

²⁰⁹⁸ The Anonymous Edessan, 90-91, has nothing good to say about Richard. He says that Richard was evil, oppressor, tyrannical and greedy; Matthew of Edessa, 193, 199.

ransom for the rest, and had Baldwin released. When the sultan of Mosul (Jawli, Chavli Saqaveh) learned that Joscelin had offered himself as ransom and returned to prison, he was surprised and wanted to see him because he had not seen him before. He only heard that he was of handsome stature. Joscelin went to Mosul. When the sultan saw him he deducted ten thousand dinars from Baldwin's ransom, and Joscelin prostrated with his face to the ground. For this reason, the sultan deducted another ten thousand dinars from the ransom, and both he and Joscelin sat down to enjoy a delectable meal. In the morning, the sultan went out with his army. He took Joscelin's arms and ordered him to ride with him. When the sultan witnessed Joscelin's comeliness and bravery, he and all his people were astounded. He absolved him from the rest of Baldwin's ransom, and Joscelin returned jubilantly.²⁰⁹⁹ Upon his release from captivity, Baldwin went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He arrived in the city on Wednesday of the Sha'anin (Palm Sunday Week), in the year 1117, and found that King Baldwin I (of Jerusalem) had fallen off his horse. When he realized that Baldwin was dying, he commanded that he, Baldwin II, (of Lebourg), his nephew and governor of Edessa, become a king in his place. (Baldwin I died on April 2, 1118) Indeed, since he arrived (in Jerusalem) without a previous appointment, all people believed that his choosing (as king of Jerusalem) was by God, and they rejoiced. He was proclaimed (a king) on Tuesday, April 9 of Passion Week, and he gave Edessa to the mighty Joscelin.²¹⁰⁰

In this time, some shrewd Armenians noticed that the Turks invaded the regions of Edessa and reached its walls. They connived with them and made them enter one of the fortresses. They believed that the Turks would occupy the city in any event because it had no leader. However, God, in his mercy, brought Joscelin at this time. When he saw the Turks in the fortress, he entered it alone wearing his armor. He placed a skin of wine over his head to protect it from the stones hurled by the Turks. Upon ascending the fortress, Joscelin killed thirty men by the sword while others threw themselves down. He cut off the ladders made of linen by the sword and those who were climbing them fell down to death. Thus, Joscelin saved the city.

Prior to this time, that is in the year 1421 (A.D. 1110), a commander called Mama Dawud marched out of Khurasan at the head of a hundred thousand fighting men. He besieged Edessa for nine months but the Franks challenged them, and they fled.²¹⁰¹

In the year 1419 (A.D. 1108), light was seen at midnight in the country of Jihan like sunshine. It remained for three hours. On April 4 of the same year, the disc of the sun was covered by dense darkness like turbid cinder and lasted for twelve days. Its darkness intensified from the first morning hour to the third hour, then in the tenth hour, it gradually abated and a faint light appeared. In the following three hours, the disc of the sun turned into a fiery mass and never shone with light. On May 25, it was dark for three hours. On June 1, a comet was seen whose tail extended like a lance toward the east. It remained for fifteen days, and every day it moved forward. In September of that year, a violent earthquake took place, and several regions were devastated.

Bar Sabuni,²¹⁰² who was still suspended from service, behaved in an insolent manner, ordaining priests and deacons. This outraged the patriarch who severely constrained him. Because of Bar Sabuni's action, the entire church and the dioceses were disturbed. Edessa was especially disturbed because its Frankish governor supported the metropolitan (Bar Sabuni). Many times the presbyters and the faithful nobles of the city, together with some Franks, sent delegations to the patriarch to pray for him (pardon him), but he did not consent. Finally, Dionysius, metropolitan of Melitene, accompanied by seventy faithful

²⁰⁹⁹ The Anonymous Edessan, 91-92, Matthew of Edessa, 193, 199 and 201, Ibn al-Athir, *Al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh*, in R.H.C. Or.I: 261, Aliyyah Abd al-Sami al-Janzuri, *Imarat al-Ruha al-Salibiyya* (Cairo, 1975), 104-105, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 500.

²¹⁰⁰ Matthew of Edessa, p. 221 with slight difference.

²¹⁰¹ The reference here is to Sharaf al-Din Mawdud al-Tuwayniki, atabeg of Mosul, (d. 1113), whom William of Tyre calls Menduc. He describes him as "a powerful prince of illustrious birth." See William of Tyre, I: 493, and Reinhold Röhrich, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem* 1100-1291ert, 1966), 89, 96; The Anonymous Edessan, 93-94, Matthew of Edessa, 203-204, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 503-505.

²¹⁰² The reference here is to Bishop Basilius Abu Ghalib Bar Sabuni. See Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, translated by Matti Moosa, 424.

men went to the patriarch at the Monastery of Mor Barsoum. They fell with their faces at his feet saying, "We will not raise our faces off the ground until you have prayed for the metropolitan of Edessa." Still, the patriarch would not consent. Then the bishops assembled and presented to him an appeal. The patriarch said to them, "Come all of you in April and let (Bar Sabuni) come also, and in Easter, a council will assemble to absolve him." With this pretext, he sent them empty handed. In fact, he never assembled a council or pardoned Bar Sabuni. On the contrary, he deposed the aged, Bar Modyana (son of the confessor), for supporting Bar Sabuni. Dionysius, metropolitan of Melitene, served the episcopacy for twelve years. He taught, regulated and introduced to it sound customs. He enriched it with knowledge used until this day from generation to generation, and when the patriarch ousted him from it, he held his peace.

The reason the patriarch did not assemble a council as he had promised was this: When the patriarch rejected the bishops' appeal and they departed in despair, Dionysius, metropolitan of Melitene, Timothy, bishop of Qallisura, and Iyawannis, bishop of Jihan, determined in writing that if a council was assembled by the patriarch as he promised, they will absolve Bar Sabuni. If he did not assemble a council, Bar Sabuni would be free and exonerated. When the patriarch heard this, he was wrathful against the bishops and did not convene a council. In fact, he took (the diocese of) Melitene from Bar Modyana, (son of the confessor), metropolitan of Jubas, and ordained Elisha, archimandrite of the Barid Monastery, a bishop, and called him Iyawannis. Elisha arrived in Melitene in November 1425 (A.D. 1114). The governor demanded from him money and the city (congregation) paid him two hundred dinars, and so they accepted him. Soon, however, they rejected him when they discovered that he was a wine bibber. *End of the narrative.*

Chapter Eleven: On the destruction of Mar'ash (Germanicia) by earthquake; Belek the Turk and the appearance in this period of a group of Armenians like Basil the thief, and Tadrus (Theodore), Leon and Constantine. Also, on secular and ecclesiastical matters

We record here lucidly an account of the Armenians who in this period ruled fortified places of Cilicia and Syria.

When the Greeks (Byzantines) wrested from the Arabs some cities in Cappadocia, Armenia and Syria, they brought a great number of people from Grand Armenia, and they settled in these regions and multiplied. Some of them moved to Constantinople and others to Egypt. When the Turks left Khurasan and scattered throughout these regions, the Greeks became greatly weakened, and their kingdom vanished in Syria, Cappadocia, and Armenia. It was then that Armenians infiltrated these regions and fortified themselves in the hard to penetrate rugged mountains.

In these mountains of Cilicia were two brothers, sons of Constantine, son of Rafan (Roupen). In the mountain neighboring the Monastery of Mor Barsoum in the district of Samosata were settled Constantine, Tabtoug (Tavtoug, or Tavid (David) in Armenian), and Christopher, sons of Sabal (Sanbil) who were Syrians. When the Armenians controlled Gargar, Constantine, Michael and Wanis (Ohannes) mingled with them in Gargar, Gouti (Gavtai) and Babila (Beth Bula). In Kesum, Ra'ban and the mountains of Zubar were settled Kogh Basil (Vasil), Dgha Vasil and a woman, Kogh Basil, who was the wet nurse of the boy Dgha Vasil (adopted son of Kogh Vasil) and not his mother.²¹⁰³ They had a guardian named Kourtig, a wicked man who hated the Syrians.²¹⁰⁴ He was the one who exerted pressure on the wife of Kogh Basil and usurped the Red Monastery from the Syrians near Kesum, which belonged to our Syrian community for generations. They expelled the Syrian monks and gave the monastery to the Catholicos Krikor (Gregorius) and the Armenian monks. In addition, Kourtig expelled the (Syrian) monks from the five monasteries in Zubar known as the Monasteries of Beth Qinaya (The Reed Monasteries) which were populated by many monks. He evicted other monks from the fortress of 'Arnish and stationed in their place

²¹⁰³ According to Matthew of Edessa, Dgha Vasil was the adopted son of Kogh Vasil. The woman referred to in this context was the widow of Kogh Vasil. See Matthew of Edessa, 211, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 511.

²¹⁰⁴ See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 246.

an army garrison. He ordered the monks to pay him two thousand dinars. He tortured them mercilessly until he annihilated all of them, and the monasteries were converted into villages.²¹⁰⁵

King (prince) Tancred then marched from Antioch, invested Kesum for two years, and occupied it.²¹⁰⁶ Meantime, Kourtig moved among the fortresses. He had in his possession Qal'at Romiya (Roman fortress) which the Franks were unable to occupy. The Franks, however, deceived him and married him to a Frankish woman named Calamri who killed him by poison.

As to Belek,²¹⁰⁷ he was one of the Artukids who governed in Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia). When the Amir Tafshik died, Belek seized the citadel of Bula situated on the bank of the Arsanius River. From there he went forth and gained dominion over several regions. He won several battles and brought under his submission kings of the Franks, chiefs of the Greeks, and a number of Turks, as we shall explain later when we narrate the events of each year.

In the year 1422 (A.D. 1111), the atabeg (guardian of the palace or tutor) of the sultan of Melitene wrested the district of Jihan from the Franks. In 1424 (A.D. 1113), the wife of Kilij Arslan left Melitene and delivered her children to the atabeg or tutor. She went to Belek, amir of Bula because she had heard the sultan say, "There is none among the amirs of the Turks in these regions like Belek in power and wisdom. Therefore, she loved him (Belek) and assumed his name, which enhanced his position tremendously."²¹⁰⁸ *This narrative is completed with God's help. It is hoped that any brother who reads this book should remember me in his prayer for the sake of God, because I am sinful in everything against every man on earth.*²¹⁰⁹

At dawn on Sunday of November 29, 1426 (A.D. 1115), "he who looks at the earth and it trembles,"²¹¹⁰ looked at it and a violent earthquake took place. The city of Mar'ash was totally sunk. Its foundations turned upside down and buildings fell down, and it became a grave to its citizens and a frightening spectacle to those who beheld it. Because of this earthquake, the churches of St. John and of the Forty Martyrs in Kesum collapsed, but were rebuilt by the effort of Mor Dionysius, its bishop. In addition, the city of Samosata was destroyed in this earthquake and many people were suffocated. One of the victims was Constantine, lord of Gargar. Some sections of towns and villages were destroyed.

In the year 1427 (A.D. 1116), a dense fog and violent dark storm destroyed some buildings and uprooted trees. In Edessa, severe flood took place and made a breach in the dam called the dam of the Apostle St. Addai (Thaddeus). In this period, Bar Halbi drew the water fountain to Edessa.

The Story of the Frankish Frères (Friars, Knights Templar)

At the beginning of the kingdom of Baldwin II (of Le Bourg), a Frankish man came from Rome to Jerusalem on pilgrimage. He had vowed that he would not return (to Rome) until after three years during which he, and the thirty knights who accompanied him, were to assist the king in his wars. Then he and his companions would enter a monastery, and he would spend the rest of his life in Jerusalem. When the king saw that they were fighting with dexterity and offering the city active assistance and service for three years, he indicated to him and his companions to enlist in the army, and should relinquish the idea of becoming a monastic. He should only think of his own salvation, and he and his companions should protect the country from highway robbers. Fayen (Hugh of Paynes the First Grand Master, d. 1136), for this was his name, and the thirty knights consented.²¹¹¹ The king gave them the palace of Sulayman to live in and villages for their

²¹⁰⁵ According to Matthew of Edessa, Tancred attacked Kesum and encamped in its plain, but did not capture it. The Armenian prince, Vasil of Kesum, with a force of five thousand men was ready to challenge Tancred. For a number of days the two sides waited but did not engage in battle. Finally, they made peace with each other according to which Tancred handed back Ra'ban to Vasil and Vasil handed over to Tancred the district of Hisn Mansur. Bar Hebraeus, *Ibid.*, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 512.

²¹⁰⁶ See Matthew of Edessa, 211; Reinhold Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem* 1100-1291 97.

²¹⁰⁷ Nur al-Dawla Belek, Balak, or Balaq son of Bahram, son of Artuk, and nephew of Najm al-Din Il-ghazi, son of Artuk, an Artukid ruler of Aleppo, 1123-1124.

²¹⁰⁸ Bar Hebraeus who repeats this episode adds that she actually married Belek. See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 245.

²¹⁰⁹ This colophon written in Arabic, appears on p. 600 of the *Edessa-Aleppo Syriac Codex of the Chronicle of Michael the Great*.

²¹¹⁰ Cf. Psalm 97:4.

²¹¹¹ See William of Tyre, I: 524-525, and 2:40.

livelihood. Likewise, the patriarch gave them some villages that belonged to the church. They determined to live by monastic rules, that is, not to marry or attend public baths or own private possessions, but everything should be communal among them. Because of this kind of life, they began to gain honor and reputation far and wide. They were sought by sons of kings, leaders and common people who flocked from many places to join this spiritual fraternity. A condition was imposed on the person who desired to join them, that he should surrender his movable and immovable properties, whether villages or towns and whether small or great, to their public fund. Their number multiplied and they expanded and possessed several regions not only in Palestine but also in the vast land of Italy and Rome. They instituted laws and determined the boundaries of their fraternity. He who wanted to become a brother was placed under one year probation during which they inculcated him with their rules seven times. Each time they told him, "Look, maybe you will regret and cannot bear the burden of these rules to the end. Make a confession and return home." However, if he remained astute to the end of the year, and pledged to bear the yoke, they prayed over him and clothed him with their habit. However, if one violated his pledge, he was killed by the sword without mercy or intercession.

A condition of their order was that a member should not own any private possession whether a house, land or other things. He should not leave without the permission of the master. He should not eat bread except at their communal table. He should not lodge in any place except in his own domicile. Moreover, if he was ordered to go to any place he should not refuse even if death awaited him, but should rather perform his task with great faith until death, and in accordance with his commitment. If one of them died, they commemorated his death with forty Masses for the rest of his soul, and fed forty poor people for forty days. A Mass was also to be perpetually celebrated in their churches for his commemoration. Those who were killed in war were considered martyrs. If one was tried to conceal something from the fraternity, or something found from him after his death that he did not give to the fraternity, they would not celebrate his burial. Their vestment was a simple white dress. They were not allowed to change their clothes or unfasten their belts when they slept. Their meals were as follows: they ate meat on Sundays, Tuesdays and Thursdays. For the rest of the week they used milk, eggs and cheese, and drank wine daily with meals only. The priests and deacons among them served the churches, but the horsemen and the infantry engaged in warfare and military actions. Those who had trades engaged in their own trades. Thus, the farmer farmed in the villages and towns. Wherever the fraternity had a center, it had also a superintendent, and no member could perform a service relating to his trade without his order. Their Grand Master resided in Jerusalem and had authority over all of them, and he absolutely owned no private possession. They distributed one tenth of their income of wheat, wine and other things to the poor. In addition, one tenth of the bread baked everyday was distributed to the poor. Whatever was left from the table of the brothers was given to the poor. In addition, they distributed food and drink to the poor twice a week.

At the beginning, their task was the protection of pilgrims on the highways from robbers. Later on, however, they accompanied kings in their warfare with the Turks. Their number multiplied to a hundred thousand. They possessed citadels and built invincible fortresses in all the regions ruled by the Christians. Their possessions of gold and all kinds of properties and arms tremendously multiplied. In addition, they owned herds of sheep, cows, pigs, camels and horses more than all the kings, while they were supposed to be ascetics who owned no private possessions. They were free and bound to nothing. They were in concord with each other, and they loved all of those who worshiped the Cross. Wherever they were found, especially in Jerusalem, they built hospitals for the sick, which made it possible for a stranger who fell sick to find shelter and care. If he recovered, they paid him money and sent him away in peace; if he died, they took care of his burial. *End of this narrative.*²¹¹²

²¹¹² The story of the Frères or Knights Templar as told by Michael Rabo seems to be unique in Syriac sources. The Anonymous Edessan does not mention it and Bar Hebraeus refers to the Frères only in passing. See Bar Hebraeus, 283, *Chronography*, 288, 309, 370, 381, 389, and 396. Likewise the Frères are mentioned in passing in the Armenian *Continuation of the Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa* by Gregory the Priest. See Dostourian's edition of Matthew of Edessa, 263, 273 and 277. In Arabic sources the name of the Templars appears as al-Dawīyya. Usama ibn Munqidh, who may be the first Arab writer to mention al-Dawīyya, states that

Bar Sabuni (Abu Ghalib) went too far in his insolent behavior, trampling upon the patriarch's order who suspended him from service because of ordaining priests and deacons. However, the patriarch reordained all of those who were ordained by Abu Ghalib Bar Sabuni. What is puzzling is that, despite knowing that Bar Sabuni was suspended from service, the wise Edessans consented to be ordained by him. Indeed, they had already willingly rejected him and appealed to the patriarch to reordain them. Even more surprising is that they had spurned and repudiated their first ordination by him. On his part, Patriarch Athanasius did something puzzling. One day a group of Edessans who had been ordained deacons and then priests by Bar Sabuni, went to the patriarch. Without investigating their ordination, the patriarch absolved them and then reordained them. Their reordination caused a conflict among those who were in the presence of the patriarch. An investigation was made about their diaconate and who ordained them deacons. When they confessed that Bar Sabuni ordained them deacons, their case became a subject of suspicion. In fact, such conflict and ill intention yield fruits loaded with suspicion. This conflict urged the patriarch to decide that they had no authority to practice the office of the priesthood except within the boundaries of what was valid for the deacons.

Chapter Twelve: On the beginning of the reign of Iwani (John), son of Alexius (emperor) of the Romans; the intensification of war between the Franks and the Turks during this period; the submission of the Cumans to the Greeks, and other civil and ecclesiastical matters

In the year 1425 (A.D. 1114), Tancred, lord of Antioch died,²¹¹³ and was succeeded by Roger (Rogel in the Syriac text), son of his sister. In September of the same year (A.D. 1114) Roger defeated Bursuk the Turk.²¹¹⁴

In this same year, the Turk who was in charge of Hisn Ziyad rebelled. He spoiled the region and sold its people into slavery. Ibrahim, lord of Amid and Hisn Kipha 1105-1128) ravaged the region of 'Arqa, and Melitene swarmed with captives. Nevertheless, for their zeal, the faithful (Syrian Orthodox) ransomed them. When the Khatun (Lady or Princess, wife of Kilij Arslan), returned from her visit to Belek (Amir of Bula), she expelled *atabeg* (the tutor Kourtij) and resided with her son in the citadel, and they assumed the name of Belek. This enraged the Turk who was in charge of Hisn Ziyad and caused him to barter the Hisn with the sultan for other properties and some money. When the men of the sultan of Melitene entered the

whenever he visited Jerusalem he went to pray in the Aqsa Mosque which was occupied by al-Dawiyya (Templars) who were his friends. One day, in the year 1144 he was praying toward the *qibla* in Makka a Frankish man from al-Dawiyya rushed to him and directed him to pray toward the east (according to the Christians' custom). See Usama ibn Muqidh, *Kitab al-I'tibar*, 163-164 of the English translation. Other writers, like Ibn al-Qalanisi, Ibn al-Athir, Ibn Wasil and Ibn Shaddad, mentions al-Dawiyya either in the context of the warfare of al-Malik al-Adil Abu al-Qasim Nur al-Din Mahmud Zangi (1146- 1173), or in the context of the victory of Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi (Saladin) over the Franks at the battle of Hittin, July 3-4, 1187. See Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 339, and 330 of the English translation together with footnote 2; and Hasan Habashi, *Nur al-Din wa al-Salibiyyun* (Cairo: Dar al-Fikr al-Arabi, 1948), 93; Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil al-Tawarikh* in R.H.C. Or. I: 687-689, and by the same author, *al-Tarikh al-Bahir fi al-Dawla al-Atabegiyya*, 41; Ibn Wasil, *Mufarrij al-Kurub fi Tarikh Bani Ayyub*, 2: 196; and al-Qadi Baha al-Din Abu al-Mahasin Yusuf ibn Rafi ibn Tamim knows as Ibn Shaddad, *al-Nawadir al-Sultaniyya wa al-Mahasin al-Yusufiyya* in R.H.C. Or. III: 96-97. In the Armenian account of Gregory the Priest, the author uses the term Templars when discussing the warfares of Nur al-Din Zangi with the Franks. See *The Continuation of Gregory the Priest to Matthew of Edessa*, 270--274. A final note: what is the origin of the term al-Dawiyya used by Arab writers? It may be a corruption of the Syric-Aramic term *dawaye* meaning poor, wretched, miserable. See J. Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary* (Oxford at The Clarendon Press, 1903), 85. It should be noted that the original name of the Knights Templar in Latin is *Pauperes commilitones Christi* (Poor Knights of Christ). See Philip Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 644, footnote 3. But the Syrian writers, especially Michael Rabo, used the term *Frères* for the Templars rather than the Syriac *dawaye*. See R. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades*, I: 542.

²¹¹³ Tancred died on December 12, 1112 and was succeeded by his nephew Roger of Salerno, regent of Antioch 1112-1119), whom Usama ibn Munqidh calls "a devil of the Franks." See Usamah ibn Munqidh, *Kitab al-I'tibar*, translated by Philip Hitti as *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1929), 148, The Anonymous Edessan, 98; Matthew of Edessa, 212.

²¹¹⁴ Bursuk son of Bursuk, a Turkish general, was commissioned by the Seljuk Sultan Ghiyath al-Dunya wa al-Din Muhammad in 1115 to fight the Franks, but he was defeated. He died in the following year. See Ibn al-Athir in R.H.C., Or. I: 298; Ibn al-Adim in R.H.C., Or. III: 608-609 Cf. Chabot, III, 203, and Imad al-Din Muhammad al-Isfahani, *Tarikh Dawlat Al Seljuki* (Cairo, 1900), 65.

Hisn, the son of the sultan of Khurasan (Muhammad son of Malikshah, later Seljuk Sultan of Khurasan 1104-1118), surprised them with a great army. They surrendered the Hisn without war, and peace prevailed.

On March 15, 1429 (A.D. 1118), Mangoug, amir of Qamach (Qamah), invaded the district of Melitene. The Khatun of Melitene sent (a message) to Joscelin, lord of Antioch, and made peace with him that he might come to her aid.

In August of this year, Alexius, the wise and mighty king (emperor) of the Romans died.²¹¹⁵ By his sagacity, he rescued their city (Constantinople) from the Franks, the Cumans, the Egyptians and the refugees. He fought all of them and protected his state, which he governed with aptitude for twenty-nine years. He was succeeded by his son Iwanni (John) in 1118. John's brother, sister and mother conspired against him and he sent his brother and sister into exile and had his mother enter a convent. Then, he was established in the kingdom. In May of the year 1430 (A.D. 1119), the Amir Ghazi, son of Tunishman (Danishmend), assembled seven thousand Turks and invaded Antioch.²¹¹⁶ They were met by Roger²¹¹⁷ commanding a great number of foot soldiers. The Turks ambushed them and surrounded them. They killed Roger and a great number of them (Franks).²¹¹⁸ The Turks ravaged the region, occupied invincible citadels, and killed a number of monks in the Black Mountain. They committed heinous crimes during their presence in that region until Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, arrived. The Turks placed an ambush for him but he was able to overwhelm them despite that the ambushers destroyed the rear of his army. Baldwin II chased them and annihilated them. He pursued Ghazi (Ilghazi), and some Turks fled to Aleppo, and the others remained with Ghazi. On that day, they suffered a heavy blow. As to the Franks who were saved, they restored what the Turks had taken and entered Antioch with the king (Baldwin II).²¹¹⁹

In that year the sultan of Melitene subjugated the region of Jihan and Ablastain, and added the region of al-Qati'a to Melitene.

On February of the same year, the Franks invaded the region of Melitene while the Turks invaded Gargar. The Greeks stood against the Turks on the seacoast for two months, but they left without a war.

The sultan of Melitene and his governor Belek invaded the country of Qamah, and Mangoug, lord of the country, fled to Trebizon and sought asylum with the Greeks accompanied by Gabras. Then, Belek and the sultan of Melitene reached a peace agreement with Ilghazi, son of Tunishman, and fought against the Greeks and defeated them. They captured Gabras and Ibn Mangoug. Gabras was sold for thirty thousand dinars, but Ibn Mangoug was rescued by Ilghazi because he was his son-in-law. For this reason, enmity ensued between the sultan and Belek with Ilghazi.

In this year Iwani king (emperor) of the Greeks seized three fortresses from the Turks.

Ghazi (Ilghazi, son of Artuk d. 1122) assembled an army, invaded the region of Edessa, and burned the crops. Facing no resistance, he entered the region of Antioch, spoiled it, and then returned to his country. Belek took hold of Hisn Ziyad and the neighboring regions of Melitene, and Melitene was subjected to his authority. He was feared by all the amirs. However, the Armenians in Gargar caused a great

²¹¹⁵ For Alexius' illness and death see Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, 420-427.

²¹¹⁶ Bar Hebraeus states that the blessed Mor Michael says that Ghazi, the son of Danishmend, defeated the Franks and slew Roger. In fact, it was Ilghazi and not Ghazi who did this. Bar Hebraeus further says that perhaps the mistake is due to the similarity of the names, i.e. Ghazi and Ilghazi. See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 249, The Anonymous Edessan, 103; Matthew of Edessa, 223.

²¹¹⁷ Roger of Salerno, lord of Antioch known in Arabic sources as Sirjal, Sir Roger, or Rujir.

²¹¹⁸ Roger's fight against the Turks was motivated by his ambition to control Aleppo. See Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh*, in *R.H.C. Or. I*:323-325, William of Tyre, *I*: 528-531; Matthew of Edessa, 223-224; the Anonymous Edessan, 103-104, Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 249, Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 201, Ibn al-Adim, *Zubdat al-Halab min Tarikh Halab*, ed. Sami al-Dahhan, *II*:187-189, and the same in *R.H.C., Or. III*: 616-620; W. B. Stevenson, *The Crusaders in the East*, 102-106.

²¹¹⁹ According to Matthew of Edessa, 224, the Turks ravaged the country from the Euphrates River to the Mediterranean Sea killing people and taking others into captivity. This is confirmed by Arabic sources which relate that the Muslim troops spread all over the regions of Antioch and al-Suwaydiyya and other places killing, looting and taking vanquished people into captivity. The Muslims looted so many things and animals that no Turk was left without having his hands full of booty. See Ibn al-Adim, *Ibid*, 190. Ibn al-Qalanisi praised Allah because, as a result of looting; the homes of the people (Christians) were left empty. See Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 201.

deal of harm to his country by their acts of robbery. He sent a message to Michael, lord of Gargar, pledging to pay him a thousand loads of wheat every year and three villages if he would restrain the robbers. Many times Michael swore oaths to Belek, but he did not honor his word. One day at night, Michael's thieves burned two villages in Hanzit, pillaged several other villages and killed a number of Turks. They did not restrain themselves because they relied on the pledge for peace and their reception of wheat.²¹²⁰ When Belek knew of what happened, he was wrathful, and intended to trick the Armenians to lead them into perdition.

Belek found an opportunity in the winter, when the mountains were covered with snow, and the people of Gargar felt secure. He crossed over the ice of the Euphrates to Jubas. He deceived the people of Gargar into believing that he was going only for a certain distance. However, he made one thousand unharnessed horses march ahead of him over the rugged mountain called Qariouna (the Wax Mountain). The ice was trodden flat and his forces passed through. In one day, they reached the Monastery of Mor Barsoum. At night, they crossed the Mountain of Gargar and in the morning, they attacked and ravaged the wretched country. Belek spoiled the country on Monday the first of January of the year 1432 (A.D. 1121). No one, whether human or cattle, escaped the hands of the Turks. They seized everything and then departed, and the country became desolate. Belek, however, treated the people with great compassion.²¹²¹ He had no one killed or taken captive. He protected their cattle and belongings, gave them villages and made them settle in the region of Hanzit. He exacted an oath from them that they would not return to Gargar. He threatened those who would escape and return to Gargar to make them slaves in his next invasion of the region, and this is exactly what happened. A year later, Belek came to Gargar and burned the villages, the vineyards and the olive groves, and took captive those whom he found in Gargar. Then Joscelin fell upon Belek, and he fled to the mountains. When the Franks could not overwhelm him, they retreated and Belek returned to his country.²¹²²

In the year 1433 (A.D. 1122),²¹²³ the Sultan of Khurasan²¹²⁴ dispatched one hundred thousand troops to Iberia to possess it, but its king closed the gates on every side and annihilated them by the sword.

In this year, Joscelin invaded the region of Jubas. In this same year, too, John, emperor of the Greeks, destroyed the Cumans and since then they became subjects to the Greeks.

Basilius (Bar Shumanna, d. 1169), bishop of Edessa,²¹²⁵ who was present (in that city), wrote about the Cumans. He said, "When the Cumans came to Constantinople, King Iwani (Emperor John) pretended to be committed to peace with them, and they spread in the cities including Constantinople. Then, he issued an order for their arrest wherever they were found. About three thousand were seized in the camp of the king (emperor) apart from those who were seized in the cities. On the day they were captured, the king and his forces went to their camp, but they had barricaded their camp with wooden towers, as was their custom, and began to fight. The Greeks struggled for many days but failed to penetrate the wooden towers. Then the emperor dismounted and ordered the horsemen to dismount and fight. They engaged in a heated battle. The horsemen jumped over the barricades and massacred them. They captured their chieftains and drove them like slaves to Constantinople. With this victory the affairs of the emperor were greatly settled.

²¹²⁰ Bar Hebraeus says that the thieves did not abide by their oath and burned two villages in Hanzit after they received the loads of wheat. See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 250.

²¹²¹ Matthew of Edessa, 232, Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 250.

²¹²² Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 250; Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 515-516.

²¹²³ More correctly 1121.

²¹²⁴ Muhammad II Mughith al-Din.

²¹²⁵ Abu al-Faraj Basilius who came from the noble family of Shumanna in Edessa. Thus, he is known as Bar Shumanna. His brother served as a minister of Joscelin, Count of Edessa. Abu al-Faraj was ordained a bishop for Kesum in 1129 and was transferred to Edessa in 1143. Twice he was an eye witness of the destruction of Edessa. Among his writings is a history of Edessa from the beginning of the world to his own time, which is lost to us. But it is greatly utilized by our author and by The Anonymous Edessan. See Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, translated into English by Matti Moosa (Gorgias Press, 2003), 430-431.

The Cumans are a group of Turks who speak the Turkish language but they know no prophet whether Moses, the Lord Jesus, or Muhammad. Wherever they went, they took with them their wives and children and belongings and kept them in the wooden towers with which they barricaded their camps like a wall. They left the banks of the River Danbis (Danube) and marched to Constantinople with the intention of possessing it, but the emperor defeated them badly and they became slaves to the Greek kingdom." *End of the narrative.*²¹²⁶

On the third hour of Thursday of January 1431 (A.D. 1120), a violent earthquake took place and destroyed many places. In this time, there was severe famine in Jerusalem. The Frères who are called *Dowaye* (Arabic Dawiya), that is, "holy brothers," (Knights Templar) distributed, as was their custom, (food) to the poor generously. However, when their stored grains became scanty, the stewards asked the chiefs and the administrators to check the granaries to see how drastic the shortage was. When they checked them, they said to one another, "What is left is not sufficient for us even if we kept away our share from the poor. Therefore, the provisions should be distributed as usual and nothing should be denied the poor. We should equally feed the poor of what is left until it is consumed and then, we and they die." They unanimously agreed to this proposition and distributed grain generously to the poor. For this reason, God, who fed thousands in the wilderness with a few loaves, visited them. For when the stewards entered the granaries, they suddenly found them flowing with wheat, barley, wine and grains. This miracle was made known everywhere for the glory of God.

At the beginning of January 1431 (A.D. 1120), fire broke out in Constantinople and destroyed ten thousand houses and shops.

In May of this year, flying locusts swept Melitene and devoured part of the fields. The people raised continuous supplications with faith, the mouths of the locusts were shut and could eat no more, and the fields were safe. Shortly afterwards, tiny locusts appeared and ate up some trees and grapevines, but immediately vanished.

In the same year, a city in Persia called Ardabil sank immediately and turned into a lake, and all its inhabitants drowned.

In the year 1432 (A.D. 1121), the winter was so severe for forty days that the Euphrates and other rivers were frozen, and people walked over them like on a dry land.

On May 30 of this same year, a full rainbow was seen, a phenomenon which has not been seen for generations. It is believed that it was a supernatural matter or beyond nature. The rainbow was seen full at night and not as usual when the sun is beneath the earth, or, as some think, it is behind the mountains that are toward the north. Indeed, this phenomenon was a marvel to anyone who contemplated it. However, everything is possible to the Almighty who does what he wills. *End of the narrative.*

Bar Sabuni (Abu Ghalib) moved from bad to worse. He complained against the holy Patriarch Mor Athanasius to the Franks' patriarch in Antioch²¹²⁷ accusing Mor Athanasius of vicious charges which made the (Syrian) Orthodox Church a subject of revile by others. The Latin patriarch summoned Mor Athanasius from the Aqshar Monastery in that region, and he entered Antioch against his will. They (the Latins) took him to the Great Church of St. Peter called Cassianus, and asked him to pardon Bar Sabuni, but he refused to do so. The Franks took his attitude as a pretext to punish the Syrians and the patriarch. When they brought him to their church, they treated him with decorum and said to him, "Show grace and pray over this metropolitan for the sake of our city Edessa." The Patriarch said, "He has gone too far in his offense." However, the translator misunderstood the patriarch, and said that he was asking for money. The Franks said, "This is Simony (offering church offices for money) and not in accordance with the spirit of St. Peter. It is not worthy of Christians to depose a chief priest from his office for money." But since there was no one who understood them, the Franks added, "If, according to your canons you deal with money, then consider that today you have given this church ten thousand dinars, and released from exile this one (Bar

²¹²⁶ We hear a great deal about the Cumans in the time of Emperor Alexius I, who tried to use them as allies in his wars with the Scythians. See Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, 200-207, and 238-247.

²¹²⁷ Bernard of Valence, Latin patriarch of Antioch (1100-1136). See Chabot, III, 207.

Sabuni) who has sought asylum in it." However, since the patriarch could not respond, (for he did not understand what they were saying) he said that he would pray for Bar Sabuni. They asked him to absolve him in writing. They gave him a sheet of paper and he began to write. Turning to Bar Sabuni who was near him he said to him, "Look, Abu Ghalib, to what state you have dragged me into." Bar Sabuni said insolently, "If I am Abu Ghalib, then you are Abu al-Faraj." Hearing these words, the patriarch lost his temper, threw away the piece of paper and, stretching his neck, and said, "You may cut off my head, but I will not absolve this man." The Franks ordered both of them (the patriarch and Bar Sabuni) beaten. One of their elder bishops said to their patriarch, "Although these two wretched men have behaved disdainfully and deserve to be beaten, it is improper to beat anyone inside the church." With these words, the wrath of the Franks calmed down, and let the patriarch and his companions depart. They left the Great Church and went to the Syrian church of the Mother of God in Antioch. The Franks forbade the patriarch from leaving the city until they had assembled a council. They issued summons to their bishops to attend. Mor Athanasius remained in the church (of the Mother of God) dejected and sad.

Five days later, the patriarch was in his cell with the door shut and no one was allowed to speak with him. The crowd of presbyters and lay people were afflicted with grief. The presbyters went out and brought the Chalcedonian philosopher Abd al-Masih Ibn Abi Durra of Edessa who loved the patriarch and trusted his piety. He entered into the cell of the patriarch, and both men were engaged in conversation. The patriarch approached Roger (of Salerno, 1112-1119), lord of the city (Antioch) then, and offered him expensive gifts and obtained from him a decree to leave the city. Roger said to the Frankish patriarch, "You have no authority over the Syrians."²¹²⁸

Chapter Thirteen: When Belek captured the King of Jerusalem and Joscelin; the rebellion at Hisn Ziyad; the death of Belek, and other secular and ecclesiastical affairs in this period

In the year 1434 (A.D. 1123), the Amir Belek entered the region of Antioch and was countered by the Franks. The two camps faced each other for four months after which they departed without fight. The wife of Joscelin I (of Courtenay) died and he married the daughter of Roger of Antioch.²¹²⁹ On his way to Edessa, Belek ambushed Joscelin, seized him and sent him to Bula. For this reason, Belek gained a great name among the Turks, and multitudes gathered around him and entered the region of the Franks for the second time. When the Armenian Michael of Gargar (son of Constantine, governor of Gargar) learned that the Turks had controlled the region, he gave Gargar to the king (Baldwin II, of Le Bourg) and kept for himself a plot of land in his area. The king stationed a garrison in Gargar and gathered his forces in order to evict the Turks from Hisn Mansur and Kesum. While the Franks were camping on the River Sanja (the Singas of Ptolemy "Gök-Sue" near Samosata), they were surprised by Belek's ambushers who attacked their camp, seized the king and annihilated those with him. Also was captured Joscelin and Galeran early on the Day of the Festival of the Cross.²¹³⁰ King Baldwin was also captured on Wednesday of the Week of White Apparel, or Whit-Wednesday of the same year.²¹³¹ When the king of Jerusalem was taken captive and there was no chief or ruler to manage its (Jerusalem) affairs, the Egyptians (the Fatimids) thought that they would possess Jerusalem and the rest of the country. They marched in two armies: one on land and the other on sea, but God defeated those who came on land as they faced those (Franks) who were engaged in fasting and prayer. After seven days of fasting and praying, great multitudes rushed out of Jerusalem carrying the Cross and weeping; the Egyptians were defeated and fled before them. However, it was God and not man

²¹²⁸ This episode is a sheer example of the Frank's unlawful interference in the affairs of the Syrian Church. For more analysis of this subject, see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 657-659.

²¹²⁹ The Anonymous Edessan and Bar Hebraeus say that Joscelin married the daughter of Roger in the year 1122 not in 1123, and received Azaz as a dowry. See The Anonymous Edessan, 109 and Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 250. According to William of Tyre, I: 528, Joscelin married Morphia of Salerno, sister and not daughter of Roger of Antioch.

²¹³⁰ Joscelin and Galeran with some knights were captured on September 13, 1122. See Matthew of Edessa, 228-229, Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 251 and The Anonymous Edessan, 109-110.

²¹³¹ See William of Tyre, I: 540-541 who says that King Baldwin was captured in April on Whit-Wednesday, The Anonymous Edessan, 111-113 says that he was captured on Whit-Tuesday.

who defeated them. They plundered their camels and belongings and brought them to Jerusalem with great joy. They kept fasting and praying for twenty-one days. As to the other Egyptian forces, they came by ships over the sea, but were immediately captured upon their arrival at Akka (Acre). This happened because God disposed the Venetians, who arrived at that time to perform the pilgrimage. When the Venetians saw the Egyptians coming, they prepared to fight. God gave them victory and they routed and annihilated the Egyptians. Encouraged, the people of Jerusalem joined them and together they invaded Tyre.

After capturing the king (Baldwin), Belek invaded Hisn Mansur whose people surrendered it to him peacefully, but the cruel Turks took the people into captivity and burned the city and its environ. The Franks departed Gargar and the Turks entered it. Belek imprisoned Joscelin and the rest of the Franks in a pit in Hisn Ziyad. In addition, he wrested Aleppo, Harran and Tell Bashir from the Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims) and three more fortresses from the Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims) and the Franks. However, a rebellion was stirred up against him in the fortress of Hisn Ziyad. At the fortress there were Armenian artisans who were building something. When they saw that the fortress was empty except for a few soldiers, they gathered at the gate to complain about their low wages. Immediately, they leapt, seized the swords at the fortress, killed the three guards at the gate and freed Joscelin and others with him. They also killed a number of Muslims and seized the fortress. The people of the fortress of Ziyad joined forces and fought them. Joscelin stealthily departed at night accompanied by an Armenian person. He swore to the king that he would assemble an army (of Franks) and come back and stay in the fortress if they controlled it. If they failed, they would take the king with them and depart the fortress.²¹³²

Upon Joscelin's departure, Belek set up four engines of war and caused the walls to fall down. He released the Franks after torturing and killing seventy of them. He accompanied the king (Baldwin II) and his nephew, (son of his sister) Galeran, but returned immediately because he intended to ravage the inhabited world. As he invested Mabug (Manbij), its inhabitants sent a message to Joscelin asking him to save them from Belek. They offered to pay Joscelin a tribute in return. Joscelin responded and engaged Belek in battle that lasted from morn to dusk during which Geofry, lord of Kesum, was slain. Geofry was a monk who had left Rome for Jerusalem.²¹³³ He exhibited extraordinary courage and thus was appointed a general of the army. The king brought him with him when he came to protect the region and offered him Kesum, Ra'ban and Mar'ash. His career ended when he was killed in this battle.

In the morning, Belek came to the wall to select a position for an engine of war. He was shot by an arrow from within the wall and fell dead (May 6, 1124). His army fled to Aleppo and set his cousin (Timurtash son of Ilghazi) as their leader. He (Timurtash) was the one who liberated King Baldwin (II) for a hundred thousand dinars, and the king returned to Jerusalem. Some Turks under Sulayman, chief of the Artukid tribe, returned to Hisn Ziyad.²¹³⁴

On January 28, 1433 (A.D. 1122), the earth shook four times at night and four times during the day. The rocks in the region of Semha on the Euphrates bank, cleft and several regions sank and became graves for their inhabitants.

In the year 1134 (A.D. 1123), there was scarcity of rain everywhere and severe famine resulted, especially in the east. In this same year, fire broke out in Constantinople, and many people and beasts perished in addition to houses, churches and monasteries.

In the year 1434 (A.D. 1123), there was a ferocious warfare and animosity among the birds in the sky. Some of them triumphed while others were defeated. How this thing happened and why, no one exactly knows. However, the omniscient one (God) knows the truth of what happened. The warfare was as follows:

²¹³² Bar Hebraeus *Chronography*, 251 Matthew of Edessa, 230, The Anonymous Edessan, 113-116, Ibn al-Adim, *Zubdat al-Halab min Tarikh Halab*, ed. Sami al-Dahhan, II: 213, and the same in *R.H.C.*, III: 637, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 514-519.

²¹³³ He is Geofry the Monk, lord of Mar'ash, regent of Edessa 1122-1123. He was in charge of the Franks' forces which protected their territories, primarily Jerusalem, Antioch and Edessa from the Turks. Matthew of Edessa says he was a brave and mighty man and a most fervent Christian. See Matthew of Edessa, 230, and The Anonymous Edessan, 117.

²¹³⁴ For further analysis, see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 519-520.

The birds of *Abu al-Hojouje* (Arabic, Abu Hudayj, storks) and cranes suddenly congregated from every direction and formed two camps over the River Tellakoum. They continued congregating for several days. Those who saw them testified that the birds sent delegations from one camp to the other for fifteen days. Suddenly, however, they began to cry with loud voices and fight each other. Some of them fell to the ground and died. A great number of carcasses of the dead storks and cranes were piled up. The battle lasted until the ninth hour of the day, and finally the storks were defeated. Most of them died and the rest fled, but they were pursued by the cranes to their nests that killed their chicks.²¹³⁵ *End of the account of the war of birds. He who reads let him pray for the weak and sinner Mikha'il (Michael of Urbish) who copied these lines.*

On April 26 of the year 1431 (A.D. 1121), Dionysius Bar Modyana (son of the Confessor) died and was buried in the church of Melitene. He served the chief priesthood for fifty years of which thirty-two years as a bishop, twelve years as the metropolitan of Melitene, and six years afterwards, it was taken from him.

After he left Antioch angry, Patriarch Athanasius (VI) refused to stay in the Frankish region and went to the city of Amid in Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia) which was a private patriarchal diocese. He resided in the Monastery of Qanqart.²¹³⁶ He tightened his stranglehold on Edessa because of Bar Sabuni (Abu Ghalib). He closed its church and forbade the ringing of its bells, which caused more trouble in the church of Edessa. As a result, some priests rebelled and quarreled with each other. The congregation left the church, and some of them attended the churches of other doctrines (meaning Chalcedonian churches). Since then the Edessans (Syrian Orthodox) used to have their children baptized in the churches of the Franks, but all this did not excite the conscience of the pastors. It should be truly said that the Orthodox Church suffered grave damages because of the disturbance among its pastors.

When Mor Athanasius remained long in Amid, he had another problem as a result of (his) intransigence and stubbornness. A dispute ensued between the family of the patriarch known as Kamra and some dignitaries from the family of Qarya who lived in the town of Qanqart. When the patriarch settled in the Monastery of Qanqart, these dignitaries contested with him regarding the houses and fields they owned in the region. They slandered him to the governor, and in turn, the patriarch excommunicated the deacon Ishaq (Isaac) Qarya. The dispute intensified and disturbance spread with the result that a great harm inflicted Amid and the entire diocese of the patriarch. The affairs of the patriarch himself were in turmoil, as we shall explain later.

Chapter Fourteen: We have appended this chapter at the end of this Book (XV) because we have derived it from a book in the Arabic language containing events that took place before this date for two reasons: first, Muslims use the lunar calendar; second, because we have not come across this book until these events happened. The reader should take notice of the rest of what has been written about Najm al-Din, Artukid lord of Aleppo who governed before the above-mentioned Belek. Belek, in fact, ruled Aleppo after the death of Najm al-Din.

The chapter has been translated from Arabic books in Athor and Babil (Assyria and Babylon in Mesopotamia).

In the year 500 of the Tayoye (Islamic Calendar, 1106 A.D.), in the time of al-Mustazhir, caliph of the Tayoye (Arabs) of Baghdad (1094-1118) and Giyath al-Din, sultan of Khurasan,²¹³⁷ the Ismai'lis (of whom were the notorious assassins) massacred his Vizier (minister) called (Fakhr al-Muluk) Abu al-Muzaffar. They also killed in this year Kosdegin, one of the sultan's great men. For this reason, Sultan

²¹³⁵ Matthew of Edessa, 231.

²¹³⁶ A monastery built after the name of the Prophet Elijah in the town of Qanqart few miles away from Amid (present day Diyarbakir). It was first mentioned in the year 1050. Today it is in ruins. See Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, 567-568.

²¹³⁷ Sultan Muhammad Giyath al-Dunya wa al-Din (d.1118), son of Jalal al-Dawla Malikshah whose seat of government was in Isfahan. He is always referred to in Arabic sources as Muhammad.

Ghiyath al-Din became furious and annihilated the Isma'ilis found in the lands of the Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims).

Although the Isma'ilis were considered Arabs, they were a peculiar tribe that belonged neither to the Arabs nor to the Turks, in religious doctrine or traditions. Concerning Christ, they said that although he was the one about whom the prophets prophesied, yet he was not the savior. This was why the Jews intended to kill him but he fled to heaven from whence he would return to accomplish redemption. They have always vilified Muhammad and do not accept his book (the Quran). They resort to assassination as revenge against their antagonists for the hope of receiving salvation in the world to come.

In this same year 500 of the Tayoye (500 of the Islamic Calendar, A.D. 1106), Sayf al-Dawla Sadaqa ibn Dubays, king of the Arabs,²¹³⁸ seized Takrit with the following pretext. In Takrit there was a wicked and iniquitous Daylamite person named Qiyadh ibn Hedharesb. He destroyed the grand mosque of the Muslims in the neighborhood of the citadel, which agitated the Muslims against him. In the year 1433²¹³⁹ (A.D. 1122), he (Sadaqa ibn Dubays) usurped the great church of the Christians known as al-Khadra (the Green) including the houses and shops which belonged to it and gave it to the Muslims.²¹⁴⁰

When the conflict between Christians and the Tayoye (Muslims) intensified, Sultan Ghiyath al-Din sent an amir named Aksungur (Bursuki)²¹⁴¹ who waged war against Takrit for seven months. Its ruler was forced to deliver it to Sadaqa, king of the Arabs, and then abandoned it. He died fourteen days later. When Sultan Ghiyath al-Din heard that Sadaqa ibn Dubays had governed Takrit and rebelled against him, he marshaled an army of Turks to challenge him. Sadaqa, too, reassembled an army of Arabs and a battle ensued between the two on the bank of the Quni or Qani River. The Arabs were defeated and their king Sadaqa was killed. With this the kingdom of the Arabs ended in the year 500 of the Tayoye (Islamic Calendar) which the year 1433 of the Greeks (A.D. 1122).²¹⁴²

In the year 502 of the Tayoye (Islamic Calendar, 1108 A.D.), three years after the departure (defeat) of the Turks, an amir named Mawdud²¹⁴³ was charged by Sultan Ghiyath al-Din to march against the Franks. He gave him Mosul, al-Jazira and Nisibin, and ordered the other amirs to accompany him, but when he reached Mosul, Jawli refused to surrender the city. Mawdud set engines of war against Mosul and attacked it ferociously. On Friday while the Muslims were praying, Mawdud's men climbed the wall to create confusion. Jawli and his men were fortified in the citadel, and Mawdud swore to them solemn oaths. Jawli and his men departed and went to Najm al-Din ibn Artuk in Mardin. They assembled an army to fight the Franks in order to gain the favor of the great sultan. Mawdud did not fight the Franks but returned to the sultan. Joscelin, lord of Edessa, allied himself to Jawli because Jawli had treated him graciously in Mosul. In

²¹³⁸ See Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 534-535 with the footnotes.

²¹³⁹ This date must be of the Greeks.

²¹⁴⁰ Al-Khadra Church was dedicated to the Syrian peripatetic philosopher and theologian Mor Ahudemeh (d. 575). See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 433. Chabot gives the name of the church as the Kurrath Church. See Chabot, III:214.

²¹⁴¹ Sayf al-Dawla Aksungur al-Bursuki to whom Seljuk Sultan Mughith al-Dunya wa al-Din Mahmud allotted in 1221 the governorship of Mosul, al-Jazira, Sinjar, Nisibin and other lands. He was murdered in 1226 by a batini (Ismaili) partisan. See Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil al-Tawarikh*, in R.H.C., I:341-342, and 364-365 and by the same author, *al-Tarikh al-Bahir*, 24 and 31; Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, ed. Amedroz, 197-198, and 208-217; Ibn Wasil, *Mufarrij al-Kurub*, ed. Jamal al-Din al-Shayyal, 28-30; Abu al-Fida, *al-Mukhtasar fi Akhbar al-Bashar* in R.H.C., I: 14.

²¹⁴² The reference here is to Sayf al-Dawla Sadaqa, son of Baha al-Dawla Mansur, son of Mazyad al-Asadi. Sadaqa belongs to the Banu Mazyad, an Arab tribe whose domain extended from Baghdad to Hit in north-west Iraq and to Basrah in the south of the country. Taking advantage of the weakness of the Seljuk state, Sadaqa controlled most of the southern part of Iraq and founded the city of al-Hilla in 1102 as the seat of his government. He waxed powerful and endeavored to establish a state in southern Iraq, independent of the Abbasid caliphs in Baghdad. He assumed the title of Sayf al-Dawla (Sword of the State). Like our author, Ibn al-Athir calls him Malik al-Arab (King of the Arabs). He also calls him Amir al-Arab (Ruler of the Arabs). He was killed in the conflict between him and the Seljuk Sultan Muhammad in 1108. See Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil al-Tawarikh*, in R.H.C., I: 247, and 271; and Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 146-147, 156, 159, and 160 where he praises the character of Sadaqa saying that the Arabs had no one to match him in his charity and noble character; and Shihab al-Din Ahmad ibn Abd al-Wahhab al-Nuwayri, *Nihayat al-Arab fi Funun al-Adab*, MS. Jami'at al-Duwal al-Arabiyya, Vol. 25, fol. 27, quoted by Said Abd al-Fattah Ashur, *al-Haraka al-Salibiyya*, I:115.

²¹⁴³ Sharaf al-Din Mawdud ibn Altuntash or Altuntakin, atabeg of Mosul, d. 1131.

addition, Ridwan of Aleppo allied himself to that king (Tancred of Antioch) and they defeated Jawli and Joscelin.²¹⁴⁴

In the year 500 of the Tayoye (Islamic Calendar (1106 A.D.)), the Franks wrested Tripoli on the seashore from Abu Ali ibn Imram²¹⁴⁵ after fierce battle. They killed soldiers, carried into captivity the people of the entire region and sold them as slaves.²¹⁴⁶ In this year Ilbazzmish, son of Artuk, fell of his horse and died. The Franks took hold of Houtarib (Atharib), killed two thousands, then came to Manbij, and plundered it. Then they marched to Balish and burned it by fire.

When Ibn Ridwan returned from Baghdad and realized that he could not challenge the Franks, he sent them thirty-two thousand dinars, twenty mules and forty satin garments. The atabeg of Damascus, Tughtikin,²¹⁴⁷ sent them ten thousand dinars, the lord of Hamah,²¹⁴⁸ two thousand dinars, and the lord of Ashqalun (Ascalon, Asqalan)²¹⁴⁹ four thousands dinars, and they concluded peace.

In the year 505 of the Tayoye (Islamic Calendar (A.D. 1111)), Sultan Ghiyath al-Dunya wa al-Din dispatched an army with Mawdud to fight the Franks. When they reached Shabakhtan, they seized many fortresses but failed to capture Edessa. They attacked Tell Basher but failed to occupy it. Then they came to Aleppo but the inhabitants would not permit them to enter it. Sukman (al-Qutbi), lord of Khilat, (and Miyafarqin 1100-1110), fell sick and they took him to be treated but he died on the way. Three times in one day, Mawdud became engaged in a fight with the Franks. He triumphed the first time but was defeated afterwards and fled to Damascus. While he was taking a walk after the Friday prayer holding onto his companion's hand, he was surprised by an Isma'ili (Assassin) who attacked him and smote him to death with a knife (September 1113). In that year Ridwan, ruler of Aleppo, was slain and was succeeded by his son al-Akhras (the Mute).

In the year 508 of the Tayoye (Islamic Calendar (A.D. 1114)), the army of Sultan Ghiyath al-Dunya wa al-Din, commanded by his son Abu al-Fath Mas'ud (1134-1150) and Qasim al-Dawla ibn Aksungur²¹⁵⁰ set out to fight the Franks. When they reached Mosul, they were received by the men of Imad al-Din Zangi, son of Qasim al-Dawlah Aksungur and Tamirek, ruler of Sinjar.²¹⁵¹ Then, they came to al-Jazira whose governor was appointed by Mawdud. He delivered (al-Jazira) to them, and they were joined by the people of Nisibin. In Mardin, Najm al-Din Ilghazi welcomed the son of the sultan and dispatched with him Ayaz at the head of three hundred horsemen. After passing Shabakhtan, Najm al-Din sent an envoy to encourage the Franks. When he learned of this, the sultan had the son of Najm al-Din seized, bound him in chains, and plundered his region and then marched against Dara. Najm al-Din moved to Shahrzur where he assembled a great number of troops and came to Rukn al-Din, cousin of the governor of Hisn Kipha and his other brother Belek Barham (Bahram) to liberate his son. They reached Qurdis near Dara without

²¹⁴⁴ An explanation is needed here. We have seen earlier that Jawli was expelled from Mosul in 1108 by Mawdud Altuntash al-Tuwayniki and went to al-Jazira to rally allies against the Seljuk Sultan Muhammad. To strengthen his position, Jawli released Baldwin II, of Le Bourg at Maksin and discussed peaceful relations with him. To show good will, Baldwin released one hundred and sixty Muslim captives mostly from Aleppo and had them clothed. See Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil al-Tawarikh*, in R.H.C. Or. I:262. Jawli also supported Baldwin and Joscelin I in their fight against Tancred. According to Matthew of Edessa, Baldwin and Joscelin made war on Tancred, count of Antioch, because he refused to return the lands he had taken from them when they were in captivity. See Matthew of Edessa, 201. Ibn al-Athir, *Ibid*, Harold S. Fink, "The Foundation of the Latin States, 1118-1144," in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Marshall W. Baldwin (Kenneth Setton, General Editor), I: 393-394.

²¹⁴⁵ More correctly Fakhr al-Mulk ibn Ammar. See al-Qalanisi, 148

²¹⁴⁶ Actually Tripoli was captured on July 12, 1109, corresponding to the year 502 of the Islamic calendar. See Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Dbayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 163, and 89 of the English translation.

²¹⁴⁷ Zahir al-Din Tughtikin, Turkish atabeg of Damascus 1104-1128.

²¹⁴⁸ Ali Kurd, Kurdish chief at Hamah in 1104.

²¹⁴⁹ Shams al-Khilafa, Fatimid governor of Ascalon in 1111.

²¹⁵⁰ This cannot be correct because Qasim al-Dawla Aksungur known as al-Hajib died in 1094. In this context, Aksungur is Aksungur al-Bursuki and not ibn, i.e., son of Aksungur.

²¹⁵¹ See Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil al-Tawarikh*, in R.H.C., I:292 and by the same author, *al-Tarikh al-Bahir*, 4-8, and 15, Ibn Wasil, *Mufarrij al-Kurub*, I:11; Ibn al-Qalanisi, 119, 126-130; Ibn al-Adim, *Bughyat al-Talab fi Tarikh Halab*, ed. Suhayl Zakkar, IV (Damascus, 1988):1954-1962; and by the same author, *Zubdat al-Halab min Tarikh Halab*, ed. Sami al-Dahhan, II:177 and 241, footnote 2, and Suhayl Zakkar, *Madkhal ila Tarikh al-Hurub al-Salibiyya*, 286-276.

knowing that one of the armies of the son of the sultan was there. They saw some horsemen among whom was Tamirek, lord of Sinjar, the lord of Nisibin and the lord of Maksin, and captured them. When the son of the sultan learned of the defeat of his army, he left Dara and fled to Nisibin. Najm al-Din plundered the tent and everything therein.

Ibn Najm al-Din took advantage of their confusion and waited for darkness to fall when no friend would take care of his own friend. Although he was riding while bound in iron fetters, he threw himself off the mule and hid in a synagogue of the Jews. A certain Kurd informed his father about Najm al-Din, who sent ten men to carry him, and there was a great joy among the Banu Artuk. As to the son of the sultan, he returned to his father and complained against Najm al-Din. The sultan threatened Najm al-Din for his contempt of the authority of the Turks. Najm al-Din, on his part, allied himself to the Franks and with the atabeg of Damascus (Tughtikin). They swore to help each other. Then everyone returned to his own country and Najm al-Din remained alone. At night, the ruler of Homs²¹⁵² found him dead drunk. He carried him to Homs and informed the sultan about him. When a response from the sultan delayed, the ruler of Homs released him on bail and kept his son Ayaz as hostage. Najm al-Din, however, assembled an army and pressured the ruler of Homs to release his son. The ruler of Homs asked the sultan to send troops, which he did. They concluded peace and Najm al-Din's son was released. The sultan's forces attacked the land of the Franks, but the Franks resisted and massacred them. It is said that three thousand of them were committed to fire.

In the year 513 of the Tayoye (Islamic Calendar (A.D. 1119), the ruler of Aleppo²¹⁵³ surrendered the city to Najm al-Din because the Franks had exhausted it. In the same year, Ilghazi Najm al-Din occupied Nisibin and then departed to Aleppo to conclude peace with the Franks, but they refused. He assembled a great number of supporting Turks including a thousand amirs. When the two groups faced each other, the Lord of Antioch (Roger of Salerno) did not wait for the arrival of the king (Baldwin II, of Le Bourg on June 28, 1119). For this reason, he (Roger) was defeated and Najm al-Din triumphed. When he returned to Mardin, Najm al-Din heard that the people of Aleppo had revolted, and hastened to annihilate the rebels. Upon returning to Miyafarqat, he died on the way and instructed that his son Husam al-Din Timurtash should succeed him because his other son Sulayman was in his company and away from Mardin. His army brought him to Miyafarqat where he was buried. Timurtash became the lord of Mardin in the year 516 of the Tayoye (Islamic Calendar (A.D. 1122).

Note. This chapter should have preceded the previous chapters because Belek assumed government in Aleppo after Najm al-Din.

Here ends Book XV which treated the events of the eighty year period during which ten kings (emperors) ruled in the kingdom of the Romans, four Arab caliphs in Baghdad, three Turkish sultans in Khurasan, four sultans in Bithynia, two amirs in Cappadocia and three Frankish kings in Jerusalem. Glory and honor to the omniscient Lord of all forever and ever. Yes and Amen.

²¹⁵² Kirkhan son of Kiraja, Turkish chief at Homs in 1104.

²¹⁵³ Sultanshah the Mute, son of Ridwan Seljukid ruler of Aleppo. Sultanshah was removed by the Artukids as a ruler of Aleppo. See Ibn al-Adim, *Zubdat al-Halab*, in R.H.C. III: 645.

BOOK SIXTEEN

THIS BOOK IS TO BE ADDED TO THE WEB (OF THE NARRATIVE). IT BEGINS WITH THE YEAR 1442 (OF THE GREEKS) WHICH IS THE YEAR 1112 OF THE NATIVITY OF OUR SAVIOR, THE YEAR 509 OF THE ARAB STATE (HIJRA, ISLAMIC CALENDAR), THE YEAR 70 OF THE TURKS, AND THE YEAR 6610 FROM ADAM, THAT IS, THE BEGINNING OF THE WORLD

Chapter One: On the siege of Melitene, and on ecclesiastical and world affairs

At the beginning of this Book, we shall discuss the siege of Melitene because the web of events in the previous Book extended to the death of Belek, in whose name the son of the sultan protected Melitene, whereas the cities controlled by Belek were distributed among several rulers. Husam al-Din Timurtash took Aleppo, Sulayman took Hisn Ziyad and the sultan of Melitene took Masara and Gargar. As a result, a dispute ensued between the lord of Hisn Ziyad and the lord of Melitene, which paved the way for the amir Ghazi son of Danishmend lord of Sebastea to control Melitene and ally himself to Mas'ud, his son-in-law. Ghazi assembled a great number of troops and attacked Melitene on Friday June 13, 1436 (A.D. 1125).²¹⁵⁴ They besieged the city for a month and then plundered the whole region. Ghazi returned and left his son Muhammad and the army in the village of Saman near the city. He commanded them to strike the city every day, especially its gates to prevent anyone from going in or coming out. The people became stricken sorely by famine, and the measure of wheat was sold for thirty-six dinars. Finally, the food supply was completely exhausted. People began to eat tree leaves, and moist bark, they even ate cats and donkeys, whether alive or dead, and even licked the blood. They chewed untanned hide and plate armors made of hide. The poor city was smitten by three blows. From the outside, they were cut down by the sword, which destroyed everyone who fled the city. From the inside, they were stricken by the unbearable famine and the tyrannical rulers who oppressed them by throwing them into prison to exact money from them. Truly, it was a frightening spectacle to see children dying from hunger in front of their parents who were unable to help them, or even weep for them, or bury them. Old men and women were thrown down the streets like stones. They died while their bodies bloated and their voices became hoarse, for no one could offer them aid not even a cup of water. Could anyone relate what had happened without being choked by tears?

The lord of Melitene went out at night and hired the Franks for thirty thousand (dinars). The Franks who assured him of coming to his aid failed to show up. Their excuse was that they were busy besieging Aleppo. Meantime, the mother of the sultan, the second Jezebel²¹⁵⁵ cast into prison the freemen and everyone thought to own possessions. They were tortured mercilessly and their possessions looted. Then the rulers determined to obliterate all the Christians by the sword and leave the city empty in order that the Turks would abandon it. The believers (Christians) lost hope for rescue, but God shined his light upon them and had mercy on that small number of believers.

In the evening of Wednesday, December 10 of the year 1436 (A.D. 1125), fear fell suddenly upon the Turks, and the Khatun, her son and the Turkish followers abandoned the city. The Amir Ghazi entered the city and saw that it was desolate from inhabitants except for a few people. They looked as if they had just come out of the grave. He encouraged them and offered freedom to those who would return to the city. He gave the farmers wheat to plant and brought herds of cows, oxen and sheep and the city began to prosper.

In this year died Sulayman in Miyafarqat, and he was succeeded by his brother Husam al-Din Timurtash, ruler of Mardin. However, while Hisn Ziyad was under the rule of Sulayman, known as Shams al-Dawla, the Amir Ghazi tried to subjugate it. However, the Amir Dawud from the clan of the Artukids overpowered him, which instigated the Amir Ghazi to invade the region of Hanzit and drive its people

²¹⁵⁴ According to The Anonymous Edessan, 108, this took place in 1223-1224.

²¹⁵⁵ Bar Hebraeus, 252. For Jezebel, see I Kings 16:31-34 and 18:14-40.

captive to the region of Melitene. Again, he attacked the region and took into captivity the remnant of the people. He then seized the citadel of Masara, and Dawud came to fight him. When Dawud realized that he was unable to challenge him, he escaped and set the villages in his region on fire.

In that same year (1125), the Caliph al-Mustazhir in Baghdad died and was succeeded by his son al-Mustarshid.²¹⁵⁶

The Arab Amir Sadaqa (ibn Dubays) united himself to the Artukids. When the caliph of Baghdad entered the palace of his father, he expelled the musicians and burned their musical instruments at the door. In addition, he expelled three thousand songstresses who drank wine with his father. This incident provoked clamor among the Tayoye (Arab, Muslims) who said, "Those entrusted with the faith live dissolute life secretly, and this is the mystery of the vanishing of the Arab kingdom." Taking revenge, the Amir Sadaqa waged war against the caliph while the caliph accused him of immorality. The Turks stood with the caliph against Dubays ibn Sadaqa who became angry, deserted the Muslims and took refuge with the Franks. He brought them to Aleppo to seize the city and deliver it to him. Al-Bursuki²¹⁵⁷ gathered an army to fight the Franks, but they had already returned to their region. This encouraged al-Bursuki to occupy Aleppo believing that the Franks had been defeated because of him. When he went to capture Azaz, the king of Jerusalem marshaled a Frankish army, fought al-Bursuki, and destroyed most of his forces. Al-Bursuki, with a few men, escaped to Aleppo.²¹⁵⁸ *End of the narrative.*

The affairs of our Orthodox Church during this period were tranquil. The reason was that the Chalcedonian Greeks were confined to the Sea of Pontus (the Black Sea), and the sons of Magog²¹⁵⁹ assumed the government by order from above (heaven) which kept them busy from persecuting the Orthodox (non-Chalcedonians), as they were used to and corrupting them with their heresy.²¹⁶⁰ While confined to the sea as we have said, they corresponded with the people who held their doctrine in Syria in order to take care of anyone who might join them. Our pastors and priests, however, were not molested by the Franks who controlled Antioch and Jerusalem. The Franks, as has been said earlier, had chief priests in the regions under their influence. Although they agreed with the Greeks concerning the doctrine of Two Natures, they differed with them on many points of faith, and mostly with respect to traditions, as we shall explain later in the proper place. What we would like to state here is that when the Franks controlled Palestine and Syria, they had chief priests in their churches, but did not oppress other denominations concerning doctrine. To them, all those people who spoke different languages and worshiped the Cross were Christian without question or argument. As to the Turks who extended their hegemony on many countries, they knew nothing about the mysteries of Christianity. On the contrary, in their view, Christianity was but an error. Nevertheless, they did not issue a law to punish those who were religiously different, or permit the persecution of any man on account of his belief, as did the heretical and wicked Greeks (Romans or Byzantines).

²¹⁵⁶ The author seems to be mistaken about this year which he fixes for the death and succession of these caliphs. The Abbasid Caliph al-Mustazhir died in 1118 and his son al-Mustarshid died in 1135. In his comment on this discrepancy of these dates, Bar Hebraeus says that "The blessed Mor Michael says concerning this year, that the Caliph al-Mustazhir died and his son al-Mustarshid succeeded him. It is possible that he made a mistake because of the inequality in the course of the lunar years of the Arabs and the solar years of the Greeks." See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 252.

²¹⁵⁷ Aksungur al-Bursuki, ruler of Mosul.

²¹⁵⁸ There is apparent confusion of Sadaqa with his son Dubays. See Ibn al-Athir, in *R.H.C.*, I: 247-252. Cf. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades*, I:522-523; Matthew of Edessa, 234, and The Anonymous Edessan, 122, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 520-521.

²¹⁵⁹ The Sons of Magog are the Turks. The author makes this clear in Book IV, Chapter I, when he states that the Turks are the descendants of Japheth, one of his sons was Magog (Genesis 10:2). He cites the Prophet Ezekiel that Magog is the chief prince of Meshech and Tubal. Ezekiel 38:2. He goes on to say that this was confirmed by the Syriac writer Jacob of Edessa (d. 708) when he discussed the Turkish people.

²¹⁶⁰ The author attributes the Turks' triumph over the Byzantines and capturing their land to divine retribution because of their persecution of the Syrian Orthodox. He is thinking of the doctrinal controversy created by the Council of Chalcedon (541).

Chapter Two: On the Franks' capturing the city of Tyre and the seacoast region from the Egyptian Arabs (Muslims), and other events that took place in the entire world in this period.

Upon their triumph over the Egyptians, the Venetians led by Ducas came to Akka (Acre) by sea and besieged Tyre situated in the heart of the sea. They attacked it by the instigation of the Frankish patriarch of Jerusalem.²¹⁶¹ Meanwhile, King Baldwin was released from captivity by the Turks for a ransom of a hundred thousand dinars.²¹⁶² In this same year 1437 (A.D. 1126), the Franks killed the lord of Hamah at Kafartab.²¹⁶³ In addition, they wrested Jabalah from Ibn Ammar. King (Baldwin) came to the aid of the Venetians against Tyre. The Egyptians delivered the city to Tughtikin, atabeg of Damascus,²¹⁶⁴ and he fought the Franks. The two forces met at Marj Sufar (Brass Meadow) and he (Tughtikin) was defeated and fled to Damascus with the remaining few men. They (Franks) set their eyes on Tyre, which they besieged on both land and sea using all kinds of arms, and occupied it in that year. In this same year, al-Bursuki (Aksungur) fought the Franks for the second time and was defeated and fled. He fought the Franks for the third time but Baldwin, king of Edessa, came and annihilated twelve thousand (Turks) by the help of God.

After Amir Ghazi, (son of Danishmend) occupied Melitene (1124), Malik Arab assembled thirty thousand men and went to fight against his brother Mas'ud for declining to help his (other) brother in Melitene. Mas'ud fled to Constantinople and found refuge with the Emperor John (II, 1118-1143). Malik Arab marched against Iconium, capital of his brother Mas'ud. Emperor John welcomed Mas'ud warmly and offered him abundant money.²¹⁶⁵ Mas'ud departed (Constantinople) and came to Amir Ghazi and both fought King Arab who sought refuge with the Armenian Thoros in Cilicia. In the summer of 1438 (A.D. 1127), Arab set ambushers of Turks and Armenian and captured Muhammad, son of Ghazi. Meantime, the Amir Yunus²¹⁶⁶ marched against Arab who fled and was captured. Then, he challenged Ghazi and caused him to flee at the beginning, but Ghazi climbed a mound where he pitched his tent and ordered that the trumpets of victory be blown to give the impression that Malik Arab was defeated. When the trumpets were blown and the soldiers saw his tent, they reassembled, but darkness fell and Malik Arab forces dispersed. Ghazi pursued them and looted their tents and horses. He reached Cumana and Angora (Ankara) and attacked them with ferocity, occupied them and freed his son Muhammad who was detained there. Malik Arab, however, managed to marshal an army and began to occupy and oppress several regions. In a fortress that he seized, he found one of the sons of Ghazi called Yagan and killed him. Ghazi was enraged and marched with his army against Malik Arab, who fled. Malik Arab, however, reassembled (his forces) and marched against the Amir Ghazi, but was defeated. The Amir Ghazi devastated villages and towns without mercy. Malik Arab returned with a force against the Amir Ghazi, but was again defeated. He fled to seek refuge with the Greeks, but perished. These events took place between the Turks who, because they hated each other, took refuge with the Christians.

In this same year of 1438 (A.D. 1127), Bohemond II, son of Bohemond, came from Rome and reigned in Antioch.²¹⁶⁷ His father and his namesake (Bohemond I), was one of the early men who assumed

²¹⁶¹ By Ducas is meant here Dominico Michieli, Doge of Venice (1117-1128), who in response to a written appeal from Baldwin of Le Bourg, and approved by the Pope, led a sea force of three hundred ships to help the Crusaders. See Chabot, III:222, footnote 5; W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant I* (Leipzig, 1935):142-143. The Anonymous Edessan gives a full account of the Venetian sea expedition against the coast of Palestine especially their siege of Tyre; see The Anonymous Edessan, 118 and Matthew of Edessa, 233-234.

²¹⁶² See Mathew of Edessa, 229 and 347; The Anonymous Edessan, 112-113; Ibn al-Athir in R.H.C., I:352-353; Ibn al-Adim in R.H.C., III:635-636, and 643; and Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, II, 171-172, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 515-517.

²¹⁶³ The year 1126 is incorrect. Baldwin was captured in 1123. See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 252.

²¹⁶⁴ Sayf al-Islam Zahir al-Din Tughtikin, atabeg of Damascus 1104-1128.

²¹⁶⁵ Malik Arab, Mas'ud and Tughrul Arslan are the sons of Kilij Arslan, Seljuk Sultan of, Iconium (Konya). See Runciman, II, 207-211; F. Chalandon, *Histoire de la Premiere Croisade*, 77-91.

²¹⁶⁶ Son of Muhammad, lord of Masara. See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 267.

²¹⁶⁷ Bohemond II, prince of Antioch 1126-1130. Usamah ibn Munqidh relates that while he and his uncle were at al-Suwaydiyyah, the sea port of Antioch, (late 1126), in the company of King Baldwin, a ship docked at al-Suwaydiyyah carrying a lad in rags. The lad presented himself before Baldwin and introduced himself as Bohemond (ibn Maymun). See Usamah ibn Munqidh, *Kitab al-I'tibar*, 121 and 150 of the English translation; Fulcher of Charters, 481-483, and 485; the Anonymous Edessan, 125; Chabot,

government in these countries.²¹⁶⁸ Because he was arrogant, Bohemond II, tried to control all the Franks, and caused schism and warfare among them.²¹⁶⁹ Joscelin took this opportunity and spoiled whatever he could find in the region of Antioch except the people. This enraged their Patriarch (Bernard) who closed the churches and forbade the celebration of Masses (the Eucharist), prayers and the tolling of bells. In addition, he ordered that the dead should not be buried. Things were disturbed which forced the Franks to reconcile, and Joscelin gave back what he had looted.²¹⁷⁰

In the year 1439 (A.D. 1128), the Turks and the Franks assembled to fight each other on the plain of Aleppo. However, fearing the Franks, the Turks concluded peace with the Franks and pledged to pay Joscelin twelve thousand dinars a year. The Turks, however, incited some people of Azaz who administered poison to Joscelin and six of his horsemen. The horsemen died, but God's providence and the treatment of physicians saved Joscelin. Joscelin killed those who administered poison to him with their children.²¹⁷¹

In the same year, John, emperor of the Greeks, entered the country of the Hungarians and subjugated them. In this year, too, Sultan (Sulayman) who for a time ruled in Melitene, attacked some outer parts of the regions of the country (Melitene) and pillaged them, but then departed, and was not seen again.²¹⁷² In August, the cruel Turks plundered the region of Melitene, but were chased away by Dawud, governor of Hisn Ziyad who administered a blow to them and retrieved the captives. In the same year the great Sultan Ghiyath al-Din died. He was distinguished by comeliness, justice and victories. In his time peace prevailed in his country. He was succeeded by his brother Sinjar, son of Malikshah and his son Mahmud.²¹⁷³

In the year 1440 (A.D. 1129), Joscelin invaded the region of Amid and massacred the Turks and the Kurds in the Ashuma Mountain. He pillaged the villages until the gates of the city (Melitene). When the Turks entered Edessa in the company of Joscelin, his forces entered Amid, which at that time was ruled by Husam al-Din, governor of Mardin.²¹⁷⁴ There was at that time in the custody of Husam al-Din two famous Frankish knights, one called Bar Nul, the other Galeran.²¹⁷⁵ He did not want to kill them. However, al-Bursuki (Aksungur) threatened to destroy his country if he did not kill them, so he (Husam al-Din) killed them. Then a report arrived that an Isma'ili (assassin) had stabbed al-Bursuki with a knife while he was praying at the masjid on Friday. However, the knife did not penetrate his body because he was wearing armor. Upon his arrest, the Isma'ili yelled to two of his accomplices to stab al-Bursuki in his lower abdomen. They did and he died. Husam al-Din regretted that he killed the two Franks.²¹⁷⁶

III:224, ft. 4, and Runciman, II, 175-176.

²¹⁶⁸ Matthew of Edessa, 237.

²¹⁶⁹ He was also detested by the Muslims. Usamah ibn Munqidh says about Bohemond II, "That devil, the son of Bohemond, proved a terrible calamity to our people." See Usamah Ibn Munqidh, *Ibid*.

²¹⁷⁰ The disturbance was caused by the vehement jealousy between Bohemond and Joscelin over districts which Joscelin had obtained by a truce with al-Bursuki. There was also a conflict about the town of Azaz given as a dowry by Roger of Antioch to his daughter Morphia upon her marriage to Joscelin. See Grousset, *Hist. des Croisades*, I:651; Runcima, II, 181-182, and Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil al-Tawarikh*, in R.H.C., I:387.

²¹⁷¹ Bar Hebraeus who relates the same anecdote says that the Turks of Aleppo bribed the Frankish cook of Joscelin with gold who made Joscelin and his six horsemen drink poison. See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 253.

²¹⁷² According to Bar Hebraeus, Tughrul Arslan from whom Melitene had been taken, invaded the country of Melitene, and seized some of the outer frontiers and departed, and was not seen again. See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 253.

²¹⁷³ There is some mix-up in dates here. Sultan Ghiyath al-Din Muhammad, son of Malikshah died in April, 1118. He was succeeded by his fourteen-year old son, Mahmud, who was interested more in pleasure than in governing. He left the government to his ministers, and especially to his powerful uncle Sinjar, who became the virtual sultan. Mahmud died in 1131 a young man of twenty-seven. See Ibn al-Athir, in R.H.C., I:392-393. This was the beginning of the decline of the Seljuk Sultanate. See Grousset, *Hist. des Croisades*, I:522-523.

²¹⁷⁴ Husam al-Din Timurtash, son of Ilghazi, Artukid ruler of Mardin 1124-1152. Originally, he was the governor of Aleppo but spent most of the time in Mardin awaiting the death of his brother Sulayman to assume rule of Mardin. See Ibn al-Athir, I:356; Ibn al-Adim, in R.H.C., 634.

²¹⁷⁵ Chabot speculates that Bar Nul is either Renault or Arnault. See Chabot, III, 225, ft. 6.

²¹⁷⁶ The accounts of the death of al-Bursuki differ in both substance and details. See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 252; Matthew of Edessa, 236; Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil al-Tawarikh*, in R.H.C. Or., III, 365, Ibn al-Adim, R.H.C., III, 654. Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh*

In the year 1438 (A.D. 1127) the winter was very severe, and beasts and animals perished. In February, earthquakes took place.

In November 1439 (A.D. 1128), two earth tremors took place in the day and two at night. The earth continued to tremble for forty days and forty nights. A luminous star on appeared in the eighth hour of the day, and then became like smoke and fell down. In January, March and April, of the year 1440 (A.D. 1129), fire appeared in the northern part (of the firmament) from which issued fire like pillars pointing toward the south.

Although the wicked Greeks (Chalcedonians) had no opportunity to oppress the Orthodox (non-Chalcedonians) as they did before, yet they did not desist from their evil. In Antioch, Egypt and the countries (under the rule of the Muslims), they always set up a patriarch for their own people. They always stirred up trouble for the Syrians, Copts and Armenians, like a snake whose head was smashed but it kept moving its tail. In Syria, Palestine, Armenia and Egypt, the Greek and Chalcedonian bishops always agitated, whenever they could, against the patriarchs and bishops of our three peoples, the Syrians, the Copts and the Armenians, and even against the Nubians and the Ethiopians. As the Nestorians in Persia and Athor (north Iraq) waged war against the Orthodox, so it was in Antioch and Jerusalem that iniquitous Greeks agitated the Frankish chief priests against the Orthodox without distinction. However, the church, in the regions under the authority of the Turks, was somewhat relaxed for being free from the harm of the Chalcedonians. Still, however, some kind of harm afflicted them. Moreover, faith was weakened because of the conflict between the patriarch and Bar Sabuni (Abu Ghalib) and three other elderly bishops: Bar Modyana whom the patriarch transferred to Melitene, the Bishop of Qallisura and the Bishop of Tur Abdin. He suspended them from service not because of heresy or violation of church canons, but because of disrespecting him. The patriarch rejected all of the intercessions on their behalf, and they died unabsolved. *End of the narrative.*

Chapter Three: On the time of the death of Bohemond, lord of Antioch; the death of Athanasius, patriarch of Antioch, and other world and church matters

In the year 1441 (A.D. 1130), the Franks invaded Damascus upon the death of Tughtikin of praiseworthy qualities, governor of Damascus, and his son Taj al-Muluk Buri who succeeded him.²¹⁷⁷ The reason for the invasion of Damascus by the Franks was Buri's attempt to annihilate the Batinis who had allied themselves to the Franks and were threatening his domain.²¹⁷⁸ Its governor warned the people of Qallisura²¹⁷⁹ not to offer provisions to the Franks. The Franks had sent a thousand infantry men with horses to fetch their need of provisions. The Turks ambushed them en route and annihilated them. The Franks were forced to demand from the governor of Damascus the payment of twenty thousand dinars. They concluded peace with him and returned to their country provided he paid this tribute annually.

In that year the Armenian Thoros, governor of Cilicia died.²¹⁸⁰ He was succeeded by his brother Leon²¹⁸¹ with whom Bohemond, lord of Antioch quarreled.²¹⁸²

After the Amir Ghazi (son of Danishmend, lord of Sebastea) triumphed over the Turks in Cappadocia and became titular ruler, he departed to a coastal region governed by a Greek named Casianus.²¹⁸³ Casianus went out voluntarily to meet Ghazi and transferred to him all the coastal fortresses of the Pontus (Black) Sea. Ghazi gave him a region in his own country and enlisted him in his army.

Dimashq, 117. Fulcher of Chartres, William of Tyre says that the wicked Bursuki, the son of perdition, was stabbed to death by his servants and members of his household. By his own act he brought upon himself the natural consequences of his evil and harvested the fruit of his impiety. See William of Tyre, II:32; W. B. Stevenson, *The Crusades in the East* (Cambridge), 1907, 118.

²¹⁷⁷ Zahir al-Din Tughtikin, atabeg of Damascus, died in February 1128

²¹⁷⁸ See Ibn al-Qalanisi. *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 221-227; Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil al-Tawarikh*, in R.H.C. Or. 367 and 383-387.

²¹⁷⁹ A town in the vicinity of Melitene today in ruins.

²¹⁸⁰ Thoros I, son of Constantine, Roupenid ruler of Partzapert 1100-1129. Bar Hebraeus says that Thoros died in 1130. See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 255.

²¹⁸¹ Leon, or Levon I, son of Constantine, Roupenid prince in Cilicia 1129-1137.

²¹⁸² Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 529.

²¹⁸³ Bar Hebraeus, *Ibid*, 255, calls him a satrap of the Greeks.

As the power of Ghazi increased and he heard of the death of Thoros at that time, he dispatched his army to attack Cilicia. Meantime, the Turks came from one side and the Franks from the other side without knowing of the presence of each other. Both of them targeted the Armenians, each one on its own side. When the Turks reached 'Ayn Zarba (Anazarba) they met Bohemond,²¹⁸⁴ who had only few horsemen; they recognized him and engaged in battle with him. After many warriors were killed, the Franks became worn out and climbed a high hill, but the Turks surrounded them from all directions and massacred all of them, including Bohemond, because they did not know who he was.²¹⁸⁵ They severed his head, took the arms of the Franks, and departed.²¹⁸⁶ Meantime, Leon captured Qallisura and massacred a great number of Franks. The Turks took Bohemond's head to the Amir Ghazi who skinned it and sent it with all kinds of arms and horses to the caliph in Baghdad. The caliph honored him with many gifts.

In that year (1130), the sultan of Khurasan gave Mosul to the son of al-Bursuki.²¹⁸⁷ It is said about him that he was proficient in sciences and knowledge, and had experience in fabrics and construction. He was also a valiant warrior, mighty and courageous in warfare. However, he did not succeed because success and victory come from above (God). His ruled lasted only for three months, and when he reached Rahbut (al-Rahba), he died. It is believed that he was killed by poison.²¹⁸⁸ Then Mas'ud, (Izz al-Din), son of Aksungur (al-Bursuki) attacked Rahbut (al-Rahba) and waged a ferocious war against it. He also died from poison.

Joscelin captured Rish 'Ayna (Ras al-'Ayn) and massacred a great number of Tayoye (Muslims); most of them died from drowning. He took the rest of the men and women captive.

In that year (1130), quadruplets were born ten days late, however, all of them died on the same day and at the same time.

The governor (of Amid) forbade the Patriarch (Athanasius VI) to leave Amid because he requested him many times to pray for (absolve) Ishaq bar Qarya, whom he suspended from service. In fact, the governor went personally to the Monastery of Qanqart asking the patriarch to pardon Ishaq (bar Qarya), but he would not consent. The patriarch, however, assuaged the governor's anger by offering him gold. The deacon Ishaq advised the governor to prevent the patriarch from leaving Amid. He said to him, "This patriarch is an old man who will soon die, and then you can take his possessions." The patriarch remained in Amid like a prisoner. He sent a message to Joscelin, lord of Edessa, asking him to intercede with the governor of Amid on his behalf. Joscelin sent a message to the governor of Amid threatening to destroy his country if he did not release the patriarch. The governor yielded and permitted the patriarch to leave. The patriarch left Amid and went to offer greetings to Joscelin, and then he went to the Monastery of Mor Barsoum. While he was offering the Holy Eucharist on the Sunday of Pentecost and reciting the prayer of the "convocation of the Holy Spirit" (to descend on the Elements of the Bread and the Wine and sanctify them), the color of his face changed and he became unconscious. They seated him on a chair, and the bishop of Gargar continued the service. Momentarily, he regained strength and ordained a bishop for Sijistan. He remained ill for seven days and then died on the third hour of Saturday of June 1140 (A.D. 1129), and was buried at the Monastery (of Mor Barsoum).²¹⁸⁹

²¹⁸⁴ Bohemond II, son of Bohemond I, and prince of Antioch 1126-1130.

²¹⁸⁵ See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 255.

²¹⁸⁶ Cf. Reinhold Röhrich, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem 1100-1291* (Innsbruck, 1989, reprinted Amsterdam, Adolf M. Hakkert, 1966), Reinhold Röhrich, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem 1100-1291*, 188; The Anonymous Edessan, 102, (Arabic, 126-127). and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 529.

²¹⁸⁷ Izz al-Din Mas'ud, son of Aksungur al-Bursuki. See Röhrich, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem*, 182.

²¹⁸⁸ Actually he died in July, 1127.

²¹⁸⁹ See The Anonymous Edessan, 430-341. However, unlike our author he sets the date of the death of the patriarch in 1130, and not in 1129, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 659-660.

Chapter Four: On Zangi departing Baghdad to assume the government in Mosul; of the reign of Joscelin in Antioch; and the ordination of Patriarch Yuhanon

Upon the death of Mas'ud, son of al-Bursuki, who was governor of Mosul, there was a governor (prefect) in the city at that time called Jawli (Chavli Saqaveh), a servant (officer) of the great sultan. Some people advised Jawli to pillage the treasury of the governor of Mosul, and he took abundant money from it and sent it to the sultan with the Judge Baha al-Din of Shahrzur who was accompanied by Salah al-Din Mahmud ibn Ayyub. He also addressed a letter to the sultan saying, "I am here in Mosul more beneficial to you because I am one of your slaves." When the messengers arrived in Baghdad, and before appearing before the sultan, they were met by a prominent man named Nasir al-Din Jur (more correctly Jaqar) ibn Yaqub, a fellow countryman of Salah al-Din. When they revealed to him their mission, he advised them to ask for Imad al-Din Zangi as an atabeg (governor) of Mosul because he was a relative of the sultan, close to him, and worthy of being a governor. They (Judge Baha al-Din and Salah al-Din Mahmud) accepted his counsel and met with Zangi. Zangi swore that he would do whatever they want him to do. The judge requested that the judgeship of Mosul should be allotted to him and his descendants so long as the government of the atabegs (the Zangids) existed. In addition, he requested that the judges in all the regions who would be under his authority should be subject to him and his sons. Zangi swore to him to fulfill his request and confirmed his oath in writing. On his part, Salah al-Din asked him (Nasir al-Din Jur ibn Yaqub) to be his private governor of Mosul, and that his orders be effective in all the province (of Mosul). After they lavished the retinue of the sultan with gifts, they appeared before the sultan. The sultan and the caliph (Abbasid Caliph) offered Zangi the governorship (of Mosul), and Zangi left guarded by a detachment of troops. As he approached Mosul, Judge Baha al-Din and the Amir Salah al-Din preceded him to the city. They went to Jawli and told him, "We have not been able to obtain the governorship of these regions (Mosul) for you, but we have only been able to obtain an order for your appointment as a governor of this citadel (the citadel of Mosul), and your authority will be effective in all the regions. Moreover, the sultan has decreed that atabeg Zangi should be a commander of your army." Jawli consented. Then, the gates of the city and the citadel (of Mosul) were opened for Zangi who entered the city and assumed its government in 1442 (A.D. 1131). He went forth and occupied al-Jazira (Jazirat ibn Umar, north of Mosul) and his authority gradually expanded according to the chronology of each time. Zangi fulfilled his covenant in full with Salah al-Din, Nasir al-Din and Zayn al-Din.²¹⁹⁰

In that year after Bohemond, lord of Antioch was killed, the King (Fulk of Jerusalem 1131-1143), came from Jerusalem to Antioch.²¹⁹¹ In addition, Joscelin (II) came from Edessa to Antioch to control the city, but the inhabitants (of Antioch) shut the gates and left them outside the city. However, after several days of discussion, they agreed to hand the city over to Joscelin to protect it until he had married the daughter of Bohemond, and then he would become the ruler of the city.²¹⁹²

While the Franks were at the gate of Antioch, (Imad al-Din) Zangi, lord of Mosul, came forth and attacked Tell Bashir (Turbessel) and Antioch. He killed the Turks whom he could find, entered their country, annihilated many and captured two fortresses.

In that year Iwani (John), emperor of the Romans went forth to fight against the Turks. He built a city on the seacoast. As he was prepared to fight the Turks, his brother and some nobles connived against him. He discovered them and wanted to arrest them, but his brother fled to the Amir Ghazi who welcomed him, honored him immensely and sent him to Gabras in Trebizond. Then, the emperor returned to Constantinople and banished those who conspired against him.

Amir Ghazi (Ilghazi ibn Danishmend) marched against Semando, which was under the hegemony of his sister and wrested it from her. He then went to Cilicia to fight Leon, the Armenian (1123-1135), and captured two fortresses. Humbled, Leon swore on oath that he would not enter the regions under Ghazi's

²¹⁹⁰ Ibn al-Athir records this account of the governorship of Mosul with slight difference. See Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil al-Tawarikh*, in R.H.C. Or. 337-377, and by the same author, *al-Tarikh al-Bahir fi al-Dawla al-Atabegiyya*, 32-35; Ibn Wasil, *Mufarrij al-Kurub*, I: 31-32.

²¹⁹¹ The Anonymous Edessan, 129.

²¹⁹² Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 255.

authority or send robbers to plunder them.²¹⁹³ He pledged to pay Ghazi an annual tribute. Ghazi believed him, left him to his own and departed. Leon, however, reneged on his pledge and paid nothing. Then Amir Ghazi came to Melitene. He was visited by his son-in-law Sultan Mas'ud and Isaac, brother of the Greek emperor who had returned from Gabras, and they spent the winter there. Isaac went to Leon, and Leon gave his daughter to his son as wife, and gave him the two cities of Massisa and Adana. Afterwards, they quarreled with each other, and Leon took from the Greeks all their belongings. Isaac and his son fled to Mas'ud (lord of Iconium) for refuge.²¹⁹⁴

Macarius, pope of Alexandria, died in the same year in which Patriarch Athanasius died. When the news of the patriarch's death reached Edessa, the priests gathered as usual to perform his funeral. While Bar Sabuni was participating in the prayer, he fell down and lost consciousness. They carried him to his cell and he regained his senses. When the council was meeting in Kesum, Bar Sabuni came to Samosata in order to attend the council. He fell off his horse and was carried to Edessa. He died without being restored to his (sacerdotal) service.

The president of the council, then, was Dionysius, bishop of Kesum. When the bishops assembled and cast a lot, it fell to Yuhanon the Confessor, archimandrite of the Dawa'ir Monastery in the vicinity of Antioch. Two bishops went to fetch the elected one. Momentarily, Dionysius, bishop of Kesum, passed away and the aged Maphryono (prelate) Dionysius became the president of the council. He and the entire number of bishops went to Tell Bashir by effort of Joscelin who was their agent. They ordained Mor Yuhanon the Confessor and archimandrite as patriarch on Monday the 17th of February, the second week of Lent with the laying on of hands of Maphryono Dionysius in the Great Church of the Franks. Joscelin and his notable men were standing to serve.²¹⁹⁵

By the intercession of Joscelin, the patriarch and the council issued a decree to absolve Bar Sabuni and the bishop of Sijistan whom the patriarch had excommunicated for abandoning his diocese. He decreed that he should not be accepted by the church. After he was absolved, Bar Sabuni was given the empty See of Semando. Shortly afterwards, he was evicted from Semando and remained without a diocese throughout the life of Mor Yuhanon. After the death of the patriarch, they (the bishops) gave him the See of Arsamosata and Semha during the ordination of Mor Yuhanon's successor. Soon afterwards, he was ejected and began to move from one place to the other until he reached Jerusalem, but he did not stay in our monastery except for a short period. He then joined the Frankish Friars known as Templars. Finally, he fell in the oven and burned, and became a lesson for those who despise the canons of the holy church, and act audaciously while they are condemned. In fact, the patriarch once said to him, "If you abandoned the diocese of Sijistan, you do not deserve to be buried."²¹⁹⁶

In November of the year 1442 (A.D. 1131), were seen in the northern part (of the sky) fires like mountains burning, which then turned into pillars. At the same time, a colossal and frightful star shot causing a tremendous sound like an earthquake.

Chapter Five: On the time of the death of Joscelin I, and the setting up of his son Joscelin (II); and on diverse events which took place in this period in the church and among kings

Joscelin went to a fortress situated between Aleppo and Mabug (Manbij inhabited by Tayoye (Arab Muslim) robbers).²¹⁹⁷ When they started digging underneath the fortress (to make it collapse), Joscelin went in to witness the digging operation. The ceiling of the fortress collapsed and buried him. They dug him up, found that he was still alive, and took him to Tell Bashir. While Joscelin was at Tell Bashir, Amir Ghazi (Ilghazi) assembled the Turks in his region, and Joscelin assembled the Franks. They carried him in a litter and went forth to challenge the Turks. Joscelin died on the road. When Ghazi heard of Joscelin's death, he

²¹⁹³ Cf. The Anonymous Edessan, 126; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 255.

²¹⁹⁴ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 255.

²¹⁹⁵ The Anonymous Edessan, 342.

²¹⁹⁶ The Anonymous Edessan, 303-304, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 660.

²¹⁹⁷ According to the Anonymous Edessan, 128, this fortress is called Arran.

displayed magnanimity by not continuing the war. He sent men to offer condolences to the Franks, and wrote to them saying, "I will not fight you today lest it shall be said that I have defeated you because your king is dead. You may go ahead to put your affairs in proper order slowly, set up a leader for you according to your laws and dispose of your affairs in peace without taking heed of me or my army."²¹⁹⁸

The Greek king (emperor) went forth angrily against the Turks and the Armenians. He killed many Turks at the seashore, and captured two fortresses.²¹⁹⁹ His great men conspired once more against him. They sent after his brother to make him their emperor, and he returned with haste.

The Turks managed to reach Sozopolis, but they could not capture it because of starvation and plundered the neighboring regions. They returned (to their country). Amir Ghazi took with him the Sultan Mas'ud and penetrated the seacoast. They invested a fortress called Zinin but failed to capture it, but they exacted four thousand dinars from the Romans in it, and concluded peace.

In this time, the caliph of Baghdad and the sultan of Khurasan addressed a letter to Ghazi authorizing him to be a Malik (king) of the north. Thus, he was called Malik (King) Ghazi.

As to Joscelin II, the Franks connived against him and prepared to arrest him. Sedition took place among them, but when the conflict between Joscelin and the Franks was set aside for a while, the sedition was renewed because of Joscelin's desire to rule Antioch in place of his father. The natives of Antioch and their patriarch would not agree because they wanted to leave the city for Bohemond's daughter (Constance).²²⁰⁰

In the year 1444 (A.D. 1133), the troops of Zangi (Imad al-Din), lord of Mosul, marched against Edessa, but the Franks defeated them and caused them to flee.

In this time, a certain Artukid Amir named Muhammad Shams al-Hojub (al-Hajib), who hated the Christians, asked Husam al-Din, lord of Mardin, to give him Shabakhtan in order to fight the Franks. He was accustomed to attacking the region of Edessa and spoiling it. However, six hundred Frankish horsemen challenged him and killed one thousand Turks. They seized him and burned him by fire at the gate of Edessa. Then, Joscelin captured the fortress of Shabakhtan and destroyed it.

While the Turks were gathering in the region of Aleppo, Joscelin surprised them. They stealthily retreated, attacked the country of Tell Bashir, and spoiled it. Seventy Frankish horsemen who left to guard the region confronted them, but the Turks ambushed them and captured them. They penetrated the country of the Franks and spoiled it, and no one was found to resist them because the Franks were divided against each other.²²⁰¹

Iwani (John II, 1143-1181), king of the Greeks (Romans), went forth and took Castamone peacefully. However, he seized the citadels in its neighborhood by war and destroyed them.

Malik Ghazi captured the fortress of the Greeks, called Albara, by war, burned it by fire and made its people slaves.

In the year 1445 (A.D. 1134), the Turks attacked the country of Antioch, but were confronted by Joscelin who killed most of them and then they reconciled with each other. In December of the same year, the lord of Antioch attacked the fortress of Ba'rin but was surrounded by the Turks; he could hardly save himself and enter the fortress, but the Turks spoiled the country up to Mount Lebanon and attacked the fortress. The Franks inside it were afflicted by hunger and thirst. Meantime, the king of Jerusalem arrived and the Turks fled. The king attacked the fortress of Qusir in the vicinity of Antioch and seized it by war. From there he passed through the region of 'Imm where the Turks were swarming like flies.²²⁰² The king

²¹⁹⁸ William of Tyre, 2: 51-52. The Anonymous Edessan, 128, gives this account but without the letter of condolences. He also says that Joscelin died in Duluk (Doliche) and was buried in its church; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 255; Robert Lawrence Nicholson, *Joscelin I, Prince of Edessa* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 91.

²¹⁹⁹ For John's campaign against the Turks, see A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, 2, 415-416.

²²⁰⁰ William of Tyre, 2: 51-52; Röhrich, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem 1100-1291*, 203; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 255; Robert Lawrence Nicholson, *Joscelin I, Prince of Edessa*, 88-89; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 2:184, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 530.

²²⁰¹ Röhrich, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem 1100-1291*, 197-198.

²²⁰² Röhrich, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem*, 198.

was scared and sent a message to Joscelin (for help), who was afraid to face him. However, when he came, Joscelin encouraged the king and prepared for battle. The Franks began to run before the Turks trying to lead them out to the plain. When they were ready for battle, the king and Joscelin dismounted their horses and asked each other forgiveness for the conflict that had taken place between them. Then, the Lord fought with them, and they struck the Turks with a great blow and chased after them to the fortress. When the king returned from battle and the trumpets sounded, he asked for Joscelin but could not find him. Then the king and the entire assembly of people cried out with a loud voice and Joscelin showed up at midnight.

Malik Ghaze returned to Castamone, seized it by war, and killed all the Greeks therein. For this, King (emperor) Iwani (John) was immensely grieved, and went forth with great determination but to no avail. He had received the news of the death of his wife and the illness of his son and his successor, and thus returned to his city (Constantinople).

After the ordination of the Patriarch Mor Yuhanon, the bishops began to quarrel at the council. The Maphryono Dionysius wanted to extend his authority, but was opposed by the bishops. He left angrily and went to Amid threatening to set up another patriarch and depose the one who had been recently elected. However, the Lord who always cares for his church and thwarts the thoughts of the iniquitous stirred up for him another problem with the lord of Amid, who resolved to arrest him. He hardly escaped from him, so he returned to his diocese and never brought up the subject of conflict again.

In the See of Alexandria and Egypt, Cyril was succeeded by Macarius. When Macarius passed away in the same year in which Mor Athanasius died, (A.D. 1129), Theodore was ordained but was later found to be a heretic and a partisan of the wretched Julian the Phantasiast. He was deposed and Michael was ordained a patriarch for the See of Egypt. He was succeeded by Gabriel, a learned and competent man and well versed in the Arabic language and calligraphy. When he saw that the Egyptian people (Copts) spoke Arabic and used its script since the Arabs control of Egypt, he made an effort to have the Old and the New Testaments and the sacerdotal service books translated into Arabic in order for the people to understand the readings from the Bible.

Patriarch Yuhanon (John) assembled a council in the Monastery of Mor Barsoum. He condemned Metropolitan Yuhanon Bar Andrew because he did not welcome him when he passed through his diocese, but all the people said that the metropolitan's behavior should not be a reason for condemnation. Rather, it should be done by counsel and not by arrows.

In the year 1443 (A.D. 1132), a rainbow was seen at night. In this same year, dogs in many countries became rabid causing a great harm to people and animals. Astronomers say that when dogs see the shadow of the star known as "Sirius" the brightest star in the constellation (Canis Major), they become more rabid. Physicians say that this malady is caused by the black bile.

In this time, a Persian man in Melitene snatched a cross from the hands of a Christian and placed it irreverently on his lower abdomen (close to his genitals). Urged by commendable zeal, the Christians informed the governor of this incident. The governor issued an order to seize the Persian. He was seized and handed over to the Christians to do with him as they wanted. They blackened his face, had him ride a donkey, and paraded him through the streets. Finally, Ghazi learned of this story and the Persian was beaten and expelled from his domain.

On February 3, 1144 (A.D. 1133), an earthquake took place at night. On August 2, the sun was eclipsed. In September, an earthquake took place in the daytime, and a thunderbolt occurred in the evening. After this, a frightful sign like fire appeared. Later, there was a shortage of rain and famine, especially on the Island of Cyprus. Because of famine, the Christians were allowed to eat bread during Lent. At the time when the sun eclipsed, forty knights of Friars (Templars), four hundred other Christians, and the deacon Bar Qarya were killed.

In the same year quadruplets were born: three males and one female. The males died and the female survived.

In that month a small pig was born with two bodies and one head, and it died on the same day

In this time, four hundred Christian merchants went out of Constantinople. Most of them died in the snow on the festival day of Mor Theodore. *End of the narrative.*

Chapter Six: On the period of Bedawi's (Raymond of Poitiers) reign in Antioch; the death of Baghdwin (Baldwin), king of Jerusalem, and the assumption of government by his son-in-law Fuk (Fulk of Anjou); the death of the Turk Ghazi and the succession of his son Muhammad; the reign of (Imad al-Din) Zangi in Aleppo, and other events

In the year 1446 (A.D. 1135), a Frank named Bedawi left Italy and married the daughter of Bohemond who was killed, and became the lord of Antioch.²²⁰³ In that year Baldwin II, king of Jerusalem, died and his daughter (Melisend) was married to Fuk (Fulk) of Anjou, who became the king of Jerusalem.²²⁰⁴

In that year (Imad al-Din) Zangi, lord of Mosul came to Syria and besieged Aleppo, and its Muslim governor shut its gates. However, the inhabitants of Aleppo knew Zangi's father, the Amir (Qasim al-Dawla) Aksunkur, who had ruled them and who was distinguished by justice. They also knew (Imad al-Din) Zangi because he was born and raised in Aleppo. They rushed with avid determination, opened the gates, and let him in. The governor fled to the citadel for refuge, but Zangi seized it by force. He gouged the eyes of the governor and sent him to Mosul. Zangi treated the inhabitants well, signed peace with the Franks and returned to Mosul because of the conflict between him and the Artukid amirs.²²⁰⁵

In that year, the caliph of Baghdad (he must be al-Rashid, 1135-1136) and the sultan of Khurasan sent to the Amir Ghazi, lord of Melitene, messengers accompanied by four battalions of black men to play music before him as a king. The caliph also ordered that he wear a golden necklace and carry a golden staff to show that the kingdom was confirmed for him and his sons after him. However, when the messengers arrived, they found him indisposed and waited for the result (of his recovery). Ghazi died and the leadership was given to his son Muhammad. The messengers endorsed him and he was proclaimed a king (amir).

Ghazi was a blood shedder and depraved. He had many wives. He even took a woman to wife a few days before his death. He ordered the inhabitants of Melitene to decorate the streets and other places (for this occasion). Even so, he was also courageous, mighty and smart. He conquered the country of the Romans, killed the rebellious Turks who were there, and peace prevailed in his country. He was greatly feared by thieves and highway robbers, and loved by soldiers. When he was in the throes of death, he roared like a lion. When his son assumed power, he observed the law of the Tayoye (Arab, Islamic Shari'a). He did not drink wine. He honored the Muslims and ruled with justice. He was prudent and very cautious, but he demolished the churches and began the rebuilding of Caesarea Cappadocia, which was in ruins for a long time. In rebuilding a special part of the city, he used the marble taken from the magnificent churches that were demolished and dwelt in it.

In November of the year 1444 (A.D. 1133), Malik Muhammad came to Melitene. The inhabitants expected him to relieve them from the heavy taxes imposed by his father. In November, he did lighten their taxes and departed. He left hastily because he was disturbed by what Sultan Mahmaud (of Iconium) informed him of the king (emperor) of the Romans. Still, he did not treat the natives of Melitene graciously but took along with him some of their free sons as hostages.

In this year (Rukn al-Dawla) Ibn Dawud (David), Arslan Doghmish, rebelled in Hisn Ziyad, and his father seized him and bound him in fetters. Also, his brothers Yagan and Daula rebelled against Malik Muhammad. Yagan was killed and Daula plundered the region of Melitene.

²²⁰³ By Bedawi here is meant Raymond of Poitu (Poitiers) who arrived in Antioch from Italy and married Constance, the youngest daughter of King Bohemond II, at the recommendation of King Fulk of Anjou and became the lord of Antioch 1136-1149. See William of Tyre, 2:59-60 and 77-79; Röhrich, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem*, 203; and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 529-532.

²²⁰⁴ Fulk married Melisend on June, 1129. They were crowned in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher on October 14, 1131. See William of Tyre, 2:51-52, and Moosa, *The Crusades*, 530-531.

²²⁰⁵ See Ibn al-Adim, *Zubdat al-Halab*, 2:244-245; Ibn Wasil, *Mufarrij al-Qulub*, 1:37-38; Sa'id Abd al-Fattah Ashur, *al-Haraka al-Salibiyya*, 1:565 and Moosa, *The Crusades*, 541.

In this year, (Imad al-Din) Zangi wrested Atharb and Zaranda from the Franks after giving them a pledge,²²⁰⁶ but he reneged on his pledge and forced the inhabitants of 'Ayn Zarba (Anazarba) to embrace Islam. When they refused, he killed all of them and married the daughter of the lord of the fortress (Ziyad). However, he (Zangi) fled when the Romans arrived.

In this same year, the Turks of Melitene attacked the region of the Romans and spoiled it, and then returned to their domain. *End of the narrative.*

In the year 1445 (A.D. 1134), swarms of locusts swept Edessa and its region and the Christians took refuge with the chosen Mor Barsoum. They sent (a message) asking for his right hand.²²⁰⁷ When it arrived, a miracle took place immediately. The locusts left and did not harm the country at all. The Greeks burned with envy and with detestable contumely, claimed that the coffin was empty. They instigated the Bishop of the Franks (Papios) to open it. The monks, however, said that the coffin should not be opened lest the wrath of God fall upon the region. The Greeks kept scoffing and saying that there was nothing in the coffin. The monks found no alternative but to open it. When they opened it in the church of the Franks, immediately there was a violent peal of thunder and dark clouds covered the sky. Heavy hailstones fell and filled the streets. All the people began to weep saying, "Lord have mercy. O Saint Mor Barsoum have compassion." The clergy of the Franks, the people and the bishop fell before the coffin weeping, and the Greeks fled and hid themselves. When the hail stopped, the people gathered and raised supplication for three days. Upon hearing of this miracle, the Tayoye (Arab, Muslim) inhabitants of Harran asked the monks to come to their city, but they did not, and returned to their monastery. The people of Melitene carried the coffin, and everyone went out to meet it with prayers and supplications. Then, the mouths of the locust were shut and they did no harm to the planted fields. They moved to the unplanted fields to devour the grass. The people of all tongues praised God when they witnessed this miracle, and God was glorified in his saints. The people continued to offer prayers and charity in abundance, and many returned from the wide road (which leads to perdition) to the way of righteousness. The Lord then made another miracle. The locusts invaded the fields of cotton and sesame, but did not touch them, and only ate the leaves and husks.²²⁰⁸

Bar Andrew, bishop of Mabug (Manbij), was a learned man and well versed in our Syriac and the Armenian languages. In truth, we may say that he was a good example for his generation, but he did not maintain the required respect for the patriarch and rather disdained his meekness. For this reason, many justly blamed him. He did not even ask (the patriarch) for forgiveness, but considered himself as the only spokesman for the sons of the church in his generation, especially, in matters of disputation with the Armenians and the Greeks. Indeed, there was no one else equal to him as a powerful speaker and extemporizer. He believed that if he was separated from his congregation, or removed from his office of leadership, the entire congregation, the sons of the church, and even the patriarch, would appeal to him to return to his congregation if they were stumped by their disputants. But the patriarch, being simple and under the influence of slanderers, removed Bar Andrew and set up Bar Turki in his place for three years. Finally, the two sides (the patriarch and Bar Andrew) regretted what happened, especially when the patriarch realized that Bar Turki was of bad conduct. Moreover, when Bar Andrew found out that no one cared for him or interceded to the patriarch on his behalf, he repented. The patriarch welcomed him and restored him to his diocese.

²²⁰⁶ Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 245; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil*, 404; Ibn al-Adim, *Zubdat*, 2: 256-257.

²²⁰⁷ According to Syriac tradition, Mar Barsoum was a distinguished saint. When he died the monks of the monastery which carried his name, severed his right hand and kept it in a coffin. It is believed that the hand became a source of miracles.

²²⁰⁸ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 257-258.

Chapter Seven: On the massacre which took place in Damascus; the plot against the Arab (Muslim) sultan in Egypt; the warfare between the sultans of the Turks in Khurasan; and other events

In this time, Damascus was ruled by a governor named Taj al-Muluk Buri Tughtikin. He had a vizier named Abu Ali of the Isma'ili sect. Through Abu Ali, the Isma'ilis owned a house in Damascus known as Dar al-Qarya. They were fortified in this house and anyone who entered it and agreed with them was exempt from taxes. Thus, they attained sublime status. The administrator of this Dar was a certain man from Qadmus also named Abu Ali whom they nicknamed al-Shaykh. It happened that one of the prominent men of the city named Sujin al-Dawla Ibn Sufi (more correctly, Buri's son Baha al-Din Siwinj) killed him at the behest of the amir, and the Isma'ilis became furious. Fired by zeal, they gathered in their Dar (home) and unsheathed their swords killing and slaying, but were confronted by the citizens of the city. On that day seventy thousand Muslims were slain and the Isma'ilis were almost annihilated. Then the Isma'ilis sneaked in stealthily and slaughtered the Amir Buri.²²⁰⁹

In this period in which an Arab was ruling Damascus, another Arab was ruling Egypt whose son conspired to kill him and rule in his place. When he saw that the Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims) followed his son, he appealed to the Armenians who were in Egypt to help him. These Armenians had settled in Egypt since their immigration to Syria. When their number multiplied, they set up bishops and a catholicos for them. The catholicos had a brother named Bahram who became a leader of the Armenians. When they responded to the king (ruler), they waged war against the Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims) who supported his son and killed thousands of them. They seized the son of the king (ruler) and slaughtered him by the consent of his father.

In this period Imad al-Din Zangi, lord of Mosul, defied Timurtash and Dawud, the Artukid amirs of Mardin and Hisn Kipha. When Timurtash Husam al-Din was in the region of Sarja between Dara and Nisibin, his cousin Rukn al-Din joined him and both attacked Zangi, who could not challenge them. Zangi was scared and asked each of his soldiers to wear the shield, unsheathe his sword and stand at the door of his tent. The soldiers appeared like an iron wall. They remained in this position from morning to sunset. Suddenly, however, a rift took place between Husam al-Din and his cousin, who took his troops to the mountain where many of them were scattered. Emboldened, Zangi pursued Husam al-Din, whose horsemen fled to Mardin while many of the infantry perished. Finally, both signed peace by means of envoys. Zangi signed this peace because he wanted to go to Syria to seize Sayf al-Dawla Dubays ibn Sadaqa, who was the only remaining amir of an Arab origin. He captured him in Palestine, brought him to Mosul, and placed him under guard.²²¹⁰

The Caliph al-Mustarshid bi Allah (1118-1135) asked Zangi to send him Dubays in order to kill him because he hated him immensely, but Zangi refused to deliver him. The caliph assembled an army and the two sides collided with each other. Zangi was defeated and fled. The caliph's forces pursued him until the wall of Takrit, but some men lowered him down with ropes at night and he escaped to Mosul. He released the amir Dubays, gave him money and sent him to assemble the Arabs, while he, Zangi, assembled the Turks to fight the caliph. When Dubays and Zangi assembled their forces, the caliph also assembled his own forces. After many skirmishes, Zangi was defeated and fled to Mosul. The Arab Ibn Dubays, fearing that Zangi might imprison him again, fled to the sultan of Khurasan. The caliph (al-Mustarshid) marched against Mosul to evict Zangi from the kingdom, but Zangi fortified the city. Nasir al-Din withstood (the caliph) admirably.²²¹¹ Failing to overwhelm them (Zangi and Nasir al-Din), the caliph retreated.

While Caliph al-Mustarshid was resting at midday in his tent in the camp of Mas'ud, sultan of Khurasan, at the entrance of the city of Marga, he was suddenly attacked by ten men and was killed.²²¹² He was succeeded by al-Rashid.

²²⁰⁹ See Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil al-Tawarikh*, 386-387, and 388-389; Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Dhawl Tarikh Dimashq*, 228; Ibn al-Adim, *Zubdat*, 2:245-246 and 254; Ibn Wasil, *Mufarrij al-Kurub*, 1:42-43, and Moosa, *The Crusades*, 542-543.

²²¹⁰ Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil al-Tawarikh*, 389-390, and Moosa, *The Crusades*, 543.

²²¹¹ Nasir al-Din was Zangi's deputy in Mosul. See The Anonymous Edessan, 154-155.

²²¹² Bar Hebraeus says that this happened on November 16, 1134, and that fifteen men killed the caliph. See Bar Hebraeus,

The Amir Dubays, while staying with the sultan of Khurasan, felt that they wanted to kill him. He tried to escape but could not. He sadly said, "Till when shall I keep on chasing and be chased? Nothing is better than death." One day, after eating bread at the table of the sultan, the sultan went into the interior chamber. A eunuch came out and told Dubays, "The sultan commands you not to leave. Sit down and read these letters." When he began to read what was written concerning him, one of those standing behind him struck him to death.²²¹³

Afterwards, sultan Mas'ud of Hamadan betrothed his daughter Humyan to Sultan Dawud. When the caliph heard that they had agreed with each other, he was frightened and worked to separate them secretly. Then the caliph went forth to fight Mas'ud. When Dawud, his son-in-law, did not come to his aid, he realized that the caliph had promised him the kingdom. Thus, Mas'ud waged war against the caliph and defeated him. He seized him and bound him in iron fetters. Here was fulfilled what had been written that, "The caliph was killed in the military camp of Mas'ud at the gate of Marga." He was succeeded by the Caliph al-Rashid (1135-1136). Then Mas'ud pursued Dawud who had fled to Armenia. He spoiled and then went back to Zangi in Mosul. Since the atabeg Zangi opposed Mas'ud, he defended Dawud. He took him to Baghdad and sent word to the caliph to offer the kingdom to Dawud. The caliph, who feared Mas'ud, procrastinated for ten months. Mas'ud and Dawud were enraged and spoiled the western part of Baghdad. Then the caliph yielded and offered the kingdom to Dawud. Mas'ud heard of this and departed. The caliph left Baghdad and came with Zangi to Mosul. When they arrived in the city, they heard that the governor of Nisibin rebelled against Zangi and joined Husam al-Din, lord of Mardin. Zangi went forth to Nisibin with the caliph of Baghdad and Sultan Dawud. He effected peace in Nisibin and then returned to Mosul. The caliph went to Baghdad and reconciled with Mas'ud through the exchange of envoys. Then, Caliph al-Rashid went to Khurasan and became subject of the Turks. The kingdom of the Arabs completely ceased.

End of the narrative.

At the beginning of July 1446 (A.D. 1135), a violent earth tremor took place. At midnight in the middle of the month was seen a star moving with great speed. It reached the moon and looked as if it had penetrated it. On August 2, two stars shot down, and the same thing happened on September 23. It was followed by heavy rain, and lightning burned down seven oxen and a boy.

In Semando, lightning struck down a Turkish person, but the Turks would not bury him, saying that God had burned him down, and therefore, he did not deserve to be buried.

In that year, an earthquake took place in Great Armenia and the city of Doghodaph collapsed. In that year winter was very harsh. In the region of Melitene, red snow fell which was a sign of another miracle.

In May locusts swarmed but did not cause harm.

In the middle of the night of July 21, a light like a candle appeared in the north to the south. It obscured the light of the moon and the stars, and it remained until dawn.

In this month, while the Muslims were praying as usual on Friday in the Great Mosque of the city of Kashkar in Khurasan, a tremor took place. The earth was cleft and they went down to Gehanna (the place of torment) alive. More than ten thousand persons perished.

The winter of the year 1447 (A.D. 1136), was moderate. Quail and other birds entered the houses, which excited people's astonishment.

In January 26, the winter was very severe. The Euphrates and other rivers were frozen and snow fell in abundance.

In Amid birds and other animals like deer began to enter the houses. The governor ordered that they should not be harmed but rather fed until April. It is said that the animals, which were fed in the cities and villages, perished in their abodes as they were trying to leave for the mountains. This is a testimony that every decision for the punishment of anyone (man or beast) is from above (God), and no one can prevent it from happening. *End of the narrative.*

Chronography, 260.

²²¹³ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 261.

In this time Basilius Bar Shumanna, bishop of Kesum, having been offended by the deposition of Bar Andrews, abandoned his congregation, protesting that the affairs of the church were not conducted according to the canons. He retreated to the Monastery of Phesqin (the Canal Monastery) of the solitaires situated on the bank of the Euphrates. Some people advised the patriarch to make Kesum a patriarchal residence instead of Amid because it was situated within the region of the Christians. Five years after Kesum became the residence of the patriarch, the patriarch ordained Basilius Bar Shumanna as metropolitan for Amid. Upon the restoration of Bar Andrew to his diocese, Basilius Bar Shumanna was also restored to his diocese. Meantime, Basil, archdeacon of Edessa, was ordained a bishop for this city and was called Athanasius. After serving for seven years, he passed away in 1474 (A.D. 1163).

In this same year Iyawannis Elisha, metropolitan of Melitene, died. A conflict was stirred up among the clergy concerning the election of a shepherd for Melitene. Basilius, bishop of Jihan, a very crafty man who frequented the patriarchal office to take care of administrative matters and church affairs, worked against the election of a metropolitan for Melitene. Being greedy, his intention was to take advantage of the simplicity of the holy patriarch and annex Melitene to his own diocese. He slandered any candidate whose name was presented to the patriarch, and the meek patriarch believed him. Thus, the diocese of Melitene was vacant for three years. Then the congregation of Melitene decided to have as their metropolitan the deacon Yeshue Bar Qatra of Melitene. They addressed to him a letter containing their unanimous approval. However, the bishop of Jihan wrote a letter in the name of the patriarch containing a grave anathema of Yeshu. *End of the narrative. He who reads let him pray.*

Chapter Eight: On what took place between the kings of the world and in the church during three years

In the year 1447 (A.D. 1136), a conflict was stirred up between the Armenians and the Franks. In this time, the Armenian King Michael after abandoning the fortress of Gargar in the time of Belek, came back after the murder of Belek and settled in it. However, the people of the denomination called Sebakberk confronted him because he plundered their villages, and they plundered his villages. One day, the Turks surrounded him from every side in the district of Zizona on the bank of the Euphrates. When he found no way to escape to safety, he cast himself from the precipice to the river. As he was wearing plate armor and a shield in his hand, he sank and then floated. Finally, he found a ford through which he escaped with his life. He then gave Gargar to Joscelin and took Sopharos. Joscelin sold Gargar to Basil, brother of the Armenian catholicos, for five hundred dinars. Michael repented and thought to go back to Gargar. When Joscelin refused to hand it over to him, Michael marshaled an army and invaded the district of Kesum.²²¹⁴ The Franks confronted him and he was accidentally killed.

When the Franks evicted Basil from Gargar, he went to the Armenian Leon in Cilicia and became his son-in-law. He gathered a group of Armenians, went forth to fight the Franks in Farzman, and killed many of them.²²¹⁵ When the Turks witnessed that the Armenians and the Franks were fighting each other, they sent a certain cruel person named Afshin to invade the region of Kesum. When he found no resistance, he invaded Antioch. He then marched against Laodicea and took many captives. They returned to the River Orontes (al-'Asi), caught fish and ate them. Immediately, many of them died for some (mysterious) reason, or as a blow from the Most High. The rest, fearing death, fled and left the captives behind.²²¹⁶

In the year 1448 (A.D. 1138), King of the Greeks (Emperor of the Romans) Iwani (John Comnenus II) ferociously attacked Leon the Armenian in Cilicia. He captured the cities of Tarsus, Adana, al-Missisa and others.²²¹⁷ After subjecting the entire region, he seized Leon, his wife and sons, and sent them to

²²¹⁴ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 261.

²²¹⁵ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 261, calls it Kafar Zaman.

²²¹⁶ Cf. Röhrich, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem*, 189-190 and 204.

²²¹⁷ William of Tyre, 2: 83-84; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 275; The Anonymous Edessan, , 133-135; A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, 2:415-417; Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 545.

Constantinople. Leon died in the city but his sons and his wife returned later and controlled the region (of Cilicia) once more.

After Iwani, John, king of the Greeks (emperor of the Romans) took control of Cilicia and sent Leon to Constantinople, he marched against Antioch but failed to capture it. Joscelin approached him and signed an agreement with him on condition that King John would give the regions of Syria, meaning Aleppo and others, to the Franks. In addition, the Franks would give him Antioch according to the pledge they made to his father Alexius (Comnenus). With this, Bedawi (Raymond of Poitiers), lord of Antioch, went out to meet him and King (emperor) John entered Antioch. However, when he realized that they (the Franks) wanted to deceive him, he became suspicious and returned to Cilicia. The Franks went after him and renewed their agreement with him. Then, the emperor accompanied them to Aleppo. He took Biz'a (Baza'a, Buza'a) and stationed fighting men in Shayzar.²²¹⁸

Then, Sultan Mas'ud of Iconium marched against Cilicia and captured Adana by war. He spoiled the entire country and took its inhabitants and the bishops captive to Melitene.²²¹⁹ When the emperor learned of this, he burned down the engines of war and returned to Cilicia. He signed peace with the sultan and then entered Constantinople.

In that year (A.D. 1138), Bazwash, captain of the host, rebelled against his master Shihab al-Din in Damascus. He gathered an army and marched against Tripoli. Its lord, Ibn Sanjil (Count Pons, son of Bertram, and grandson of Raymond of Saint Gilles of the First Crusade), went forth but the Turks ambushed him, killed all the Franks including Ibn Sanjil, and burned upper Tripoli with fire.²²²⁰ They spoiled the entire region. Then they moved to Tiberias and plundered it, and then reached Nabulus (Samaria) and pillaged it and devastated it. In the light of these calamities, the king of Jerusalem (Fulk) went out to Zephania to see what happened and to drive the Turks out who were fighting against it. Suddenly, (Imad al-Din) Zangi attacked the king's camp at night and killed a great number of the infantry. The king and the horsemen fled to the fortress. The fighting lasted forty days. The queen sent an appeal to Bedawi (Raymond of Poitiers), lord of Tripoli, and Joscelin (for help). However, when Zangi heard that they (the Franks) were ready to assault him, he signed peace with the king and retreated.²²²¹

In this time, King Muhammad expelled his brother Daula and took from him Ablastain and the region of Jihan. Daula went to Hanzit, then to Amid and to Joscelin as he kept moving from one place to another.

In the year 1449 (A.D. 1138), Edessa under the Turks was like a prison, and its inhabitants could not go in and out with ease. Four thousand men of Samosata, among whom were three hundred Frankish Knights, carried food to the inhabitants of Edessa. Among them was the physician, philosopher, deacon Abu Sa'd. As they were passing by, the Turk ambushers led by Husam al-Din, lord of Mardin, attacked them at night and killed most of them and took the rest captive, including Abu Sa'd and Michael Bar Shumanna and his son. Abu Sa'd who was well versed in astronomy, could not find out what was determined to happen to them on that day. Finally, Husam al-Din Timurtash took the fortress of Kissos from the Franks.

In this time, Sultan Mahmud entered the region of Kesum. He spoiled, plundered, and then went back. Witnessing that its inhabitants had fled, he returned once more, burned the villages with fire, and left them as ashes. From there he moved to Mar'ash and did the same thing. *End of the narrative.*

When the letter of suspending the deacon Yeshu from service, which was written by the instigation of the metropolitan of Jihan, reached Melitene and was read at the pulpit, the virtuous deacon Yeshu of

²²¹⁸ The available sources offer a different perspective of these events. It was Raymond of Poitiers who could not expect help from King Fulk of Jerusalem, who was busy with Imad al-Din Zangi in Ba'rin, signed an agreement with Emperor John Comnenus. See Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 546-547 and the sources he consulted.

²²¹⁹ At this time, the citizens of Adana were predominantly Syrian Orthodox (Jacobites). See The Anonymous Edessan, 135.

²²²⁰ Pons fled to the hills of Lebanon. He was captured by the inhabitants and killed. See Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil*, 414-416; Stevenson, *The Crusades*, 137; Ashur, *al-Haraka*, 1:573-574; Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 544.

²²²¹ The available sources offer a different analysis of these events. See William of Tyre, 2:83-86; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil*, 421; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 264; The Anonymous Edessan, 133-125, Röhrich, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem*, 205-206; Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, 2: 415-417; Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 544-546.

imposing old age picked it up and placed it over his head. When Patriarch Yuhanon learned of this, he praised the deacon for his meekness and his discerning, and pardoned him. However, the affairs of Melitene remained as such until the death of the Patriarch Mor Yuhanon in September 1448 (A.D. 1137) at the Monastery of al-Dawa'ir, where his holy body was buried. The metropolitan of Jihan, who was the patriarch's syncellus as we have already said, unlawfully wrote a document stamped by the seal of the patriarch stating that before his death, the patriarch had confirmed Melitene to be for Basilius, bishop of Jihan. Accordingly, Basilius entered Melitene forcibly assisted by the governor. He ordained presbyters and deacons and consecrated the Holy *Miron* (Chrism) when the church still had no patriarch. As Basilius became the metropolitan of Melitene, he retained the diocese of Jihan also. The bishops and the majority of the laymen were suspicious of the actions of the metropolitan and had no idea how he had done such a stratagem. Some bishops went on blaming the patriarch for the actions of the metropolitan. Others blamed not the late patriarch but the metropolitan of Jihan himself. Still others were of the opinion that the metropolitan did all this by a divine zeal for the consolidation of the church of God. *Here ends the narrative about the fathers.*

At this time grave harm happened to the Monastery of Mor Abhai, also called the Monastery of Ladders for a reason like this. Some men of Armenian origin were in control of the fortress of Sebaberk (Samkat). Their ancestor, Boghosag, had gone to Baghdad during the Turks first invasion, and then to Khurasan. He proclaimed his conversion to Islam and obtained pledges from the great sultan and from the caliph that the fortress of Sebaberk would be under his control and his sons after him. Thus, these Armenians were Muslims throughout their generations. At that time, the fortress was governed by an amir called Isa from the Boghosag family. He was wicked and immensely hated the Christians. He especially hated the Armenian Michael and Constantine who were in Gargar. They invested his region and caused havoc to it. He, in turn, ravaged and spoiled Gargar. When he saw that the Franks had become weaker, he gathered the Turks and invaded and pillaged all the country in order to secure for the Turks sufficient provisions and treasures, especially since the country was in ruins, but what he found was not enough. Then, he fixed his eyes on the churches and monasteries to exact from them his needs. First, he came to the Monastery of Mor Abhai. When he could not enter the monastery from the Euphrates side, he climbed a precipice and lowered down his men by ropes. They hurled huge stones at the monastery until they destroyed the corner of its church. Fearing him, the monks went out to welcome him. When he gained full control of the monastery, he plundered all of its belongings including silver vessels of chalices, patens, crosses and other objects, which had been deposited at the monastery since the time of Mor Yuhanon Bar Abdun. He also pillaged the Monastery of Phesqin and expelled the solitary monks Rabban Dawud and his companions from the Monastery of Shira. No one remained in that monastery except Abu Ghalib. *End of the narrative.*

Chapter Nine: On the death of the sultan of Khurasan and the campaign of his son against Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia); the ordination of the Patriarch Mor Athanasius; and other world and church events

After the death of Mahmud, sultan of Khurasan, his brother the cruel Mas'ud reigned. Immediately after assuming power, he marched to Assyria passing through Azarbayjan to Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia). Upon arriving in Dara, he camped near Hawarta.

In the year 1450 (A.D. 1139), Malik Mahmud (lord of Melitene) marched with his army to the region of Cilicia, and wrested from the Greeks (the fortresses) of Bahgai and Ganbopirath. He also invaded the region of Casianus, which is on the Sea of Pontus (the Black Sea). He plundered and made slaves of all the people and sold them into slavery.²²²²

²²²² Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 266.

In that year, (Imad al-Din) Zangi marched against Damascus and beleaguered it. Its governor appealed to the king of Jerusalem for help and lavished on him huge largess. The king came to help and Zangi fled.

In October of the year 1452 (A.D. 1141), the Turks of Melitene attacked the monasteries of Beth Zabar, that is of Beth Qinaya (The Reeds), plundered and went away unresisted.

In May, the Franks came to take revenge of the people of Melitene who spoiled the monasteries. They came to Zubatra and 'Arqa and carried off the possessions of the Christians, but did not meet Turks at all. After they left, the Turks came on their heels, looted, and then left. Thus, the Christians became a subject of extortion by both sides.²²²³ The Franks attacked the region of Ablastain and pillaged the possessions of the Christians. They killed some Turks and took the rest slaves. The Turks went forth with great determination from Hanzit to the country of the Franks. They met about twenty men, one of whom was the holy Bishop of Mesora, who was crossing the Abdahar Mountain. Because of their vehement anger against the Christians, they beat the bishop and those with him with cruelty and tied them up in order to kill them. Suddenly the terrifying sound (of the Franks) fell upon them, they left them tied up and fled. Therefore, the bishop and those with him were saved.²²²⁴ When the Franks marched against that region, they killed all the Turks by the sword. They were successful in those days because they were united.

In the year 1452 (A.D. 1141), Iwani, king (emperor) of the Greeks, went forth to fight the Turks. Malik Muhammad confronted him, and both their camps faced each other for six months. When the king (Iwani) attempted to get close to Neocaesarea, the Turks' animosity toward the Christians who were under their authority increased so much that anyone who mentioned the name of the emperor, even unwittingly, was slain and his sons, daughters and members of his household were taken captive. In this same manner in Melitene and other countries, they (the Turks) did the same. Suddenly, however, the emperor returned to his country without fighting or signing peace. As to Malik Muhammad, he marched against Mar'ash plundering and spoiling.²²²⁵

In that year, Zangi, lord of Mosul, signed peace with Husam al-Din, lord of Mardin. The two men then met in Sarja. Zangi and Husam al-Din dismounted their horses and made an alliance to confirm the peace. They were prepared to fight against Dawud, lord of Hisn Kipha. They pursued him and caught up with him at the wall of Amid. Realizing that he was pursued, Dawud sought refuge in the wall of the city, but Zangi and Husam al-Din attacked the city from the southern side, and the battle continued from morning to the afternoon. In the evening, Dawud was defeated and fled. Some of his troops were killed, other were captured and still others fled. Zangi captured Sulayman, son of Dawud and handed him over to Husam al-Din, who in turn, sent him to Mardin. The two lords (Zangi and Husam al-Din) returned through the gate of Amid and descended upon the fortress of Sora in the neighborhood of Mardin which belonged to Dawud. They directed three engines of war against it, caused a breach in the wall, and continued the war. The fighting men inside trembled with fear and asked for a pledge for their lives. However, the lords refused and captured the fortress, the governor and Dawud's men. They divided the region into four sections. Zangi gave the fortress to Husam al-Din, and added to it Sarja, Dhu al-Qarnayn and Sakan. Then they moved to the (fortress of) Bar'ia. When the governor of Bar'ia learned that Zangi and Husam al-Din were marching against him, he was gripped with fear and delivered it to the lord of Mardin. However, when (Zangi and Husam al-Din) saw that the fortress was fortified, they departed and marched against Amid. They threatened that they would destroy the entire region if the fortress was not delivered to them. When the lord of Amid felt that he was totally at a loss, he delivered the fortress to Husam al-Din, and everyone returned to his place.

Our church, we Orthodox, remained without a general leader (patriarch) for one year and six months. During this period, the bishops were writing to each other urging for the assembling of a council to set up a patriarch. Four old metropolitans of Gargar, Semha, Claudia and Jihan, who had moved to

²²²³ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 266, says that the Franks killed many Turks and took their children and women prisoners.

²²²⁴ Bar Hebraeus, *Ibid.*

²²²⁵ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 266.

Melitene, met alone and cast a lot on three persons as usual. One of them was the old deacon Yesu Bar Qatra, mentioned earlier, whose name appeared as a winner. They sent two bishops to fetch him. The deacon asked them on oath whether he was truly chosen. When he was sure of his choice, he accompanied them to the Monastery of Maqrana where he was invested with the monastic habit. They were told that the Maphryono (Dionysius) had arrived in the neighborhood of Amid and that the governor desired to have the meeting (of bishops) in his city. At the Monastery of Gargar, the bishop of Gargar ordained the deacon Yesu Bar Qatra a priest. On Sunday, 4th of December (1139) at the festival of Barbara the martyr, he was ordained a Patriarch of Antioch by the laying on of hands of Maphryono Dionysius assisted by twelve bishops and presbyters and monks and a great number of deacons. He was called Athanasius at his ordination. On the day of his ordination, the governor of Amid, Mawdud Ibn Nisan the Muslim, held a dinner banquet for the members of the council. Also, Jacob, brother of the deacon Abu Ishaq, who had formerly quarreled with the Patriarch Mor Athanasius, spent lavishly on this council. On the next day, the patriarch ordered the metropolitan of Jihan to return to his diocese. He sent Basilius from Amid to Qal'at Ja'bar in order that Amid would be the patriarchal residence as was in the past. Hence began the problems of the church. Basilius, metropolitan of Jihan, said to the patriarch, "You were not elected by a true but a false ballot. The bishop of Gargar cheated me swearing on oath that I should stay in Melitene. In fact, he put down one name (of a candidate) on the three ballots." The words of the metropolitan provoked the suspicions of the people. In addition, the metropolitans of the regions west of the Euphrates did not recognize the patriarch because they were not present at his election and ordination. They were ready to set up another patriarch. Other metropolitans maintained that Basilius, metropolitan of Jihan, said what he said because the patriarch ousted him from Melitene. They cursed the metropolitan for stirring up suspicion. However, the metropolitan did not quit and went to Melitene. He assembled the presbyters and the lay people and showed them the document he had written and returned to Jihan. Then, the patriarch left Amid and went to the Monastery of Mar Barsoum. He ordained his nephew (his sister's son) Theodore, a metropolitan for Melitene on Pentecost Sunday of that year and called him Ignatius. In October 1451 (A.D. 1140), he ordained Romanus, a native of Melitene and from the Monastery of Jerusalem, a bishop for Jerusalem and called him Ignatius.

In the year 1452 (A.D. 1141), the metropolitans of the west met with Bar Andrew and Bar Shumanna and the rest of metropolitans in Hisn Mansur. They issued a number of canons and delivered them to the patriarch. They pledged that they would offer him homage if he endorsed them. The patriarch did endorse them and the metropolitans signed his *systaticon* (document of his election) a patriarch, and peace prevailed.

In October of the year 1450 (A.D. 1139), appeared a red sign (body) in the northern side of heaven. In that month, an earthquake took place and destroyed the towers of Biza'a (Buza'a).

In Aleppo, the winter was very severe from the beginning of December until February. The Euphrates was frozen and people crossed on it by foot, and domestic and wild animals and birds perished.

While forty men were passing through the wilderness of al-Raqqa (Callinicus), the earth cleft and swallowed them with the exception of one who went to relieve himself. The cry of men for help and the noise of beasts were heard for a long time.

During this tremor, Tarib (Atharb?) collapsed, and the church of Harim was destroyed. The village of Azrab in the neighborhood of the Mountain of Cyrus (Qurush) was split in the middle. It collapsed after the inhabitants had left it.

In that year there was scarcity of rain until the middle of May, but when rain began to fall, the produce of crops was late.

On Pentecost Sunday, a violent lightning took place killing two women in Melitene, one of whom was on the rooftop and the other in the market place. Also, two storks (birds) were killed in the ninth hour.

In the night of June 22, what looked like fiery lances in the northern part of heaven was seen and then moved toward the southern part.

On October 29, 1452 (A.D. 1141), another earthquake took place. On the tenth of this month the moon eclipsed and plague spread in Melitene and began by killing birds; children died from small pox.

At the festival of Mor Barsoum in May, violent hailstones fell in Hanzit and Hisn Ziyad that destroyed trees and vineyards. On that same day, lightning burned a boy and a mule. In June of that year, a tremor occurred which shook the bank of the lake of the city of Lesser Cilicia called Khaling and other places in that country and all over the seacoast. *This account is completed by the help of Almighty God. To him be the glory.* This passage is written in Arabic and in red ink.

Chapter Ten: On the time of the death of Malik Muhammad, and the death of Iwani (John), king (emperor) of the Greeks in the same period; the death of Sire Fulk, king of the Franks and of Jerusalem; the death of Dawud amir of Hisn Ziyad, and other world and church events which took place in this period

In the year 1452 (A.D. 1142), (Joscelin) went to Jerusalem to pray. The Turks went forth and invaded the country, destroyed it and burned it including the village of Harim.

In that year, the governor of Qamih died, and Malik Mahmud ruled it.

On December 6 of the year 1454 (A.D. 1143), Malik Muhammad died in Caesarea and ordered his son Dhu al-Nun to rule after him. However, his wife married her husband's brother, Yaqub Arslan, and made him a ruler of Sebastea. Dhu al-Nun fled to Semando (where he ruled), and Caesarea and Melitene were added later to his rule. Dhu al-Nun's other brother, Daula, made a covenant with Yunus, lord of Masara, and both of them attacked Melitene, but the inhabitants would not open the gates for them. Because they had no force to fight, they returned to 'Arqa. It was then that the wife of Malik Muhammad dispatched two thousand men to protect Melitene. When the inhabitants (of Melitene) realized that these men carried an order to evict them and their children from their homes and move them to Sebastea that they may take possession of their homes, they were agitated. They armed themselves, withdrew their swords and roamed through the streets. Gripped by terrible fear, the Christians of the city hid in cisterns underground not knowing the reason for what was happening. It was Wednesday, February 17 of the first week of Lent. The Turks of the city gathered in front of the citadel and demanded from the governor the keys of the gates in order to get out and challenge the men who marched against the city. However, the governor did not give them the keys. Then all of them, mounting and armed, went forth to the citadel called Baridanye. They were headed by a person named Buri who smashed the lock of the door with an axe while the others stood as guards. On that day, they went and brought Daula, and the men of Sebastea fled. The lord of the city offered Daula respect, and Daula entered the city and peace prevailed. Afterwards, Daula went to his brother Yaqub Arslan and both made a covenant with each other. Dawla received Ablastain and ruled over Jihan.²²²⁶

When Sultan (Mas'ud of Iconium), heard of what had happened, he was angry with Yaqub Arslan. Yaqub, scared, fled to the mountains. The Sultan attacked Sebastea, destroyed it, and returned to his country. He sent a message to Daula to pay him homage, and that he would expand his region. Daula sent his wife, the sister of the sultan's brother, but the sultan would not listen to her appeal. He besieged Melitene on June 17, but as he set up engines of war against it, he became awed and stopped fighting it. It was said that he was bewitched. He continued to besiege the city for three months while Daula, (who was inside the city) plundered the people, especially the nobles, and offered the booty to the soldiers. At dawn on the day of the Feast of the Cross in the month of September, the sultan suddenly burned his engines of war and departed, and the people of Melitene heaved a sigh of relief.²²²⁷

²²²⁶ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 267.

²²²⁷ Bar Hebraeus, *Ibid.*, 267.

In April of this same year, Iwani (John II Comnenus), king of the Greeks, went hunting in Cilicia, as was his custom. He took a poisoned arrow to shoot a wild boar, but instead, the arrow hit his hand. The poison spread through his body and he died.²²²⁸

Shortly afterward, the king of the Franks of Jerusalem went out hunting. He chased a rabbit. His attendants went to look for him and found him fallen off his horse dead and his head receded into his body.²²²⁹

In this time, Dawud, lord of Hisn Ziyad, died. These four lords, the king of the Greeks, the king of the Franks, Malik Muhammad and Dawud, died in the same year (1143).

In the middle of August and until September of the year 1452 (A.D. 1141), brilliant lights were seen in the northern part (of heaven). On the night of September 2, a light like sunrays appeared in the northwestern part (of Heaven).

In the year 1453 (A.D. 1142), hailstones covered the entire region of Semha.

In the year 1454 (A.D. 1143), the pope of Rome sent one of his twelve-membered conclave²²³⁰ to Jerusalem to set in order the churches, monasteries, chief priests and the rest of the cities, etc. However, no sooner he began his investigation than he passed away. It is said that he was poisoned to death. The pope became angry and sent one of his four distinguished legates, each one of whom was his personal representative, and the legate straightened out many matters.²²³¹ He deposed the (Latin) patriarch of Antioch and appointed another. He succeeded in his mission.

The wicked Greeks, who were wont to do evil, slandered us (the Syrians) and the Armenians to the legate saying, "These people are heretics." Therefore, they filled his heart with anger. He came to Duluk (Doliche) and met with Gregorius, the Armenian catholicos, and led him to Jerusalem by force. He held a council on the Monday of White²²³² (in the year 1140) attended by the Patriarch's legate, the bishops of the Franks, the Armenian catholicos, bishops and Armenian doctors (learned men). It was also attended by the metropolitan of Jerusalem, the monks, Joscelin and the rest of the leaders. The Greeks were summoned to the council three times. They were told, "You have said that the Syrians and the Armenians are heretics. You should explain to us their heresy." They said, "We will not attend a council which is not attended by our king." Thus, their false accusation was exposed for everyone. Then the Armenians and the Syrians submitted their own documents of faith, which were translated into Italian. The council proclaimed that their belief was orthodox. The Franks asked the Armenians and the Syrians not to change their doctrine. The Syrians agreed rejoicing, but the Armenians rejected it and thus, were branded as Phantasiasts and Simonites. *This narrative is ended. Let him who reads pray for the weak writer (copyist).* This colophon is written in Arabic and in red ink.

In the year 1453 (A.D. 1141), Mor Gabriel, the patriarch of Egypt died and Mor Iyawannis was ordained (in his place).

The Patriarch Mor Athanasius came to Melitene and met with Malik Muhammad. He resided at the church of Mama. He consecrated the *Mirun* (Holy Chrism) in the Great Church and demanded the (restoration) of the Monastery of Mor Ahron (Aaron) al-Shaghr (the Monastery of Butn, Oak). He entrusted the administration of Amid to the metropolitan of Miyafarqat, and the administration of Antioch to the metropolitan of Tarsus.

²²²⁸ See George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 337.

²²²⁹ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 267-268.

²²³⁰ This legate is Pierre, archbishop of Lyon, (d. May, 1139). See J. B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, III:255, footnote 3.

²²³¹ This legate is Alberic, bishop of Ostie. See Chabot, *Ibid*, footnote 4.

²²³² The White, in Syriac *Heworo*, is a week which extends from Easter Sunday to the New or Low Sunday. In the west it is known as Whitsunday. According to an old practice of the church, the catechumen intending to embrace Christianity usually went through a period of preparation and meditation, after which they were baptized on the Thursday of Passion Week (Maundy Thursday) and anointed with the holy oil shortly after the consecration of the *Mirun* (Holy Chrism), which took place on the same day. During the whole week following the Sunday of Easter, the catechumen received daily the Holy Eucharist while attired in white robes. Hence is the name of The Week of the White.

In the same year, Maphryono Dionysius went down to Baghdad for treatment and died there. The Takritians carried his body to the church of Takrit.

In the same year, the Muslims strangled the metropolitan of Homs. In addition, the congregation of Tur Abdin expelled their metropolitan. The metropolitan of the Jazira was seized by the sultan by means of gold (money). The metropolitan of Damascus quarreled with his congregation and the patriarch reconciled them.

In the year 1454 (A.D. 1143), Li'azar, from the Monastery of Sergisiyya and a native of 'Abra, who had studied in Melitene, was ordained a Maphryono of Takrit. He was ordained in the Monastery of Mor Ahron (Aaron) and was called Ignatius (at his ordination). He was renowned within the circles of the church.

In that year, Patriarch Athanasius returned to Melitene as its lord Daula, son of Ghazi, was in it when Sultan Mas'ud besieged it.

Later some people went to Count Joscelin and told him, "This patriarch was set up illegally." Joscelin commanded that the patriarch's name not be proclaimed in the country under his rule. He did this perhaps because the patriarch did not visit him and extend to him greetings. He then summoned Timothy, metropolitan of Gargar, to Samosata and received from him the truth of how the election of the patriarch was conducted. At Samosata, the metropolitan did not support the claim of the bishop of Jihan and others. The patriarch, however, left Melitene for the Monastery of Mor Barsoum. When he learned that Joscelin had transferred Basilius Abu al-Faraj Bar Shumanna to Edessa, he confirmed Edessa for Bar Shumanna and ordained Iliyya (Elijah), the learned and chaste, a bishop for Kesum, and called him Iyawannis. He was of great renown in the church. *This narrative is ended. Let him who reads pray for its writer (copyist) the sinner.* This colophon is written in Arabic and in red ink.

With the end of Book Sixteen, our discussion of the events that took place during thirteen years comes also to an end. During this period, ten Greek, Frankish and Turkish kings were set up.

In view of the effort shown by what the two following metropolitans of what they had written, we shall append the Introduction of the books of each of them

Iyawannis, metropolitan of Kesum

In his Introduction, he wrote, "Seeing that time has become miserable, and our generation reached a great degree of weakness and degeneration, especially in our case we, the Syrians, who have almost reached the point of extinction, we were prompted to record only a smattering of what has taken place in the years in which we live and those which follow. Therefore, we made an effort to compile this book of history. We have collected profane chronicles from many different sources and left them as a memorial for those who come after us. We did this in order that each one will know his own self and remember that life is transient, and that many people have already passed away. He, like them, should settle the debt that cannot be overlooked. He who contemplates those who went before him will discover that man gains fame in this life according to his achievements. How much more then, he will inherit the recompense in the life to come?"

Dionysius, metropolitan of Amid

He wrote thus in the Introduction of his book, "Ears in this tumultuous age are prone to hear unpalatable and worthless accounts. It is a matter that overwhelmed many because of the ever-existing disturbances and commotions which took place in not so short a time. Because fear of the law has disappeared, illegality has spread, and knowledge, whose function is to educate the novices and guide them to the true path, is rejected. Having contemplated these matters, I, the wretched and weak Dionysius Jacob, decided to write down a small portion that will help those who are concerned with the vicissitudes of time. I believe that knowing these heavenly chastisements, which afflict people, serve as a tremendous deterrent for those who were not tested by temptations. Furthermore, they should take into account that the axe is

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already at the root of the tree²²³³ and may not be carried away by futile and irrational reports which have no basis of truth, but are worthless raving. In addition, since I have entertained such an idea for a long time, men of discerning urged me not to neglect it or do nothing to implement it. Therefore, I consulted what had been written by former chroniclers, and chose what is appropriate and neglected the rest. After accomplishing this task and selecting what ancient ecclesiastical chroniclers had written, I chose what is suitable for my work. I decided to collect and compile what had been written in different generations gradually until our own tumultuous age in which we live considering it the first stage in this compilation. I explained the persecutions and the calamities that afflicted the Christians in order that, when these bitter reports have touched the ears of many people, they will be deterred from what we have mentioned earlier.

Since we have overlooked the idea whose objective was to collect the former chronicles together with ecclesiastical chronicles, and extract from them a watercourse which overflows with benefits for the inquirers, we resolved to write down what has taken place in our own time as succinctly as possible.”

²²³³ Matthew 3:10.

BOOK SEVENTEEN

IT TREATS THE EVENTS BEGINNING WITH THE YEAR 1455 OF THE GREEKS, WHICH IS THE YEAR, A.D. 1125 AND THE YEAR 524 OF THE ARBOYE (ISLAMIC CALENDAR), THE YEAR 83 OF THE TURKS, AND THE YEAR 6673 OF ADAM.²²³⁴

Chapter One: The period of the reign of Manuel of the Greeks; the reign of Baldwin of the Franks; the reign of Yaqub (Jacob) Arslan of the Turks, and other events that took place during this period

When Iwani (John), king of the Greeks (emperor of the Romans) was in Cilicia and felt that his end was near, he commanded that his younger son (Manuel) should reign because his elder son was in the capital. Manuel began to reign in April 1455 of the Greeks (A.D. 1144). When he entered the capital his brother welcomed him and paid homage to him, and he was confirmed in the kingdom.

In that year, the king of Jerusalem (Fulk of Anjou) passed away and was succeeded by his son Baldwin. Because he was very young, his mother (Melisend) managed the affairs of the kingdom.²²³⁵

In the same year died Dawud, lord of Hisn Ziyad, who was succeeded by his younger son, Kara Arslan, because his elder son (Toghmish) was with (Imad al-Din) Zangi. Zangi came, accompanied by Arslan Toghmish, son of Dawud, and captured Hani. In addition, Sultan Mahmud sieged Ablastain and the entire country of Jihan. Then he besieged Melitene, and Kara Arslan, son of Dawud, was in his company. Kara Arslan asked the sultan to help him against Zangi. The sultan gave him twenty thousand horsemen. He took them and marched against Zangi who retreated and went back to his country. Kara Arslan regained control of the region that was usurped from him. As to the Sultan (Mas'ud), he came and besieged Melitene for three months but without fight, and then departed.²²³⁶ In the middle of August on the night of the festival of the Assumption of the Mother of God, he commanded his forces to take whatever was necessary for their need and depart after they had spoiled the region.²²³⁷

During the sultan's siege of Melitene, Joscelin (II) went to the Monastery of Mor Barsoum pretending to pray. He met there the men of Claudia who had fled before the sultan. Have heard from them about his huge army, he returned immediately to his country.

In the early morning of Friday November 26, an earthquake took place in the city of Brusa near the capital Constantinople and caused immense damage to the people and possessions. The river that ran through the city dried up. Three days later, the tremor was repeated when what remained of the population was praying, and the river began to flow as before.

On April 23 of that year which was Maundy Thursday, a terrible sign like a lance was seen after sunset in the east. It remained for seven days, three hours every day. It is said that the sign symbolized blood.

After Basilius Bar Shumanna was blamed for transgressing the canons by moving from Kesum to Edessa by order of the governor, he defended himself in a document containing false testimonies. The patriarch and the council asserted his transgression of the canons, but he did not yield to the governor or the Edessan. The Edessans were in conflict with the patriarch and would not proclaim his name (in their churches) until he confirmed Metropolitan Basilius as their leader. Choosing the lesser evil, the patriarch confirmed Bar Shumanna as a metropolitan for Edessa and thus, won the Edessan people. Upon his return from Jerusalem where he attended the coronation of a new king, the Patriarch (Yeshu Bar Qatra) visited Joscelin in Tell Bashir. Joscelin reconciled with the patriarch and gave him back the church vessels and the jar of *Mirun* (Holy Chrism) he had snatched in a fit of outrage from the patriarchal treasury in the Monastery

²²³⁴ Obviously the year A.D. 1125 is a copyist error. it should be A.D. 1144.

²²³⁵ William of Tyre, 2:51.

²²³⁶ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 268.

²²³⁷ Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem*, 216 and 226.

of Mor Barsoum. Joscelin had refused to give back these objects when the patriarch visited him the first time.²²³⁸

Chapter Two: On the calamity of Edessa the noble city of the Christians in Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia), which the Turks captured with the sword by the permission of (Divine) justice, and because of our iniquities

The first calamity of Edessa when the Turks captured it from the Franks was as follows. For a long time the inhabitants of Edessa were prisoners of the Turks, and the affairs of the city deteriorated on every direction. Then suddenly, Joscelin (II), lord of the city, collided with (Imad al-Din) Zangi, lord of Mosul. The reason was that Zangi was chasing after the lord of Hisn Ziyad, who found refuge with Joscelin and offered him the fortress of Beth Bula for helping him against Zangi, same as he received help from Sultan Mas'ud. Joscelin sent an army to help Kara Arslan without realizing that it was not in his interest to antagonize the Turks. Zangi saw this as a pretext to fight Joscelin. At this time, Joscelin was away in Antioch. The people of Harran informed Zangi that there were no troops in Edessa. Zangi marshaled an enormous army on Tuesday November 28, 1456 (A.D. 1145), and marched against Edessa. They encamped by the Gate of al-Sa'at close to the Church of the Confessors. He sent a messenger to the people saying, "Surrender or perish. You have no one to save you." Now Papios, the Latin archbishop was in Edessa. Relying on the envoys sent to Antioch and Jerusalem asking them to rush to the aid of the beleaguered city, he and the people said that they would not surrender. Then Zangi began the war against the city at the beginning of December using different arms. He set up seven engines of war to hurl stones, while the troops were shooting arrows like drops of rain. The natives of the city, old and young, men, women and the monks of the mountains were standing on the wall fighting. When Zangi saw the people were fighting with vigor, he ordered his men to dig under the wall. They dug up deep trenches and reached the wall. The people of the city also dug up underground and went forth against those who were outside. However, when they did not succeed in this manner, they build up a wall before the part that was breached, while those outside dug under two other towers and supported them with posts of wood. Meantime, Atabeg Zangi sent a message saying, "We will send you two men as hostages and you send two men of yours so that they may see that the towers are about to fall. Surrender the city before you perish by the sword. I do not want you to perish." But the inhabitants, confident in the wall they had built and hoping that the Franks would come to their help, did not surrender but scoffed at Zangi and made fun of him. Then the Turks set fire to the posts of wood that supported the towers. In the morning, the battle intensified. The sky was covered with smoke, the hearts trembled, the knees shuddered at the fearful sound of the trumpets, the sight of the soldiers and the cries of the people, and the wall and the two towers collapsed. When the Turks saw the new inside wall they were astonished and did not know what to do. Then they found a breach between the old and the new walls and began to go through it. Meantime, the people of the city, Papios and the bishops tried to prevent them from coming in. The breach was filled with piles of the slain of those who were inside and those who were outside.

As all the people were huddled together in the breach, and the wall remained empty (of combatants), the Turks placed ladders in position and climbed up. A certain Kurd climbed up first and began to hurl stones at the people. When they saw him, they were frightened and turned around and fled to the citadel. From that moment:

What tongue could speak, and what finger would not tremble if it tried to relate the calamity that befell Edessa on the third hour of the Sabbath, 3 of December. The Turks with rattling swords and lances entered the city to drink the blood of old men and children, of women and men, of priests and deacons, of monks and anchorites, of nuns and virgins, of children of tender years, and of bridegrooms and brides. The Assyrian pig has gained control and crushed with the foot the delicious grapes. What a painful story! The city of Abgar, the friend of Christ, was trodden because of our sins. The priests were killed and the deacons

²²³⁸ For full details of this account about Joscelin II, see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 664-667.

slaughtered, the servants (sub-deacons) mangled, the churches looted and the altars destroyed. What a calamity! Fathers deserted their own children and mothers lost compassion for their children. The sword continued to kill. Some fled to the mountain, while others gathered their children like a hen and her chicks, waiting to die or be taken captive. Some older priests carried with them coffins containing relics of saints and martyrs. When they saw this affliction, they repeated the word of the Prophet (Micah 7:9), "I will bear the indignation of the Lord because I have sinned against him." They did not escape but kept praying until they were silenced by the sword. Their bodies were found later stained with their own blood while their hands clung to the coffins of the relics of the saints.²²³⁹

Many fled to the Citadel because the Franks did not open the gate for them. Papios had ordered that the gate should not be opened until they saw his face. When he did not flee and join the first fugitives, thousands were suffocated in the crush and were heaped up at the gate. When finally Papios arrived, he could not enter in because of the piles of dead bodies on the ground. However, as he struggled to get in, he fell among the corpses and was shot to death by a Turk.

When Zangi saw the horrible sight, he ordered the killing to stop. Then, he found Metropolitan Basilius (Bar Shumanna) naked and dragged along (by the Turks) with a rope. When Zangi saw that he was an old man with shaven head, he asked who he was, and he was told that he was a metropolitan. Zangi began to scold him because he did not surrender the city. However, the metropolitan replied with courage, "Whatever happened is good and great." The amir (Zangi) said, "And how is that?" The metropolitan said, "As far as you are concerned, you ought to be proud because you have taken us by the power of the sword. As to us, it will be a point of respect when you realize that we did not violate our covenant with the Franks and that we will keep the covenant with you, especially, that God Almighty has decreed that we would become your slaves." When Zangi saw that the metropolitan was sensible and spoke with reason in the Arabic language, he was pleased and commanded that he be clothed and brought to his tent. He asked the metropolitan his counsel of rebuilding the city. A crier went out alerting those who escaped the sword to return to their homes. After two days, those who were in the Citadel were given amnesty for their lives, and they surrendered the Citadel. Those of our people (the Syrians) and the Armenians who were spared the sword, were left alive. However, whenever they (the Turks) found a Frank, they killed him.

Now it is not for someone like me to relate the history of this calamity, but for the Prophet Jeremiah and those who are like unto him. Let them call the lamenting women to sing the dirges and the mournful songs they have composed for this pitiful people.²²⁴⁰

In the year 1455 (A.D. 1144), the bishop of the diocese of Laqbin in the province of Melitene, was accused of adultery. He was ejected and excommunicated by the patriarch who ordained another bishop in his place. Shortly afterwards, this bishop whose name was Basilius, repented and appealed to the patriarch for forgiveness. The patriarch absolved him and gave him the monasteries of Zabbar. Soon afterwards, he was expelled from that place for the same reason. Again, however, the patriarch felt compassion for him and gave him the diocese of Sebarberk. Three years later, he was ejected for the same reason. However, the patriarch and some people said that he was ejected unjustly. No one knows the truth except God.

When Zangi attacked Edessa and took it by the sword, Metropolitan Basilius (Bar Shumanna) who had usurped the See of Edessa was saved from being killed. Zangi met him and respected him for his courage and speaking the Arabic language. He entrusted him with the affairs of the city in order to bring the inhabitants back to it. In this manner many people were saved, and the metropolitan occupied a distinct position (in the city) during the entire period of Zangi's reign and until he was murdered.

²²³⁹ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 268-269; The Anonymous Edessan, 149-150; Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 552-556, especially 556; Gregory the Priest in *Continuation of Matthew of Edessa*, translated by Ara Dostourian, 242-244; Cf. Otto, bishop of Freising, *The Two Cities: A Chronicle of the Universal History to the Year 1146 A.D.* Translated by Charles Christopher Mierow (New York: Octagon Books, 1966), 439-440.

²²⁴⁰ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 269-270. For a comprehensive coverage of the capture of Edessa by Imad al-Din Zangi in 1144 based on Arabic, Syriac, Armenian and Latin sources, see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 549-560.

During the first calamity of Edessa, among the people killed was the holy Basilius Bar Abbas. He was the bishop of Mardin but then abandoned it and lived in the Edessa Mountain where he was martyred. Another dignitary was Mor Yuhanon who was ordained (a bishop) for Mardin in the time of Athanasius Abu al-Faraj in the year 1436 (A.D. 1125). He was of keen mind, orthodox course and sublime characteristics. He was well versed in the Scriptures and natural sciences because of studying them. He developed a science that was known to many people, especially kings. He was successful in studying the science of survey to divert the course of rivers and tributaries from one place to the other. For this, he gained great honor by the king and all the governors of the regions of Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia) and Athor (Assyria). He was very generous to the poor and the needy.

When Zangi, lord of Mosul, captured Edessa and its people were under bondage, the metropolitan (Basilius Bar Shumanna) had compassion on them. Whenever he could, he bought many of them and delivered them from bondage. Furthermore, he travelled throughout his diocese urging its members to deliver the Christians from bondage. With such noble actions, he was exalted by everyone. He gained fame in many countries and among many people who were of conflicting faith. He also gained fame among the Muslims, and was immensely exalted by kings.

Chapter Three: On the events which took place among the kings of the earth; on the Church of the Orthodox, and on the events which took place during the calamity of Edessa

In the time when Edessa was captured, there was a certain person named Babek appointed by Zangi as governor of Nisibin. For some reason he was apprehensive that Zangi might take revenge on him, especially that, by capturing Edessa, Zangi had become very powerful. Babek feared that Zangi might march against his own country. So, he ordered that any fortresses in his country which could be defended to be demolished. He demolished the fortresses of Hour Ebar, of Tell Besme known as that of Tuma (Thomas), the fortress of Tell Shih, and the fortress of Qal'at al-Imra'a (the woman's fortress) near the Monastery of Mor Hananya (The Za'faran Monastery). They also tried to demolish Sarja in the neighborhood of Nisibin, but could not because its old construction was very firm. However, they demolished only the new construction that they had built and left the fortress empty.

In this time, there was an invincible fortress called Hattack, which did not fall into the hands of the Turks, but was in the hands of person from the clan of Marwan who had a name, power and position in Miyafarqat. However, conflict, quarrel and warfare ensued between its rulers. When Husam al-Din (Timurtash, son of Ilghazi) noticed that the Kurds had no one to support them, and that they were fighting each other, he invested (Miyafarqat) for one year and four months. Ahmad asked him for a pledge of peace, and Timurtash gave him gold, went to his country, and took the fortress (of Hattack). The Kurd regretted what he did and appealed to the lord of Amid to help him restore the fortress to him, but could not.²²⁴¹

After Edessa was seized, Kara Arslan, son of Dawud,²²⁴² who was in the company of Zangi, went forth and encamped against Tell Arsanius. He demanded that the inhabitants should surrender it. They refused because their sons were hostages in Hisn Ziyad. They did not seem to understand what had happened to the sons of Edessa when they acted obstinately while having no one to support them. They thought that they could save the remnant few not to become slaves, but eventually all of them became slaves. Indeed, the amir (Kara Arslan) was furious against them and ordered that all of them should be taken slaves. It was said that they numbered about fifteen thousand. Some of them came from the outside (other parts of the country), together with their Bishop Timothy, became slaves.²²⁴³

In this time the Franks were preparing to go forth and help Edessa, they heard that the city had been destroyed, and were immensely saddened. Then they went to Tal'ada, but the Turks surrounded them and prevented the provisions to reach them. They were distressed from hunger and fled. It was then that the people of Sarug abandoned the city and fled, and the Turks captured it.

²²⁴¹ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 270.

²²⁴² Bar Hebraeus, *Ibid.*, calls him Arslan Toghmish, son of Dawud, lord of Hisn Ziyad.

²²⁴³ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 270.

Zangi went and encamped against al-Bira, while Joscelin went to Jerusalem to recruit troops.²²⁴⁴

In Mosul, trouble was stirred up and the people brought out the young son of the sultan who was imprisoned in the city, and killed Zangi's deputy, Nasr al-Din.²²⁴⁵ When Zangi heard of this, he left al-Bira and went to Aleppo. He made peace with the Franks and al-Bira was saved from him. Then Zangi sent his captain of the host Zayn al-Din and he restored peace to Mosul. He reimprisoned the sultan's son, and Zangi regained power.

A discourse of Mor Dionysius of Amid on Edessa

Some people of hot temperament, who measure things according to their own perspective, say that, "Why is Edessa stricken with the Assyrian rod of wrath more than any other place? And why does she sit alone, sorrowful with the exclusion of other colleague cities? The Scriptures answer these people saying, "How great are you works, O Lord, how profound your thoughts!" (Psalm 92:5). Not all his works could be comprehended, but he reveals sometimes his mysteries to his servants. However, misfortunes and calamities do not come spontaneously, as heathens maintain, but as a result of becoming distant from God. Sometimes, Almighty God gives foes a free hand, and even encourages them against those who deviate from his paths and from keeping his commandments, and they spoil and pillage. Even this does not occur always because of iniquities. Quite often, the righteous suffer from the reproach of the wicked. And when he who knows everything (God) sees that they are about to move out of the boundaries of propriety, he rebukes them as a father who has compassion on his children. He does this because he does not want to see them deviate from the truth.

Sometimes, God rewards those who are his own in order that others may learn a lesson and say, "If the sons have suffered so much from simple things, how much more the impudent who are always inclined to evil suffer? And what punishment would they deserve, and what blow is about to strike them? It is very difficult to comprehend such designs. There is no one amongst us who can fathom the depth and reveal the mysteries in order that he may explain for us the reason for which Edessa has suffered and was destroyed without mercy. It is our duty to investigate the Holy Scriptures to find the different reasons that lead to the devastation of cities and the spoiling of countries. At this point, we should stop searching these matters."

This what Dionysius had written when he was a deacon in Melitene. Then he penned a book on Divine Providence, and composed two odes in the twelve meters about the calamity of Edessa. He also wrote two *memres* (odes) according to the melody of Mor Jacob (of Edessa). In addition, Basilius (Bar Shumanna), bishop of Edessa, composed three lengthy odes in the twelve meters because he was present in the city during the two times (of its devastation). He wrote at length as an eyewitness. He who wishes, let him read these five odes. *This narrative is ended with the other one beyond. This colophon is written in Arabic script in red ink.*

In this period, conflict was stirred up in our church concerning the question whether these temptations, woes and painful events happened by the will of God or not. Such questioning was generated by Mor Yuhanna (John), bishop of Mardin, who had attained a great fame in all quarters, especially among the Orthodox. He preached that he was one of the remnants of the blessed Orthodox people. However, since he received no education in his childhood, he tried, in his old age, to delve into the divine treasures that were buried in the books in order to enrich himself. He maintained that it was inappropriate to ascribe calamities and disciplinary matters to God. He said this in answer to those who maintained such opinion. He discussed this subject with Timothy, bishop of Gargar, and the solitary Abu Ghalib, who could not convince him of this idea despite that they engaged in heated argument. Thus, the subject was closed.

²²⁴⁴ Röhrich, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem*, 236.

²²⁴⁵ He is Nasir al-Din Chaqar. See Imad al-Din al-Isfahani, *Tawarikh Al Seljuk*, abridged by al-Fath ibn Ali al-Bundari, edited by M. Th. Houtsma (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1899), 205; Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil al-Tawarikh*, 446 and by the same author, *al-Tarikh al-Bahir*, 71, Abu Shama, *Kitab al-Rawdatayn fi Akhbar al-Dawlatayn* 1 (Cairo, 1870-1871), 41; Ibn Wasil, *Mufarrij al-Kurub*, 1: 95-96; and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 561.

After Edessa was afflicted with this calamitous blow, the Christians began to murmur asking, "Why did God permit the priests and holy solitaires to be killed, and virgins violated, etc." It was then that Mor Yuhanon began to write a discourse saying, "It is not from God the order was issued that the Turks will capture Edessa and Tell Arsanius, or that he allowed such merciless atrocities to take place. Now if the forces of the Franks had arrived in time, Zangi would have never been able to capture them." Yuhanon composed a lengthy discourse containing quotations from books and natural testimonies to support his idea. However, he did not quote the verses of the Holy Scriptures in their correct connotation. He interpreted the words of the Lord, spoken by the Prophet, "I take no pleasure in the death of the wicked;" (Ezekiel 33:11) to mean that the sinner does not die by (God) leaving him to his own devices.

Chapter Four: On the assassination of Zangi, and other events which took place in this period

When, in the year 1457 (A.D. 1146), the Franks realized that they had become very weak, Bedawi (Baldwin), lord of Antioch, went to see King (Emperor) Manuel of the Greeks in Constantinople. He asked his forgiveness for the sin he committed against his father, especially that he heard that his father had instructed him to take revenge of the Franks. For his obeisance, Manuel honored Baldwin and offered him generous gifts of money and other objects if he should assist the Christians; and he was sent back to his city.

Zangi (Imad al-Din) came to Edessa and spent two days encouraging the Syrians in it. With all his might, he showed compassion toward the Christians of the city. When he went to Qal'at Ja'bar (the fortress of Ja'bar) situated on the Euphrates, he was overtaken by the wrath of God and his incomprehensible judgments. One of his leading military men betrayed him and connived with two eunuchs of his private guards. When Zangi was greatly intoxicated by wine and fell asleep, the two eunuchs jumped out and killed him on Sunday night September 15, (1146), and his life ended in this manner.²²⁴⁶

Zangi ruled Mosul and other regions for nineteen years including one year and ten months in Edessa. One of his assassins fled to Qal'at Ja'bar and was safe; the other assassin fled to Callinicus (al-Raqqa). Zangi's army was scattered, and each of his sons went into different directions. Mahmud, called Nur al-Din, reigned in Aleppo, and Ghazi Sayf al-Din ruled Mosul. Meantime, things became chaotic, and the Turkish robbers spread throughout Zangi's domain plundering everything without mercy. In this time, the Monastery of Qartmin (Mor Gabriel Monastery) was pillaged and four of its monks killed. Kara Arslan, lord of Hisn Kipha, attacked the region of Tur Abdin, which at one time was owned by his father and then captured by Zangi. Later, Kara Arslan took it back from Zangi after many people were killed. In Mosul, some people endeavored to have the son of the sultan who was imprisoned in it, to become its ruler, but were opposed by Zayn al-Din (Chaqar, Zangi's deputy) who fought them, defeated them and killed a great number of them. He sent back the son of the sultan to prison and made Zangi's son Ghazi Sayf al-Din the ruler of Mosul.²²⁴⁷ *End of the narrative.*

On Thursday of Konon, 1456 (A.D. 1145), in the month in which Edessa was captured (Edessa was captured on September 15, 1144), fire broke out in the Monastery of Qarrit in the region of Kharshamna, and destroyed everything. In addition, one of its old monks was consumed by fire but the rest of the monks were safe.

On that day, a village was burned down in the country of Mar'ash.

On Friday of that month, fire broke out in the Monastery of Mor Barsoum and consumed three cells (rooms) only, while the rest were safe.

²²⁴⁶ According to The Anonymous Edessan, 163, Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 271, says that the two eunuchs brought a bowl made of gold to Zangi for inspection. As he was inspecting it, one of them smote him with the sword and cut off his head. Zangi was assassinated on Saturday night of September 14. For other sources of Zangi's assassination, see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 564-565.

²²⁴⁷ See Imad al-Din al-Isfahani, *Tawarikh Al Seljuk*, 209; Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil al-Tawarikh*, 455-456; and by the same author, *al-Tarikh al-Bahir*, 76; Ibn Wasil, *Mufarrij al-Kurub*, 109-110; The Anonymous Edessan, 164; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 271-273; Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, trans. H. A. R. Gibb, 272-275; William of Tyre, 2:147-148; Abu Shama, *Kitab al-Rawdatayn*, 1:46-50; Marshall W. Baldwin, "The Latin States Under Baldwin III and Amalric I, 1143-1177, in Baldwin. ed. *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. 1, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 531; and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 566.

At the beginning of May, and exactly at the eleventh hour in the evening, a comet was seen pointing southward, and remained thus for seven days. Then it was seen in the west for seven more days.

On May 24, which is the Festival of the Ascension, a violent earthquake took place.

In this time, the Frank Baldwin, lord of Kesum, began to build its wall with stone and lime instead of bricks and clay. He heavily hardened the yoke on the Christians that he even made some priests his slaves. However, he was killed having finished only half of the wall, and the work was suspended. *This narrative is ended by the help of God, the creator of all, on Wednesday of Passion Week 12 of the blessed April. I beg anyone who reads it to pray for me.*²²⁴⁸ This colophon s written in Arabic script in red ink

When the letter of Yuhanon, bishop of Mardin, which contained absolute denial that the destruction of Edessa was done by the will of God, was made known, he was answered by Iyawannis, bishop of Kesum and Bar Andrew. Each one of them composed a discourse refuting the metropolitan of Mardin. When the discourse of the metropolitan of Mardin reached Melitene, it was substantiated by the presbyter Saliba surnamed Qarija, a prominent man of letters in his time. Saliba maintained that the idea of Mor Yuhanon, who relied on the books of trustworthy fathers, is correct. Nevertheless, some did criticize the contents of Yuhanon's discourse and those who refuted him. Saliba said that, "By completely denying that misfortunes that afflict the righteous have nothing to do with the will of God, Mor Yuhanon, has in fact, denied the power of God's providence in everything. Others, by insisting that all misfortunes and woes take place by the will of God, have actually negated God's mercy and care for man. Therefore, we should understand that 'will' has different connotations. It could be understood in the form of command, or the form of permission. This, however, requires more evidence based on the testimonies of the fathers in order to reveal the truth. Since our primary objective in this book is not to tackle such matters, but only to explain what took place in every generation, we do not want to confuse the reader as he moves from one event to the other. We advise anyone who desires to know the truth of this matter, to read the book of Dionysius Jacob Bar Salibi (d. 1172), metropolitan of Amid, who compiled it from the books of proficient fathers. He presented in it these matters in a lucid and correct form according to the ideas of the holy fathers.

Chapter Five: on the second devastation of Edessa, and other matters

When in the year 1458 (A.D. 1147), the Franks heard that Zangi (Imad al-Din) was assassinated, Joscelin II, and Baldwin, lord of Kesum, marched against Edessa in November. At night, the men climbed the ladders to the two towers assisted by the Armenian guards and the Turks fled to the Citadel. In the morning, the water gates were opened and Joscelin entered in. The Turks sent messengers to Aleppo and Mosul for help. The Franks entered in on Monday, October 26. They remained for six days thinking of how to attack the Citadel. However, the Turks gathered from every direction like locusts. When the Franks saw them they were gripped with fear thinking that the Lord has deserted them, and they were given over to a depraved mind.²²⁴⁹ They gathered the entire inhabitants of the city (Edessa) and forced them to join them thinking that they could escape the hands of the huge crowds of the Turks who encircled them. However, they did not realize that while they were inside the wall, they could not fight them, and how much more if they met them on the plain? Nevertheless, their hearts were hardened like the heart of Pharaoh. They dragged the unarmed people (out of their homes) and left at the second hour of the night to build fires in the square (of the city). The people began to cry and envy those who died during the first calamity (of Edessa) because they saw how the fire the Franks kindled was consuming their homes and possessions, while the sword of the Turks was drawn against them. When the people reached the gate of the city, they and the Frankish soldiers began to press against each other. Many people and beasts were killed in a greater number than those who were killed during the first calamity. Those who sought refuge in the churches or in other places, or those who could not move because of old age, sickness or other reason, the Turks

²²⁴⁸ This colophon is written in Arabic and in red ink.

²²⁴⁹ Romans 1:28.

descended upon from the Citadel and killed them without mercy. Those who escaped suffocation in the crowd and left with the Franks, the Turks showered them with lances and arrows.²²⁵⁰

O cloud of wrath, the day void of mercy, and the heavy and multiple afflictions of the sons of Edessa. O night of death and the morn of hell and the day of desolation that stunned the sons of the wretched city. Who can speak or hear of what happened without shedding tears? The mother and her nursing child whom she carried on her shoulder were struck together by one arrow, and no one could repel it. The hooves of the persecutors' horses tread upon them unexpectedly. They were squeezed in the press of wrath. Arrows fell upon them at night like rain, and in the morning, it was even denser because of the number of arrows and lances that massacred them while they walked through the path of blood. The Frankish cavalry escaped because they could not defend the people, and their infantry took refuge in a nearby abandoned fortress. The earth cried out because of the enormity of the calamity that befell the Christians. The corpses of priests, deacons, monks, dignitaries, and poor people were piled up. Those who died were luckier than those who remained alive. Those who were still alive suffered incredible torment. They fell into the midst of the fire of the Turks' wrath. The Turks made them take off their clothes and shoes. They tied their hands behind them, beating them and forcing them, men and women, to walk naked alongside their horses. The Turks flayed the bellies of those who fell because of fatigue and torture, then left them dead to stink and become food for birds of prey. The air was foul with the stench of corpses and Athor (north Iraq) was crowded with captives.²²⁵¹

Most of the Frankish horsemen were killed. Baldwin, lord of Kesum, was killed and his body could not be found. The wicked Joscelin fled to Samosata. In addition, Metropolitan Basilius (Bar Shumanna) fled. The governor of the Armenians and many with him together with a few Franks were seized and reached the ruined fortress called Kawkab. There they defended themselves against the Turks who pursued them. However, as the night approached, the Turks turned round to the nearby place where treasures of gold and similar things were stored for years in the afflicted city, to loot. Their owners carried them and departed, but because of the sword drawn over their heads, they abandoned everything. After the Turks retreated, those who were in the ruined fortress sneaked out at night and fled to Samosata for safety.

In the two calamities of Edessa in (1144 and 1146), some thirty thousands were killed and sixteen thousands were taken captive. Only one thousand men made it to safety. No women or children were saved. Some were killed, and others were scattered through many countries. Desolate Edessa, was like an example of horror. It was clothed in black and intoxicated with blood. It was filled with the stench of the corpses of its sons and daughters who were left to predators. It became the abode of Jackals, and no one entered it except those who searched for its treasures. Its enemies, the people of Harran and others, ransacked its churches and the homes of its leading citizens. They gloated over its destruction shouting, "Bravo, bravo! Our eyes have seen it."²²⁵²

²²⁵⁰ See The Anonymous Edessan, 172-174; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 273; Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dmashq*, 288; trans. Gibb, 275; Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil al-Tawarikh*, 475; Ibn Wasil, *Muffarij al-Kurub*, 110-111; William of Tyre, *History*, 2:160-161; William of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, ed. and trans. Richard Howlett as *Chronicle of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, 1 (London: Kraus, 1964), 58-59; Gregory the Priest in *Continuation of Matthew of Edessa*, 244-275; and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 566-572.

²²⁵¹ See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 273-274 with some difference; Aliyya Abd al-Sami' al-Janzuri, *Imarat al-Ruba al-Salibiyya* (Cairo, 1975), 384-385 who gives an Arabic translation of this passage, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 571-572.

²²⁵² Several contemporary Muslim writers justify the atrocities Nur al-Din Zangi and his Turkish men had done to Edessa. See Hasan Habashi, *Nur al-Din wa al-Salibiyyun* (Cairo: Dar al-Fikr al-Arabi, 1948), 74-76; Husayn Mu'nis, *Nur al-Din Mahmud: Sirat Mujahid Sadiq* (Cairo, 205; Sa'id Abd al-Fattah Ashur, *al-Haraka al-Salibiyya: Safha Mushriqa fi Tarikh al-Jihad al-Arabi fi al-Usur al-Wusta*, 1 (Cairo: Maktabat al-Anglo-Misriyya, 1963), 613-614. Aliyya al-Janzuri, *Imarat al-Ruba al-Salibiyya*, 359-371, seems to be more moderate and objective than the above mentioned Muslim writers.

Word of exhortation written by the venerable Dionysius, metropolitan of Amid, concerning the devastation of Edessa

Annihilation and extinction were decreed for her (Edessa). The outsiders did not start it but the Christians did it first. I wonder what the inquisitives would say. Who began this chastisement and what were its reasons? If they claim that its source is the Lord, we say that this is not possible because he does not wish to destroy his created beings. In fact, the enemies are the ones who started to plunder, kill, violate the virgins and did other things. And if they say that the enemies vanquished them without the intervention or the support of the Lord, we say that this is profanity. For the Lord does not neglect his servants. However, he permits that we become defeated by our outward and inward enemies if we stray from his paths. Here, we should contemplate the blow as a reprimand, and that punishment is issued according to the enormity of the straying. We should not forget, however, that we are responsible for everything that happens to us whether good or bad. If we desire good and work for it, the Lord will help us to achieve it. However, if we turn to evil by our own will, Satan is the one who encourages us to achieve it. The Lord himself allows temptations to afflict us because of our aberration. This is what happened to the people of Edessa whose end has become worse than their first.²²⁵³ For a second time an awful calamity afflicted them and fear which the tongue cannot describe.

Therefore, you people, do not believe that these calamities happen by the mere sins of a certain people, but because of the multitude of sins committed everywhere and in every town. Let those who have not yet comprehended the chastisement of the Creator, learn a lesson from Achor who alone sinned, but the chastisement extended to all Israel.²²⁵⁴ In addition, because of the iniquities of the sons of Eli, calamity extended to all Israel.²²⁵⁵ If those who have sinned are few but the punishment extended to the entire people, how much more they will be punished in our own wicked time in which the entire people have aberrated from justice, and are immersed in abominations, and have deserted chastity and cherished wickedness? Do not some people and countries deserve chastisement because of their common sins, which are more than the hair of their heads?

Let us then, brothers, fear God and cast away gluttony and the bonds of sin. Let us understand ourselves and do not put all our intention on them lest the wrath, from which there is no escape, overtake us if we fall on our backs and wallow in the mire of sin. This should be sufficient for the time being.

Commemoration of the Rabban (monk, teacher) and solitary Tuma (Thomas), and of the Bishop Abda

The holy solitary Rabban Tuma and his teacher, the blessed Bishop (Abda), lived in this time in the Mountain of Zabar. We desire to include their life-stories in the middle of the table of the chief priests of the church. We say that this Rabban Tuma was from a fortress called Hisn Shamrin in the district of Sawad in the neighborhood of Melitene. When famine intensified in the time of Buzan the Turk, young Tuma came to the Monastery of Zabar to be with his uncle who was a monk. When he observed the life style of the holy monk, he desired to imitate it forgetting his parents and his kin. At this time, there were in the monastery venerable men, one of whom was Mor Abda Iyawannis, bishop of Kharshana. Abda was a venerable old man, who, since childhood, attained excellent conduct, studied under pious men and was educated by them. Thus, he cherished the strict solitary life until his old age. Then, he advanced to the dignity of the episcopate after vehement insistence and pressure by the Holy Spirit at the hands of the Patriarch Mor Yuhanon Abdun. However, shortly afterwards, he handed with tears the diocese over to the patriarch, and the patriarch ordained another bishop for it. As to Abda, he retreated to a solitary life. When he saw Tuma and contemplated him carefully with the eye of the Spirit, he encouraged him and fired within him his holy desire. Tuma became his disciple and surrendered to the yoke of the monastic order. He abandoned contact with people and retreated to a distant hamlet, which he built for himself. The holy

²²⁵³ Cf. Luke 11:26.

²²⁵⁴ Joshua Chapter 7.

²²⁵⁵ See 1 Samuel, Chapter 4.

Bishop (Abda) frequently visited him and taught him the Psalms and the practices of monasticism. Then the devils began to fight him, and the holy bishop encouraged him to confront them like the fertile earth, which receives the good seeds that yield good fruits, that is, the characters that please God. After serving his venerable master (the bishop) until he departed this life, Rabban Tuma continued living in the same place for sixty-four years. In the summer, he went up the mountain, took care of the grape vines, and made raisins out of their fruits. By doing this, he gained two spiritual things: first, his monastic life flourished more because he did not eat from their fruits; second, he bartered some of their yield with wheat in order to satisfy his bodily needs without becoming a burden to anyone. In the winter, he made for himself a protected place at the foot of the mountain.

This old man, (Rabban Tuma), attained a high degree of perfection. The Lord granted him the power to heal the sick people who sought him with faith, and to reveal veritable epiphanies. I Michael, (Michael Rabo), heard personally the testimonies of two bishops, who are my uncle Athanasius, metropolitan of Anazarab ('Ayn Zarba), and Mor Iyawannis, bishop of Kesum, who testified that, when Zangi came to capture Edessa, Rabban Tuma said that, "God has delivered Edessa to the hands of the Turks." The metropolitans said to him, "Rabban, have compassion for us and do not say such a thing." However, the Rabban repeated the same words and said, "Verily, verily, O metropolitans, the Lord has delivered Edessa and many Christian people will perish." And when Edessa was captured the first time, I (Michael) heard from the mouth of my uncle the metropolitan say to the crowd that, "Rabban Tuma said to me that after two years Edessa will drink a cup more bitter than the first, and the Monastery of Mor Barsoum and other monasteries of Zabar will be pillaged." Those present said to him, "What then remains of Edessa?" He said, "I don't know." This is what Rabban Tuma said, and this is what I heard from the metropolitan. In addition, when this (the calamity of Edessa) took place, whatever Rabban Tuma said was, to many, the truth. All the revelations he saw and the healings performed by him are from God. Old Tuma was martyred by the sword when the Turks entered into the Monastery of Zabar on Wednesday, November 27, which was the festival day of Mor Jacob. May his memory be a blessing and may his prayer be with us. Amen.

Chapter Six: On the coming forth of a great number of people from the West after receiving the deplorable news about Edessa; and the diffusion of a satanic cult among the Greeks; and some church events which took place in this period

In the year 1458 (A.D. 1147), Timurtash, lord of Mardin, marched against Dara and seized it, while Ghazi, son of Zangi, invaded the region of Mardin. The two men prepared for battle and determined that the city would be the portion of who wins. Some of their judges interceded between the two men, and the lord of Mosul gave back what he had plundered and took the city (Mosul). Then, the Turks gained strength and marched against the countries of the Franks from every direction. Kilij Arslan, son of Sultan Mas'ud, marched against Mar'ash via Jihan and spoiled it. The Turks advanced to the region of Kesum, and Rynald who ruled Kesum after the murder of his brother Baldwin, went out to receive them. Meantime, Manuel, king of the Greeks, went out to challenge Sultan Mas'ud, but the sultan called the Turkish amirs and their armies from Baghdad, Khurasan, and the rest of the countries. When the two camps were about to engage in battle, the sound of the Franks scared both of them and they signed peace. The king of the Greeks returned to his country to protect it, and the sultan returned to his country.

An account (about the Second Crusade)

When the kings of Italy learned about the lamentable calamity that befell Edessa, innumerable people including two kings and a great number of Counts rushed forth (to the East). The King of the Aleman (Allemagne)(Conrad III of Germany) had with him nine hundred thousand men, and the King of France (Louis VII) had with him five hundred thousand, and many other people of different tongues. The king (emperor) of the Greeks was scared that, in case they crossed the sea and established themselves, they

might put an end to the Greek kingdom. He connived with the Turks and delayed the Franks for two years using different stratagems.

In the year 1459 (A.D. 1148), they (the German and French kings) marched against Constantinople to devastate it. Then, the king (emperor) of the Greeks (Manuel I Comnenus) offered them gold and swore to them by the Cross and the Holy Eucharist that he would guide them to the way (to the East) without deception. They believed him and signed peace with him, but he reneged on his oath and sent them deceitful guides who mislead them and guided them through very rugged mountains. After five days of marching without water, the guides abandoned them to be tormented, and many of them died from hunger and thirst. When they (the Franks) realized that they were deceived, they turned against the Greeks with wrath. When the Turks saw that the Franks were in total confusion, they attacked many groups of them who were wandering aimlessly and killed them by the sword. They killed so many of them until they became tired and could kill no more. The countries of the Turks were filled with the garments of the Franks, with silver until the price of silver in Melitene became the same as that of lead, and were shipped to Persia.

The Greeks mixed lime with wheat and sold it to those who returned to the seacoast (of Pontus). Upon eating it, they dropped dead, amassed in piles.²²⁵⁶ To decimate an innumerable people without fight for a mere wicked treachery is something that provokes astonishment and deserves to be recorded for future generations. When they came back with fury, the Franks seized one fortress of the Greeks and killed everyone in it.

The king of Rome fell sick and died. The German king and three judges (Counts) reached Jerusalem but were also betrayed in that city. While they made an alliance with the king and the Franks in Jerusalem, and marched together against Damascus, the citizens of Damascus sent a dispatch secretly to the king of Jerusalem telling him, "Don't be deceived by this mighty king. If he ruled, he will never let you control the city. We are better to you than these three. Accept our money and send these men to the sea in order that your kingdom will remain for you." They promised to give him two hundred thousand dinars and to the lord Tiberias one hundred thousand dinars. They took the money and returned to Jerusalem. However, when they examined it, they found that it was copper plated with gold, and they were disappointed.²²⁵⁷ When the king of the Germans realized that he was deceived by the Greeks and the Franks, he returned to his own country dejected. To such end were met those who went forth to avenge Edessa without the command of God.²²⁵⁸

After Edessa was totally destroyed, its Bishop Basilius (Bar Shumanna) went to Samosata. Some men from Edessa betrayed him to Joscelin II because he was plotting with the Turks. They told Joscelin "He (Basilius) cherishes the rule of the Turks. In case he felt oppressed by you, he will go back to them. Therefore, it is imperative that he should die." Joscelin arrested Basilius and imprisoned him in the fortress of Romaitha (The Roman Fortress) alongside Muslim captives where he remained for three years. Basilius wrote discourses about these events. He also refuted those who claimed that our Lord's blessing of King Abgar had been invalidated. After leaving prison, he went about collecting charity to ransom his own people who had been taken captive by the Turks. He went to Antioch and then Jerusalem, where King (Baldwin III) and the Frankish (Latin) patriarch welcomed him. Next, he traveled to Mosul, where he met Zayn al-Din, who was administering the affairs of the state with Zangi's son. They honored him and appropriated a stipend for his living expenses. Shortly afterwards, he went to Amid to see Patriarch Athanasius (Bar Qatra) who assigned him the diocese of Sebaferk and the northern region, then under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan of Edessa. (Basilius Bar Shumanna died in 1169).²²⁵⁹

²²⁵⁶ See the Greek Chronicler Niketas Choniates, *Annals of Niketas Choniates*. Translated by Harry J. Magouilas as *O City of Byzantium* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984), 39; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 274; and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 625.

²²⁵⁷ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 274, says that he had read through five different Arabic manuscripts but not found this story in them. It is only the blessed Mor Mikha'il (Michael Rabo) who had recorded it in writing.

²²⁵⁸ There seems to be no evidence that the Byzantines actually betrayed the Crusaders, although some sources say that the emperor minted debased money and offered it to the Italian soldiers to pay for their needs. See Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 626, and the different sources he quotes in footnote 35.

²²⁵⁹ See Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, the biography of Athanasius Yeshu Bar Qatra, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 664.

On January 25, a comet was seen in the sky pointing westward.

On February 15, another comet was seen in the east and remained for five days. There was no rain and water springs dried up.

In this year, a servant maid in Constantinople gave birth to a child with eyes, mouth, teeth and a tail in his rump, something contrary to nature.

In this year emerged a repugnant heresy in Constantinople whose partisans were called Pogolimos. It was adopted by many monks and lay people and even by their patriarch (of Constantinople) who was deposed and another patriarch replaced him. Then, the new patriarch was found to be of the same heresy. The partisans of this heresy maintained that Christ was an ordinary and simple man and that the constancy of this world was in the hands of demons, and that the demons explained to them the mysteries and promised them wealth and power. They had an aversion to the adoration of the cross. As to the Chalcedonians, the saying of the divine Prophet (Paul) is fulfilled in them, "Although they claimed to be wise, they became fools."²²⁶⁰ They have deviated from the truth and fell into the mud pit of Nestorius. They exchanged truth with iniquity to dupe the simple and thus they were neglected by God and fumbled in their error. The city of Constantine that triumphed over demons became a stage of the worship of demons. This error spread to the extent that even their leader fell into the pit. The words of the Prophet Isaiah are fulfilled in them who said, "From the sole of your foot to the top of your head there is no soundness."²²⁶¹

Chapter Seven: The story of Edessa by its Metropolitan Basilius (Bar Shumanna)

After the Flood that took place in the time of Noah, King Nimrod, one of the sons of Canaan built Urhoi (Orhoi) and called it Ur that is a town in which the Chaldeans dwelt. The Chaldeans added to it the word "hoi" to give the connotation that it was the town of the Chaldeans just as we say Ur Salem (Jerusalem), to mean the city of peace. Urhoi flourished for a long time and then was ruined.

Jacob of Edessa (d. 708) on the destruction (of Edessa)

Jacob said that we did not find the name of the person who destroyed it. However, it is thought that it was destroyed in the time of Sennacherib who marched against Jerusalem and Urhoi became desolate until the time of Alexander. His Macedonian companions rebuilt it and called Edessa, that is, "the Beloved" after the name of their own city in Macedonia. For this reason, they added unto it the name of Sodomacedonos. (This term is most likely Soromacedonos, meaning the Syrian Macedonia). Accordingly, it followed the calendar that began with Seleucus Nicator because it was built in his time. Three hundred years later, it was ruled by Abgar, son of Ma'no who believed in Christ. After Abgar and his sons, Edessa was subject to the Roman emperors who were still heathens worshipping idols. It remained under their authority for three hundred more years. During this period were martyred the victorious Confessors Shamuna, Guria, Habib, Cosmas, and Damian.²²⁶² In the time of Constantine (the Great), Christianity flourished in it and magnificent churches were built in it. When Julian the heathen (Julian the Apostate 361-363) reigned, he could not dominate it nor could Valens the heretic (364-378). Afterwards, the Christians enjoyed peace until the time of Marcian the heretic (450-457). When the persecution intensified in the time of Justin and his successors, and the Arabs emerged in the time of Heraclius (610-641), Edessa was under Arab rule from the time of Umar ibn al-Khattab (644-654) until the rise of the Turks, that is, after four hundred years. Under the Tayoye (Arabs), its strong wall, which was built in the time of Seleucus and praised by St. Ephraim (d. 373), was destroyed.

The reason of the destruction of its wall was as follows. When Mansur Dawaniqui²²⁶³ brought Edessa under his control, he built a palace in al-Raqqa. He demanded from the Edessans small, marble columns of

²²⁶⁰ Romans 1:22.

²²⁶¹ Isaiah 1:6.

²²⁶² For the martyrdom of Habib, Guria and Shamuna see *Ancient Syriac Documents*, translated and annotated by William Cureton (London, 1864, reprinted Amsterdam: Oriental Press, 1967), 72-96 covering Habib and 96-106 covering Shamuna and Guria.

²²⁶³ The Abbasid Caliph Abu Ja'far al-Mansur (754-775). He was called Dawaniqui because he loved and collected the ancient coin

the Great Church. They refused and he became angry. They, in turn, rebelled against him. He invested the city and destroyed the church of Mor Sergius. However, some treacherous men went out to meet Mansur secretly and pledged to surrender the city to him if he swore not to do harm to anyone. He pledged not to kill, take captives, change anything, or take anything except a white horse and kill it as a sign of revenge. However, they did not understand what he meant by a white horse until he entered the city and brought it under his control. He explained to them that what he meant by the horse was the wall of the city. Therefore, he destroyed that miraculous wall and left nothing of it except one fortress through which ran the waters to operate the mills. Forty years later in the time of al-Ma'mun (d. 833), it was rebuilt by the old man Abu Shaykh Gondia (al-Kindi) who rebelled against the Caliph al-Ma'mun. Afterwards, the Greeks controlled the city. This was done through a man named Salmon who deceived the amir (governor) and delivered the upper citadel, where guards were stationed by an Armenian named Manig. When the Arabs who were in it carried their children to flee, the Christians also carried their children to leave with them because they had an affinity with them concerning language and writing. They also had an aversion toward the Greeks because of their heresy and wickedness. After the Tayoye (Arabs) and the Christians left the city, a certain Tayoye (Arab) cast fire and burned down the houses and the churches. The city remained in the hands of the Greeks but was desolate of people. However, few people (Christians) returned to it but the rest were scattered and reached Takrit.

Shortly afterwards, a God fearing prefect from the kingdom of the Greeks named Abu Kan'ab, arose in Edessa. He requested the Patriarch Mor Dionysius to ordain Athanasius Yeshu, the archimandrite of the Monastery of Mor Abhai also called the Monastery of the Ladders, as metropolitan for Edessa. He did and the city flourished under him because of the support of the prefect. In fact, he gathered many people from all directions and brought them to the city. The metropolitan went to Armenia where the Euphrates streamed out, and brought wood and built the two churches of the Mother of God and of Mor Theodore. Then, Philaretus ruled the city.²²⁶⁴

At this time, the Turks gained strength. Philaretus went to the sultan of Khurasan and *hagar* (converted) to Islam. When the people of Edessa learned that he had *hagar* (become a Muslim) at the hands of the sultan of Khurasan, they killed the governor of the city named Pargimas. Then it was ruled by (Mujahid al-Din) Buzan.²²⁶⁵ When Tutush killed Buzan, the city was ruled by the *curopalates* (Guardian of the Palace) Thoros, son of Hetum, for two years in the time of the Metropolitan Athanasius Bar Ishai (Jesse).²²⁶⁶ When Thoros realized that could not protect it, he delivered it to the Franks. The first Frank to govern it was Count Baldwin who killed the son of Hetum. When his brother, Godfrey, king of Jerusalem died, he went to Jerusalem and became king in his place. In Edessa, ruled another Baldwin (Le Bourg), nephew of the first Baldwin. When Baldwin was dying, he commanded that his nephew Baldwin (Le Bourg) be set up as king in his place. Edessa was given to the mighty Joscelin. After his death, he was succeeded by his son Joscelin II, from whom Zangi (Imad al-Din) captured Edessa. After the assassination of Zangi in 1458 (A.D. 1147), it was totally ruined.²²⁶⁷

of dawaniq. For dawaniq see Hans Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, ed. J. Milton Cowan (Cornell University Press, 1961), 269.

²²⁶⁴ For Philaretus' career and his control of Edessa, see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 89-94, 162, 344, 364, and 487.

²²⁶⁵ Mujahid al-Din Buzan was captain of the host of the Seljuk Sultan Malik Shah. See *Matthew of Edessa*, translated Ara Edmond Doustorian (University Press of America, 1993), 154; The Anonymous Edessan, 66-67; and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 327-328.

²²⁶⁶ Tutush, brother of Malik Shah, had Buzan beheaded in 1094 for his support of his nephew Berkyaruk and appointed Thoros as Edessa's ruler. See Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, ed. H. F. Amedroz (1908), 127; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Tarikh al-Bahir*, 15; Ibn Wasil, *Mufarrij al-Kurub*, 1, 27; *Matthew of Edessa*, 154-155; and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 327-328. Tutush was finally killed by the men of Berkyaruk, son of Malik Shah. See *Matthew of Edessa*, 161-162.

²²⁶⁷ The author has condensed a myriad of events in this short passage. For a full coverage of the two Baldwins as lords of Edessa and then King of Jerusalem, see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, entire Chapter 10, pp. 299-340, Chapter 13, pp. 462-476, Chapter 14, pp. 477-531, Chapter 15, pp. 533-566, and the numerous different sources used.

Chapter Eight: On the period in which the Armenian Thoros ruled Cilicia; the different events which took place in the world; and on the Church of God

When Iwani (John), king (emperor) of the Greeks, seized Leon the Armenian and brought him to Constantinople, as has been discussed earlier, Cilicia was divided. Some parts of it remained under the authority of the Greeks, and some under the Turks. After the death of Iwani and of Leon in Constantinople, one of Leon's sons, Thoros,²²⁶⁸ managed to flee. Because he had no possessions, he left Constantinople secretly on foot and went to Mor Athanasius, metropolitan of the region whom he trusted since the time of his father. Therefore, he asked him to pray to God in order to restore to him the land of his forefathers. The holy metropolitan blessed him with tears and gave him the price of a horse. When he acquired a mount, twelve (Armenian) men followed him, and they went to the Fortress of Amuda (Pillar). When the men inside the fortress saw that he was the son of their master, they seized the Greeks who were in it and delivered the fortress to Thoros. When this matter became known, fear fell upon the Greeks and the Turks. Within a short time, Thoros captured many regions, and a great number of Armenians and Franks joined him.²²⁶⁹ When Thoros went to Ra'ban to ask its lord Simon, the Frank, the hand of his daughter to wife, the Turks, on that very day spoiled the region. Thoros challenged them and killed about three thousand of them. He released the captives, saved the whole country and won great honor. When he returned to Cilicia, the Greeks and the Turks abandoned the cities and fled before him. Therefore, he ruled Anazarba and the rest of the cities of Cilicia.

In the year 1459 (A.D. 1148), when Thoros gained control, Nur al-Din (Zangi) attacked the country of Antioch much to Joscelin's joy, who resented Bedawi (Raymond I of Poitiers), lord of Antioch, because he did not come to his aid during the calamity of Edessa. When Nur al-Din lord of Aleppo, learned of this matter, he became very happy and send messengers to Joscelin to sign peace with him. Joscelin and Nur al-Din met in a place between Aleppo and Azaz and swore an oath confirming their peace agreement. Then the Franks mingled with the Turks, drank, and dined with joy, but this became a reason for their fall.

In this year, the king of the Island of Sicily (Roger) was angry with the king (emperor) of the Greeks because he treacherously annihilated the Franks. He fought against the city of Thebes, destroyed it and killed the Greeks, and captured Adrianople and Philippopolis. Manuel, king of the Greeks, went forth to take revenge of the Romans. When he besieged one of the fortresses, the king of Sicily sent a great number of soldiers on board ships and played havoc with the Greeks until they reached Constantinople. They advanced to the palace (fortress) overlooking the sea and showered it with arrows. The king of the Greeks abandoned the fortress and retreated. However, the Franks and the Greeks met face to face and a ferocious battle took place on the sea. Many soldiers of both sides perished. Finally, the Franks returned to their own country, and the Greeks and their king (emperor) returned to Constantinople.

In the year 1459 (1148), there was a drought. Waters of the springs decreased and people were in distress, and many places were ruined and became desolate. In the following year until the middle of December, rain never fell and autumn looked like summer. Because of thirst, people, animals and birds were in a great distress. Then, the Lord had compassion and rain began to fall and watered the earth. The winter was pleasant and fruitful like the spring.

In this year (1148), the Patriarch Mor Athanasius, made Amid a patriarchal center and sat there. However, Yuhanon (John) Bar Andrew changed his diocese illegally and in a disorderly manner. Prior to this, the patriarch and the bishops were assembled in Tell Bashir to solve the conflict between Bar Andrew and Timothy, bishop of Kharshana, who also came to Tell Bashir. After a lengthy discussion between the two, they exchanged their dioceses. Bar Andrew took Kharshana, Timothy took Tell Bashir, and the patriarch returned to Amid. Then, Bar Andrew quarreled with Philaretus, an Armenian by race, and a Frank by characteristics and a Greek by heretical ideas. Bar Andrew was obliged to abandon the diocese of Kharshana. He went to a monastery of solitary monks on the Euphrates to become a solitary (monk). Meantime, the metropolitan of Kharshana returned to his former position (office). *End of the narrative.*

²²⁶⁸ He is Thoros II, the fifth ruler from the Roupenid dynasty.

²²⁶⁹ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 275.

Chapter Nine: The plundering of the Monastery of our lord Mor Barsoum in the year 1459 (A.D. 1148) by Joscelin (II)

Joscelin II (Count of Edessa 1131-1150), entered the Monastery (of Mor Barsoum) on Saturday, June 18, 1459 (A.D. 1148). On Monday, he expelled the monks, and on Tuesday they arrived in Hisn Mansur. The news of his action spread and the people were shocked and scared. Two of his companions told him that the monastery should not be left empty of people lest the Turks seize it. For this reason, he ordered the monks to give him ten thousand dinars and he would deliver the monastery to them. Some of them brought the coffin that contained the right hand of the saint (Mor Barsoum) and the vessels of the four monasteries, which were deposited in the monastery as a trust. They were the Monastery of Mor Abhai, the Monastery of Sergisiyya, the Monastery of Madiq and the Monastery of Harsafta. Some monks and attendants remained in the monastery (of Mor Barsoum). They were headed by a superintendent (abbot) an old man named Abraham Maud'al. Joscelin stationed twenty Armenian soldiers and others in the upper Citadel. They pillaged without mercy everything they found in the monastery of wheat, oil, honey, garments and vessels. They carried the relics of the saint (Mor Barsoum) and took the monks to Tell Bashir, where they were ransomed with gold by some Franks, Syrians and Armenians. However, Joscelin left in his camp some monks and three elders who were David, Jacob and Sergius, while the rest returned to the monastery and expelled the Armenians from it. They were headed by the elder Li'azar and with him Constantine. They also took along with them Mor Iyawannis, bishop of Kesum. When they entered the church, they saw the Holy Table (on which were placed the elements) turned upside down and the altar desecrated. They and the people began to weep bitterly all day long. The soldiers, who numbered one hundred fifty, asked the monks to swear not to close the door in the face of Joscelin or his son if they came to the monastery. Being coerced, the monks swore an oath (not to shut the door). The Armenian and Frankish soldiers remained about seventy days in the monastery during which no Eucharist or other service was celebrated. They (the monks) wrote to the patriarch who instructed the bishop of Kesum to conduct the prayers for the cleansing of the holy places, which was accomplished according to the law. The bishop of Kesum was also instructed to appoint Li'azar as prior for the monastery. Furthermore, he appointed a sextant and administrator for the services of the church according to the traditions of the monastery and its rules, which had been practiced for generations. The monks and the attendants donated all the money they had just to rescue this holy place.

Accordingly, and as stated earlier, whatever happened was not without the knowledge of the Divine power, which dwelt in the right hand of our lord Mor Barsoum. Nay, it was done by his permission for our chastisement and for putting an end to the tyranny of Joscelin, like the tyrant heathen Belshazzar who desecrated the holy vessels and was stricken by an indication of the hand (fingers of a human hand) which appeared (on the plaster of the wall) miraculously.²²⁷⁰ Thus, this one (Joscelin) perished by this violent blow as shall be said later, God willing. Whatever is said here about the spoiling of the monastery of saint (Mor Barsoum) is sufficient.

We should also explain what happened in the City of Melitene in this time because of this incident

At that time Amir Ghazi, father of the Turk Daula who ruled Melitene, imposed taxes on the Monastery (of Mor Barsoum). When Daula learned that Joscelin had controlled the monastery, he thought that the monks had delivered the Citadel to him in order to avoid paying the taxes which were doubled unjustly, and which they resented. For this reason, the amir poured his wrath upon the Christians of Melitene and said to them, "I will take revenge of you because your coreligionists handed over the Citadel to Joscelin." However, the people of Melitene, who were already saddened for the pillaging of the monastery, had to suffer another blow from Daula. The services were suspended and the church bell did not peal for three days. When Daula was sure that the monks had not delivered the Citadel to Joscelin and that he entered it by deception, he stopped persecuting the people of Melitene. He gathered an army and prepared

²²⁷⁰ See Daniel 5:1-6.

to oust the Franks and take over the Citadel. By Divine dispensation, twelve monks and about fifty monastics from the country of Claudia took oxen and vessels and went to Melitene to seek refuge until their destiny was determined. The coming of these men was a great help to assuage the wrath of the amir Daula. Among them was a God-fearing old man called Abraham, nicknamed "Sorodim." He went to see the amir and said to him, "Your coming will cause you a great loss because you cannot occupy the region by military force, and the method of robbery will not succeed. Therefore, have patience and we will draw a plan for the capture of the region." Daula appreciated this talk, and lavished gifts on those who came to seek his protection. At the end, he helped the monastery and dropped the tribute imposed on the monks for that year. Then, he asked the monks to swear oaths, which they did. Afterwards, the monks appealed to the patriarch in Amid who absolved them from the oath they had sworn to Joscelin under coercion.

Joscelin sent a word to the amir Daula saying, "You have usurped the monasteries of Zabar which belong to me and destroyed them. I have taken the Monastery of Mor Barsoum, the most eminent among other invincible citadels which is like an eagle among birds, and here I have returned it to you." By seeking peace with the amir, he had rescinded the oath he had imposed on the monks. Daula replied saying, "Since you have asked for peace which we also cherish, tell me in what manner you can now guarantee for us peace after proving that you have no faith. The Muslims swear by their book; the Christians swear by the Gospel and the Cross. You, however, have dishonored the Gospel and shattered the Cross. Therefore, you have no faith in Christ. Explain to me your faith whether you are a Jew or a heathen in order, on the basis of your faith, we may establish peace." With such words, the barbarian Turk shamed the false Christian (Joscelin. Afterwards, Joscelin fell and the monks returned to the Monastery of the saint (Mor Barsoum).²²⁷¹ By Divine providence, the affairs between the two sides were set straight. *This grievous account of the plundering of the Monastery of Mor Barsoum is ended.*

Therefore beloved, no one who comes across this episode should doubt the power of God that dwells in his saints. He should not wonder how he who committed divine miracles could become lax toward the hypocrites and allow them to act as they did. But, as Christians, you should believe that nothing takes place, or will take place, without the knowledge of God which examines everything, whether it is by his will or by his command. Indeed, everything that occurs for the benefit of the common wealth is accomplished by the unfathomable word of God and his incomprehensible judgments. Let us then learn and comprehend that he let Pharaoh of Egypt be hardened because of Pharaoh's love for cruelty, as it is written, "But the Lord hardened Pharaoh's heart in order to perish in the great sea when he expelled the loyal people (of Israel);"²²⁷² and, the chosen people were enslaved by Nebuchadnezzar at different times because they cherished the sins of the people (Gentiles), the Lord had omniscience of all these things. Thus, we can comprehend today in this time many of our different conditions. There are two things denoting the reasons that led to the spoiling of this holy place (Monastery of Mor Barsoum) in our time. First, was it due to the sins of its inmates who went astray and walked through the wide road that leads to perdition? The saint (Mor Barsoum) abandoned them, nay God who dwelt in him (abandoned them), in order to suffer. Second, was it that Joscelin, like Solomon, son of David, abandoned Christ the God of his fathers and delivered himself to the service of demons and repulsive lusts? Since he did not desist despite the admonishment of the Divine providence, God abandoned him to the hardening of his heart like Pharaoh, disdaining the mighty power that dwelt in the saint (Mor Barsoum), and so he was given over to a depraved mind. He did not divulge his satanic mind to the leaders in his company, lest they inform the monks who were Christians, of what went through his head so they would have knowledge of his evil thoughts. However, he gathered his troops and pretended that he was marching to the land of the Turks to spoil and take captives. On the contrary, he came to Harran and three days later, he went up the Mountain of Hawra and camped at the fountain of Iza in the upper part of Claudia. The people learned what he did and fled. He did all this in order to accuse the monks that they had cheated him by making the people flee.

²²⁷¹ For the entire episode of Joscelin and the Monastery of Mor Barsoum and his deplorable end, see, The Anonymous Edessan, 177-179; Bar Hebraeus *Chronography*, 276-277, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 664-671 and the sources quoted.

²²⁷² Exodus 10:20-27, etc.

When Joscelin II learned that the natives had fled, he told the people in his company, "Since we have lost our way, let us go to the nearest monastery to pray and then return." On the morning of Saturday, June 18, (1148), he suddenly entered the Monastery (of Mor Barsoum). The monks were joyful thinking that he had come to pray. Soon, however, the chosen ones fell into the trap of the love of money that is idolatry, as the divine Prophet said.²²⁷³ Joscelin thought that he would find plenty of gold, while the monks thought that he had come to them carrying gold. They went forth to the south gate (to welcome him) raising the Cross and the Gospel. When he saw the Cross, he dismounted and showed pretentious humility. He entered in and took a seat. Then he disclosed his treachery to some of his soldiers who countenanced his deception. He sent them to explore the Citadel. Some people in the monastery knew that there was a ruse but they could not foil it. Five men went up to the Citadel and found in it an old monk and two monastics, and brought them out. Then, they gathered all the monks and locked them up in the church. Joscelin called the elders and rebuked them. He accused them of informing the Turks that he and his men were on their way to Melitene, which made them flee. They assured him that they had no knowledge of this matter. He said to them, "If you truly had no knowledge of this matter, or you did not help the Turks, then give me all the possessions gathered from the lands of the Turks which are hidden in the monastery. I have heard that they left with you abundant money. It is proper that this money should be given to the Christians in order to gain more strength and take revenge of the Turks who have plundered the monasteries of Zabar." They said to him, "If we do this, how can we anymore live in this place?" Joscelin, excited like a beast, brought the monks out of the church and detained them in the house of Saba, called Kano (the base). He sent Frankish presbyters to the church (of the monastery) and took all the patens, chalices, incense bowls, censers, crosses, candles, fans (rounded, with bells and portraits of Cherubim and Seraphim), gospels and books. They searched the cells and took everything they found in them of gold, silver and even denuded the altar of its furniture. Some Friars (Knights Templar) told Joscelin, "We joined you to fight the Turks and help the Christians, not to plunder the churches and monasteries." They left without eating or drinking.²²⁷⁴

However, the wretched (Joscelin), having been abandoned by God, and his conscience blinded, never realized that his fall was nigh. He and his men spent all Saturday plundering. They searched the place meticulously and carried away whatever they could. On Sunday evening, Joscelin brought the monks and all the people out and forced them to remain with him that night in a vineyard called "the Elephant" on the bank of the river. The wretched (Joscelin and his men) left a garrison in the monastery of wicked Franks and Armenians. In the morning and by permission and the knowledge of Satan, he returned to the afflicted monastery and gave full freedom to the plunderers and the searchers to inspect the cells of the monks. In addition, they went up to the (wine) press. They entered into the attendants' cells and plundered everything they found in them. They loaded on camels and mules the furniture of the church and copper and other objects including a golden cross, which the tyrant (Joscelin) broke down and distributed in pieces to his companions. He seized the twelve mules of the monastery and took with him the fifty monks who had returned to the monastery. He reached Ghoti (Gakhtai) on Monday. *End of the narrative. Anyone who reads this book, let him remember me in his prayer because I am a sinner and weak.*²²⁷⁵

Chapter Ten: On the death of Bedawi (Raymond of Poitiers, lord of Antioch); on Baldwin and Ryland (Reginald), lord of Kesum; and the plundering of the oxen and the sheep of the monastery by the Turks

In January of the year 1460 (A.D. 1149), Nur al-Din (Zangi), lord of Aleppo, attacked the region of Antioch and spoiled it completely. Also, he laid siege to Yaghra while its lord Bedawi (Raymond of Poitiers) was absent. When Bedawi learned of what happened, he returned quickly to Antioch but did not enter the city and only passed by it. He was accompanied by the Bedouin (Arab) Hashishi who had a conflict with

²²⁷³ Colossians 3:5.

²²⁷⁴ See The Anonymous Edessan, 177-180.

²²⁷⁵ This colophon is written in red ink in Arabic.

Nur al-Din, and with his army greatly aided the Franks, defeated the Turks who fled naked and frightened.²²⁷⁶

In this time Kara Arslan, lord of Hisn Ziyad, attacked the region of Amid. He connived with some of its citizens to deliver it to him. When he did not succeed, he took captive the people of the region. After driving them with him for a whole day, they became tormented by the snow and ice. He felt sorry for them saying, "These people did not commit sin against us," and sent them back to their homes.

Joscelin II gathered troops, invaded the countries of Edessa and Harran, and spoiled them. However, the Turks came back and invaded his own country. They placed ambushes and killed a great number of his troops.

Motivated by deep-seated malice, Nur al-Din, lord of Aleppo, resorted to treachery and gathered troops. However, the Franks, because of their negligence, arrogance or their belief that God had abandoned them because of their evil deeds, not only did not fortify their country when they heard that the Turks had swarmed like flies, but also made the invasion easy for the Turks. They left their villages like vineyards without fences, and like houses without doors. They (the Franks) marched against the regions of the Arabs like a gazelle rushing toward the trap, and like the deer that receives the arrow into his heart. In their company was Hashishi the Arab (Ali ibn Wafa) who noticed that they had penetrated into the middle of their enemies without sound reasoning. He said to Bedawi (Raymond of Poitiers, lord of Antioch), "O king! Where are you going while your enemies surround you from every direction? Remain in your country and protect your boundaries until they disperse. But if they come to attack your country, then you should encounter them." Bedawi despised Hashishi and would not accept his counsel. Without proper thinking, he plunged himself into the midst of the Turks. At midnight, the Turks surrounded the miserable Frank (Raymond of Poitiers) from every direction. Hashishi drew near him and said, "We have fallen because you did not hearken to me. Nevertheless, listen to me now and let us escape. Hopefully, only few of us will be saved because a huge army has encircled us. When the morning comes and we are still here, all of us will perish." Still, the hapless Raymond would not listen. When the morning dawned, and before the first rays of the sun appeared, the Turks fell upon them like a mountain and slaughtered all of them great and small. They cut them down like trees. Prince Bedawi (Raymond of Poitiers), the mighty lion and lord of Antioch, was killed. In addition, Ryland (Reginald), the lion's cub and the lord of Kesum fell dead.²²⁷⁷ In brief, no one of them came out alive, not only one to relate the news. All that great crowd (of Franks) turned into heaps of corpses.

On that day, the blow against the Christians was decisive. The people of Antioch did not realize the catastrophe until the Turks had swept the entire region and took its people captive. Nur al-Din descended upon the city and sent the head of Bedawi (Raymond of Poitiers) to Baghdad.²²⁷⁸ Meanwhile, dissension took place among the citizens of Antioch. Some of them were inclined toward the Turks, while others sought refuge with the king of Jerusalem (Baldwin III) who protected the small group that remained and appointed their patriarch as their leader.

²²⁷⁶ Hashishi here is not a proper name; it means Hashash, (Assassin). In fact, this person whom Michael Rabo calls Hashishi is Ali ibn Wafa, chief of the Assassins of Masyaf, who bore a grudge against Nur al-Din Zangi and collaborated with the Franks. See The Anonymous Edessan, 180, and A. R. Gibb, "The Career of Nur al-Din," in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. M. W. Baldwin (Madison University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 1:515, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 643. Cf. Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, ed. Amedroz, 302-305, Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 275.

²²⁷⁷ Matthew of Edessa, 245, The Anonymous Edessan, 180-181, A. R. Gibb, "The Career of Nur al-Din," in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. M. W. Baldwin (Madison University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 1:515, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 643-644. Cf. Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, ed. Amedroz, 302-305, and Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh*, 1:71, Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 275.

²²⁷⁸ See Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Dhayl Tarikh Dimashq*, 305, Abu Shama, *Kitab al-Rawdatayn fi Tarikh al-Dawlatayn*, 1:57-58, Gregory the Priest, *Continuation of Matthew of Edessa*, trans. Dostourian, 257, Runcima, *A History of the Crusades*, 2:326; Sa'id Abd al-Fattah Ashur, *al-Haraka al-Salibiyya*, 2:638, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 645.

When Joscelin heard that the lord of Kesum was killed, he, the wicked, did not bother thinking that Kesum would become the possession of his daughter who was the wife of the killed (Reginald, lord of Kesum and Mar'ash). Therefore, he went to possess Kesum and Beth Hesne.

At this time, Joscelin's foolishness was manifest in dealing with Kara Arslan, son of Mas'ud, lord of Ablastain and its region. Mas'ud was in his father's company when they attacked Mar'ash after ravaging the region. When they tightened their grip against the city, the inhabitants asked a pledge for their safety, and the sultan ruled over Mar'ash.²²⁷⁹ Based on his pledge, he allowed the Franks in the city with the bishop and the clergy to leave for Antioch. In the meantime, he sent Turks who killed them on the road. During the capture of Mar'ash, the furnishings of the church such as the jars of *Mirun* (Holy Chrism), patens, chalices, silver censers, altar drapes and curtains were lost because of the rebellion of the clergymen against their bishop.

In this same year (A.D. 1149), the amir Kara Arslan, lord of Hisn Ziyad, noticed that from every direction the Turks were entering the countries of the Franks who were deserted by the Lord because they deserted him. Kara Arslan sent his troops and captured Babula on the bank of the Euphrates River. The inhabitants of Gargar were scared and fled for safety to the Mountain of Mor Barsoum, the area around the monastery was crowded with men, women and children, and Kara Arslan took them captive. Then, many God-fearing monks clamored and murmured but would not drive away the refugees (hand them over to Kara Arslan) because some of them were their relatives.²²⁸⁰

When the Turks entered the region of Gargar, they witnessed that the villages were desolate and they heard that the inhabitants had sought asylum in the Mountain of Mor Barsoum. Therefore, they went forth to the mountain. On Sunday, August 15, they set ambushes in three places. In the morning, they attacked and plundered the possessions and the oxen. They killed three men who were worshipping, but they lost two of their men. Then, they sent (messengers) saying that, "We honor this saint (Mor Barsoum) and offer him vows. We have not come to do the monastery harm but we have come because of the people of Gargar who came to the monastery for safety. If you hand them over to us, we will restore to you everything we have taken. We will not make them slaves but only restore them to their villages." The inhabitants of the monastery split into two groups. One group consented to have the people of Gargar handed over to the Turks; the other group shouted not to hand them over. Both groups were about to fight each other if it were not for a venerable elder who reconciled them by his wisdom. He said to the Turks, "If, as you say, you will not drive the people into slavery, let some of your leaders come with us to the sultan at Hisn Ziyad. Then, we will write down such a pledge." However, the Turks were exposed, and became known that they were insincere because they were intent to drive the people into slavery. When this was revealed, the entire inhabitants of the monastery cried out with one voice, "We are one soul and have determined not to hand to you anyone even if all of us will perish." It was then that the Turks burned down everything outside the monastery including houses, wine presses, and the hedges of the vineyards. They seized the sheep, oxen, captives, and departed, and the monks went to Hisn Ziyad. Through the honorable believers there, they met with the amir (Kara Arslan). With God's help, and the prayer of the saint (Mor Barsoum), God put his mercy into the heart of the amir Kara Arslan, and he restored to them everything: people, sheep and oxen. There was joy for everyone and everywhere. Everyone praised God and every tongue lauded the saint.²²⁸¹

Although Saint Mor Barsoum permitted his monastery to be plundered because of our sins, he did not neglect us or let us perish, neither did he overlook the tyrant (Joscelin) that he may repent and live. He appeared in a dream to three of Joscelin's soldiers to be witnesses because, "At the mouth of two or three witnesses shall the matter be established."²²⁸² These men saw the monastery of the saint shining with light and the saint standing at the highest point in it in an indescribable glory. He said to them, "Go and tell your

²²⁷⁹ See Gregory the Priest, *Continuation of Matthew of Edessa*, 257-258.

²²⁸⁰ Gregory the Priest, *Continuation*, 258, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 647-648.

²²⁸¹ For a thorough analyses of these events, see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 648-649.

²²⁸² Deuteronomy 19:15.

king that I am angry at my monks because they sinned and enraged my master. I have delivered them into your hand to pressure them in order to repent and return (to the monastery). Now, I am ordering you to let them return to the monastery.” One of them woke up and realized that what he saw was true and not merely a false dream. He went to the other two who had seen the vision, and all of them related to each other that they had seen the same vision and that it was true. They cast away their fear and, being encouraged, went to see the wretched Joscelin. They told him what they had seen and heard. The “second Pharaoh” listened to them and promised to send the monks back to the monastery, but he hardened his heart, reneged on his promise and sent back no one. On the contrary, he pressured them to pay the rest of the amount of five thousand (dinars) which he had already received. However, God’s patience called him once more to repent through members of his household who saw the coffin that contained the right hand of Mor Barsoum shining as bright as the sun with a drawn sword of fire in its grip. He heard a voice saying, “Joscelin! If you don’t leave me and my monks alone, I will destroy you and your country with this sword.” When the members of his household informed him of this, he released the elder monks David and Jacob to go to the monastery on September 5, 1460 (A.D. 1149), but kept the coffin that contained the right hand of the saint Mor Barsoum and deposited it in his church in Tell Bashir. He was expecting the monks to pay him five thousand gold pieces more as he had imposed on them. In the end, the rod of justice was set upon him by the Turkish troops, as shall be said at the beginning of the narratives which we shall relate below. These narratives will concern the kings of the earth and how the people went forth and surrounded (the monastery), and how they were scattered by a great miracle which could only be done by the Almighty and Infinite God. He alone can reactivate the bones and the remains of his beloved ones and saints whenever he wills as it is fitting for the salvation of every soul.

In this time Ahrun (Aaron) of Sijistan, bishop of Haditha, converted to Islam. He had left his country and lived in St. Matthew’s Monastery (near Mosul, Iraq). He was ordained bishop by the Maphryono Ignatius for that Persian diocese (Sijistan). He was deceived by Satan and became a Muslim. Later, he repented and returned (to Christianity) but his diocese would not accept him. Neither was he given back the rank of the episcopate. He went to Constantinople, became a Chalcedonian, and sank in that mud pit which accepts any pig that wallows in it. However, he repented again. Patriarch Ignatius said, “Although he is not worthy of the priesthood, it is improper to reject anyone who comes to repentance.” He accepted him and allowed him to read the *busoyo* (supplicatory prayer of penance). This caused a controversy between the maphryono and the patriarch. The maphryono blamed the patriarch for receiving (Aaron) before fulfilling the canons of repentance. The patriarch accused the maphryono of ordaining him before examining him. The maphryono retreated from his position but still blamed the patriarch because he committed the same mistake as he did. Shortly afterwards, (Aaron) reverted once more to Islam, and remained in the company of Muslim jurists for a few months. He repented again and went to Jerusalem, but was not accepted by the sons of our church. Then, he went to the Maronites of the Mountain of Lebanon and died there.

In the year 1460 (A.D. 1149) what looked like a long lance was seen in the northern part of the sky. However, it disappeared in the second hour of the evening.

In the western part of the sky, a sign in the form of a cross was seen but disappeared in a short time.

On Wednesday prior to the festival of the Ascension, heavy rain fell in Jerusalem mixed with drops of blood. This symbolized the drops of blood that were shed in the regions of the Franks in that year. This took place in the month of May. Instead of being refreshing dew, it was actually a blood symbolizing the horrible massacres and blood shedding. *He who reads this book let him remember me in his prayers.*²²⁸³

²²⁸³ This is written in Arabic and in red ink.

Chapter Eleven: On the Turks' control of the regions under the control of the Franks; on the fall of Joscelin (II), and how the right hand of our lord Mor Barsoum was returned to the monastery

In this period, (Divine) justice urged Sultan Mas'ud (1116-1155) and he gathered thousands of Turkish troops and attacked the countries of the wicked Franks. The Franks, one of whom caused a thousand men to flee, now trembled from the rustling of a tree leaf. Indeed, the Scripture's curse was fulfilled in them. Moreover, all the people cried out with one voice, "It is by the wrath of God that the Turks have gathered to annihilate the Christians who dared to attack Mor Barsoum." When Joscelin found himself surrounded from every direction by the Turks so that he was confined in Tell Bashir, he confessed that this was a blow by God and with his permission. He promised to repent, and resorted to Mor Barsoum. Then the Lord who brought the sultan, also had him soften the heart and made peace with him, and Joscelin pledged submission to him.²²⁸⁴

All of this judgment was from above (heaven). It was then that the sultan returned to his own country and Joscelin delivered the right hand of Mor Barsoum to the latter's monastery.

Afterwards, Joscelin reverted to his wicked deeds like a dog which returns to its vomit. However, (Divine) justice was not too patient with him. His end came at the hands of the Turks to whom he submitted as a punishment for his iniquity. Nur al-Din (Zangi), lord of Aleppo, with whom Joscelin was allied with pledge and oath, invaded his region and spoiled it, took many people captives and seized two fortresses. In the year 1461 (A.D. 1150), Kara Arslan, lord of Hisn Ziyad, sent one of his great commanders named Aldi²²⁸⁵ and descended upon Gargar. On one night, they attacked the fortress near the monastery called Tegenkar, captured it by military force and took five hundred men captive. They also found in the fortress many items and vestments taken from the monastery when Joscelin ravaged it. Indeed, every discerning person was sure that this wrath was by God's command.²²⁸⁶

The Greeks and the Franks collaborated to rescue those who were in Gargar. They met with Basil, lord of Hisn Mansur and Kesum. In addition, from Ghoti (Gakhtai) and other places, about five hundred horsemen and a great number of infantry assembled and had with them a thousand loads of wheat in order to venture into the fortress of Gargar. When they drew near the fortress and noticed that the Turks had no knowledge of their coming but were camping in peace, they foolishly thought that they could leave their loads outside the fortress and go down to strike against the camp of the Turks, thinking that they would defeat them. However, God routed them before the Turks who outnumbered them. Most of them perished, and Basil, lord of Gargar, Krikor, lord of Ghoti, and Mahi (Mahuis), lord of Kesum, were captured. No one of the horsemen was saved and the loads of wheat were seized. After this resounding victory, Kara Arslan arrived, and with great magnanimity, released all the captives and sent them back to their homes. He gave the rulers of the country places in his own country. After surrendering to him Gargar, he gave Abdaher to Basil and the region of Semha. After Krikor surrendered to him Ghoti, he gave him Saghman. Thus, the Turks possessed Gargar, Ghoti and Hisn Mansur.

Joscelin went forth (from Tell Bashir) to Antioch with two hundred horsemen thinking that with them, he could challenge thousands. As they passed by Azaz by night, they met a few Turks, and the Franks trembled at the mere sound and fled because the mighty power of God had deserted them. As Joscelin began to flee, he imagined that he saw a tree in his way. He hit it and stumbled to the ground. In fact, many men with him testified that there was no tree in that place. Regardless, he fell down. A Turkoman saw him who did not recognize him but wanted to sell him to the Christians. He carried him to a nearby Muslim village and met a Jew who told them that he was Joscelin. Joyful, the Turkoman carried him to Aleppo, and Nur al-Din, lord of Aleppo, bought him from the Turkoman for one thousand dinars. He bound him in fetters and imprisoned him, and he ended his life there in torment. Upon entering Aleppo, a great joy overwhelmed the Muslims. Joscelin remained in prison for nine years. Although the Muslims constantly

²²⁸⁴ Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem*, 263.

²²⁸⁵ According to Ibn al-Athir he is Abu Bakr ibn al-Daya, Nur al-Din's deputy in Aleppo. See Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil al-Tawarikh*, 481.

²²⁸⁶ See Gregory the Priest, *Continuation of Matthew of Edessa*, 258 who gives a different account of these events, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 649.

urged him with gifts and threats to embrace Islam, he never yielded. They tortured him but he was never frightened and persisted in his faith. He confessed saying, "It is because of my sins that I am punished." He sent a message to the Monastery of Mor Barsoum and the rest of the Christian churches asking them to pray for him that God may accept him among the penitent Christians. When his end was near while he was in the pit, he asked for the bishop of the city. They brought the bishop to him who received his confession and administered to him the Holy Sacraments. When he passed away, the Christians carried him and buried him in the church. A great crowd of Christians and Muslims attended his funeral, and were astonished at what had happened to him.²²⁸⁷

After Joscelyn allowed the monks to return to the Monastery (of Mor Barsoum), he retained the right hand of the saint, and the wrath of God doubled against him. The Lord brought from the north the sons of Gog (the Turks) who besieged Tell Bashir. The Franks, Syrians and the Armenians cried out with one voice, and the wicked Joscelyn trembled. He ordered the right hand of the saint be brought up to the wall. The people went up the wall with bare heads and tears and celebrated it in sight of the camp of the Turks. Joscelyn promised before the people to return the hand to the monastery if the Turks lifted the siege. He further promised that he would not demand the payment of the rest of the money, but would return everything that he had taken from the monastery. At that moment, his repentance was accepted like Zacchaeus the tax collector,²²⁸⁸ and he could rightfully say, "The discipline of the Lord opened my ear, and commanded (me) to return from iniquity."²²⁸⁹ For he who thinks deeply, will realize that nothing great or small happens except by the finger of God. In the light of the insistence of the crowd, the tyrant (Joscelyn) yielded to seek forgiveness. And God, who accepted the repentance of Pharaoh by the intercession of Moses, and lightened his chastisement in order to test his obedience, himself shook the camp of the Turks and had them depart and flee the city. Therefore, the Christians were saved by this great miracle, and everyone confessed that the finger of God was behind the coming and the departure of the Turks. It was then that Joscelyn sent a message to the monastery asking for forgiveness. The elder monks went and brought back the (hand) of the saint. In every village or city they passed through, the crowds welcomed it with pomp and joy, chanting, torches and censoring, until they reached the monastery on January 1, which was the Festival of the Malphone (doctors) the saints. *End of the narrative.*

Chapter Twelve: The aftermath of the fall of Joscelyn, and the control of all regions by the Turks

When Sultan Mas'ud (of Iconium) heard of Joscelyn's fall, he attacked Kesum on Sunday of Pentecost. Kesum was ruled by a Frank named Rangad (Rynald, Reginald). In Tell Bashir reigned the infant Joscelyn III, son of Joscelyn II. When the inhabitants of Kesum saw the multitudes of Turkish troops, they fled. They sent Metropolitan Iyawannis to the fortress, who received from the sultan a pledge on oath to permit the Franks to depart to Aintab, and they received what they wanted. The sultan ruled over Kesum and Beth Hesne, Ra'ban and Farzman. He invested Tell Bashir. Then, Nur al-Din (Zangi) came to him and the sultan gave him his daughter (as wife). She was engaged to the son of the brother of the king (emperor) of the Greeks. He also gave him Tell Bashir and returned to his own country. After his departure, the king of Jerusalem came and brought out of Tell Bashir Joscelyn's wife and children, all the Franks and took them to Jerusalem. He set up in Tell Bashir certain men of the king of the Greeks, who, when settled down, also captured Tell Bashir, Aintab and Azaz. Afterwards, the Turks (Nur al-Din) descended upon them and distressed them immensely. When they became beset by famine, they handed all these places to Nur al-Din peacefully. The lord of Aleppo (Nur al-Din) ruled over Tell Bashir, Aintab, Azaz and all the countries in between. To the sultan were left Mar'ash, Ra'ban, Farzman, Kesum, and Beth Hesne. The lot of Kara Arslan

²²⁸⁷ See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 276-277; Gregory the Priest, *Continuation of Matthew of Edessa*, 258, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 669.

²²⁸⁸ Luke 19:1-10.

²²⁸⁹ Job 36:10.

included Babula, Gargar, Ghoti and Hisn Mansur. Timurtash, lord of Mardin, took Birah, Samosata, Khuris and Kafartuta. Thus, the Turks had established their control entirely over these regions.²²⁹⁰

Now Joscelin had appointed to the fortress of Romaitha (Romania) an Armenian named Michael. When Michael heard of Joscelin's fall, he sent his wife who was still in Tell Bashir to ask the Catholicos Krikor (Gregory), who was in Dzov, that is, the Lake, to come to the fortress and stay with him. When he went to the fortress, the catholicos acted treacherously towards him. He seized him, tormented him, took all his possessions and expelled him, and Catholicos Krikor then controlled the fortress (of Romaitha).²²⁹¹

In the year 1462 (A.D. 1151), Agoub Arslan invaded the land of the Greeks called Fabra (Papara) and took what he wanted and then departed.

In the meantime, Manuel, king (emperor) of the Greeks, was defeated by the Franks and fled, and hardly made it to Constantinople.

In this same year, the daughter of the lord of the Armenian Izange strangled her father with a bowstring. She brought his brother from the region of Dibarige, and he married her and became king.²²⁹²

At the Monastery of Sarika of the Greeks in the region of Pontus, there was a great gold cross wherein was a piece of the wood of the Crucifixion, and many miracles in that country were made by it. The governor decided to own the cross.²²⁹³ However, a certain Greek, according to his willful mind, took the cross by trick and rebelled in that country. Then the governor came and took the cross and everything else he found. He evicted the monks and settled Turks in the monastery. Some of his noblemen who held the monastery with great respect, appealed to him to restore the monastery to the monks. He did after imposing on them the payment of sheep, gold and an annual tribute. The monks returned to the monastery.

What would the blasphemous Greeks say about this? They rejoiced when Joscelin plundered the Monastery of our lord Mor Barsoum. Like the Jews, they scoffed at and profaned our Lord (Christ). Now, what would they say after the monastery was restored to the monks and its triumph was known to all people? In fact, seven fold of what had been looted from it were given back, and joy overwhelmed the faithful (Orthodox) everywhere like the joy of the apostles for the resurrection of the Lord. It is therefore proper to say to them in this case, "Shut your tongues which profane the saints and confess that, if it were not for our sins, nothing would have happened to the monastery like what the wicked Joscelin had done. And as (Divine) justice willed to direct that blow against us, it did the same thing mocking the adored cross in the Monastery of Sarika."

In this period, some of our bishops fell (from grace), of whom was Ahrun (Aaron) of Sijistan, already mentioned. He was ordained a bishop for Haditha by the Maphryono, and then he converted to Islam. He repented and joined the Greeks and then the Maronites.

Another bishop from Hisn Ziyad was called "son of the Turks." He was ordained by the Patriarch Mor Yuhanon as bishop for the diocese of Tell Bashir after evicting from it Bar Andrew. When Bar Andrew was restored to his position, the "son of the Turks" was sent to Semando. There at Semando, his deception was exposed, evicted and was sent to the country of Habura. At Habura, he did not desist from his immoral behavior and fornication, and was expelled and went to Greater Armenia. He shed his outer (clerical) vestment and put on the uniform of a soldier, and began to serve one of the great leaders. Then he found a prostitute to live with him. However, when he realized that, as a soldier, he could not feed himself or the prostitute who adopted him, he realized as the Holy Scriptures say, "He longed to fill his stomach with the pods that the pigs were eating, but no one gave him anything."²²⁹⁴ He did not return to the compassionate Father (God) but was entangled by one evil after the other. He put on the sacred clerical habit and traversed through places whose people did not know him. He collected alms in the name of monasteries and saints.

²²⁹⁰ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 277.

²²⁹¹ Bar Hebraeus, *Ibid.*

²²⁹² Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 278, says the one who strangled the lord of Izange was his wife, and not his daughter.

²²⁹³ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 278, says a certain Turkish amir wanted to own the cross.

²²⁹⁴ Luke 15:16.

Whatever he collected, he and the prostitute swallowed it gluttonously. Finally, he was exposed and killed by some zealous men, and such was his end.

Another person was a bishop from Mar'ash called Gabriel, nicknamed Zhamagir, meaning (Breviary, Book of Prayer). He was ordained by Mor Athanasius as bishop for Sarug. It was said that he was defiled by fornication. The patriarch treated him graciously and with a spirit slow to anger. However, he wallowed more in abominable evil as shall be said later.

On December 29, 1461 (A.D. 1150), an earth tremor took place. On March 15, an eclipse took place, which lasted from midnight until dawn. On August 23, heavy rain fell, and flooding took place in many regions, especially Hisn Ziyad where a young boy, two mules and a donkey were drowned.

In this period, an old man was ordained as patriarch for the Chalcedonians. He was ordained a bishop when he was still young and lived a solitary life. However, when he became a candidate for the office of the patriarchate, he was ensnared by the love of leadership and did not reveal that he was a bishop. Shortly after he was ordained the second time, his true affair was made known, and he was banished disdainfully with those who ordained him.

In the year 1462 (A.D. 1151), the winter was very severe and snow fell heavily. It actually fell from the gates of heaven over regions that had never seen snow before. It was two feet high. In March red snow fell. Natural scientists explain this (phenomenon) saying that when vapors and winds become red, then a red dust rises up to the clouds. And when the dust becomes red, its color appears like blood. Thus, when the winds raise a red dust to the clouds, it spreads a fine drizzle. All these things take place for our chastisement.

In March, snow fell in such abundance in Melitene the like of which no one has seen or heard of before. On the 23 of the same month, a fiery sign was seen in the northern part of the sky. In the same year, a huge rock fell off a mountain on the village of Qallisura and destroyed it with the people and animals. In the same year, the rain everywhere was so heavy that it ruined the fields and crops, especially on the banks of rivers where everything planted was destroyed.

Chapter Thirteen: It consists of two parts: Part one about the miracle that took place in Antioch, and the church built in it after the name of Mor Barsoum. The second part consists of a word of exhortation.

The story of the miracle made by the holy Mor Barsoum in the region of Antioch in 1462 (A.D. 1151):

A boy who was the son of a Frankish leader climbed a fig tree, which grew in abundance in the city like in paradise. It happened that he fell off and broke his anklebone. The physicians treated him but without avail, and he became handicapped. His parents grieved over his condition, especially that he was their only child and that they were of royal origin. Thus, they extended to him greater care and spent on him abundant money to have his broken bone restored to normalcy. After much toil and money lost, they did not benefit a thing.

It was then that the name of the blessed Mor Barsoum became well known because of the fall of Joscelin. Everywhere the miracles that God made in his (Mor Barsoum) name were told by many people, and by the responses of those who appealed for his help. The mother of the boy, with prayers, tears and vows, constantly asked the blessed (Mor Barsoum) to heal him. It happened that a monk from the monastery arrived carrying as usual the portrait of the saint. They invited him to their home and received a blessing by the portrait. A day later, the saint appeared to the woman (mother of the boy) in a vision like a king with great glory. She asked who may this king be, and was told by the crowd that he was Mor Barsoum. Then, she heard the blessed Mor Barsoum say, "I want you to build a church for me here." The monk, whom we mentioned earlier, also saw the saint saying to him, "Arise and go to the house of the Frank Harari (Henri) and build a church in his garden." He showed him three altars. The vision was repeated with a threat. The monk, whose name was Saliba, was frightened and astonished. He informed Basilius (Bar Shumanna), metropolitan of Edessa, who was then in Antioch of his vision. While both of them were skeptical, the boy's parents came and told them about what his mother had seen. Then the monk took the

metropolitan and the portrait of the saint with him and went to the house of those Franks. They stood praying over the boy who was lying down while his parents were supplicating and asking for his recovery. Then the sick boy slumbered and slept. Suddenly, however, he cried out with a loud voice and jumped to his feet. His parents and the entire household were shaken and frightened. They saw the hand of the boy stretched out, as if someone was holding it, and he was looking upward. They realized that he has seen a vision. They asked him questions but he did not answer.

For a while he remained with his right hand stretched out and looking upward with joy. His parents hurriedly prepared torches and incense, and a great crowd congregated. Then, the boy turned and said to them, "The blessed Mor Barsoum appeared to me holding in his hand a great, gold cross shining like the sun, and filled the whole house. With him was a group of monks. He held me by the hand and bid me rise up, saying 'Arise and do not be afraid. It is for the faith and the supplication of your mother that I have come.'" I said to him, "How can I rise while my anklebone is broken?" He touched the broken ankle and it was made whole as if it had not been broken.

After this actually happened, who can doubt that our Lord Christ, who healed the mother-in-law of Peter,²²⁹⁵ was dwelling in our lord Mor Barsoum? He fulfilled in him what he had said, "He who keeps my commandments will do what I have been doing. He will do even greater things than these."²²⁹⁶ Indeed, God dwells in his saints, and he does appropriately whatever he wills and however he wills.

The boy's parents, followed by the crowd, took him with joy to the Great Church, and then went to see the queen (Melisend). A great throng of Franks, Armenians and Syrians went with the queen to the place where the miracle took place. When the boy pointed to the spot where the saint appeared to him, the queen prostrated to the ground weeping. The crowds picked dust from the spot for blessing. Wherever that dust was taken, God healed those who believed. Then, they began to build a church, and monk Saliba pledged to supervise its construction. The number of miracles that took place because of its construction cannot be recorded in this narrative. Then, we, (Michael Rabo who was then Abbot of the Monastery of Mor Barsoum) together with the elder monks of the monastery, went to consecrate the church on Sunday, December 9, 1486 (A.D. 1157), in the time of Reginald (of Châtillon), lord of Antioch, Baldwin III, king of Jerusalem, their Patriarch (Aimry, Amaury Latin Patriarch of Antioch 1142-1187), and our Patriarch Athanasius (Bar Qatra). Also, was present the benefactor Thoros (II), lord of Cilicia, Henri and his wife Elizabeth (Isabel), and all the Frankish, Armenian, and Syrian leaders, together with a host of our Syrian priests and deacons and Frankish and Armenian monks. The hateful Greeks "died from anger,"²²⁹⁷ and God was glorified in his saints. To him is the glory, and on us his mercy forever and ever. Amen.

Word of exhortation (derived) from the Book of Metropolitan Dionysius (Bar Salibi, d. 1172)

Quite often, many people try to explore without any legitimate claim, the judgments of God which are beyond exploration. They question why God did not have mercy on a people called by his name and save them from the invaders. They further say that for a long time they were overburdened by the yoke of the Assyrians that many of them rejected their faith because of distress. We answer these people, with brevity, that things do not run according to your own desire.

There are many things considered as negative by people at the beginning, but in the end, they turn out to be for their own good. Does the clay say to the potter, what are you making properly, as it is written?²²⁹⁸ We should then admit that the incomprehensible knowledge of God makes everything good. We should use our reason and realize that if it were not for our sins, we would have not been delivered to the hands of strange people. Who would have not seen a father become angry with his son who deviated from his commandments after having delivered to him his possessions and granted him the power over his

²²⁹⁵ Luke 4:38-39.

²²⁹⁶ John 14:12.

²²⁹⁷ See Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 674-676, and Bulus Behnam, "Dayr Mor Barsoum Qurb Malatya," (The Monastery of Mor Barsoum Near Melitene), *Lisan al-Mashriq*, nos. 4-6 (Mosul, Iraq), 1951:153-208, especially 162-163.

²²⁹⁸ Isaiah 45:9, Romans 9:20-21.

servants? As long as the son is committed to his father's order, he is the master of his possessions. But if he violated the commandments according to which the possessions were handed to him, not only will he be deprived of the inheritance, but will be delivered to the servants to scourge him, and annihilate his life by the evil which he entertained in order to understand first his rise and his later fall.

To those who succumbed to bondage and followed heathen customs contradictory to the law, we say that Divine Providence which comprehends everything before it is done will soon save them at the time suitable to God's designs, and the appropriate time of his dispensation, if they stood firm in the faith of their fathers and yielded fruits worthy of the kingdom. For it is written, "I will bring them from Bashan; I will bring them from the depth of the sea."²²⁹⁹ However, if they do not abide by the deeds of those who instructed them, but went on practicing evil from childhood to old age, and delivered themselves to the bondage of lust like the people who have no law, and under the skin of the lion, they conceal their foxlike deeds, they will then be delivered to a depraved mind which they wanted for themselves, and for whose sake, they were prepared to submit their necks to the yoke of its bondage. Let us end this now.

We may add by blaming ourselves concerning the priesthood, which became a subject of ridicule and disdain as was already discussed in the case of Ahrun (Aaron) of Sijistan and others. After they were exposed, they became more immersed in iniquity. It is then necessary that we should not offer the holy services without examination to blameworthy men. We should not place the sword of the Spirit in the hand of suspects and the devious lest they disturb the souls instead of decimating evil, as had happened, "Our salt has become corrupt, and there is no wax in Gilead; and everyone does what he pleases."²³⁰⁰ Therefore, we are in dire need for Moses and Samuel to intercede on our behalf that God may return and shine his face upon us and heal our overt and covert blows. What kinds of hypocrisy, I wonder, did not enter the church? And what kind of forbidden things have not been perpetrated in it? Greed and bribery are flourishing, and malice and arrogance are increased. However, the chaste and the meek are vilified while the voice of the deceivers and slanderers has risen loudly. God alone who has compassion for his own people will rebuild David's fallen tent.²³⁰¹

Chapter Fourteen: On the death of Daula, lord of Melitene and what happened to him and his countries; on other events that took place in this period; and the quarrel stirred up between Maphryono Ignatius and his congregation

In this year 1463 (A.D. 1152), the Franks came forth from Rome for the second time angry against the Greeks and intending to take revenge on them because of what they did to their brothers. They plundered, destroyed, reached the gate of Constantinople, and burned it down. They caused immense damages to the Greek Kingdom and then departed. Some of them reached Palestine. They wanted to take revenge of the Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims) but could not agree with each other because they had no leader. However, they killed by the sword some of the Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims) whom they found in Ascalan (Ascalon) and burned few villages. Then they sailed to Egypt, burned down its western cities with their inhabitants, and returned to their country.

On Thursday, June 12 of the same year, Daula, lord of Melitene died. He was succeeded by his son Dhu al-Qarnayn. The Christians were gripped by fear and their harassment increased, but it was an incentive for repentance. At the end of the mourning session held by Daula's brother Yaqub (Jacob) Arslan, he sent condolences to Daula's son and his wife asking them not to retain the city and not submit to the Sultan (Mas'ud, son of Kilij Arslan). They relied on him and sent their cattle to his region. When the sultan learned that they decided to disobey him, he marched with wrath against Jacob Arslan. When Jacob saw the sultan's huge force, he obeyed immediately and promised not to support his brother's son. On July 24, the sultan came to Melitene. The multitudes of Turks and other people destroyed by fire the entire splendid surrounding villages of the city. While the forces of the sultan were destroying everything on the outside, the

²²⁹⁹ Psalm 68:22.

²³⁰⁰ Cf. Jeremiah 8:22.

²³⁰¹ Acts 15:16.

governors and their troops were torturing the people without mercy on the inside. The faithful (the Syrians) were caught up between two beasts and began to remember some of their sins. They particularly realized that the cup was mixed, the sword drawn, and they began to pray and supplicate. Immediately, the salvation of the Lord came so fast to those who aspired for mercy and affection. As consolation came to Samaria by the prayer of Elishah, thus by the intercession of the Mother of the Lord of Eishah,²³⁰² peace prevailed on the festival of her Assumption. Peace was achieved in the following manner: The youth who ruled the city was actually the son of the daughter of the sultan's brother. His mother threw herself at the feet of the sultan who felt compassion for her. The sultan said that if the young man would come forth, prostrate himself to him and become his slave, he would leave him in the city. The young man did come forth, and the sultan kissed him and confirmed his rule over the city.²³⁰³

When the sultan (Mas'ud, son of Kilij Arslan) was besieging Melitene, the Turks in his company went to ravage the country of Claudia. They took captive the monks and men servants of the Monastery of Beth Hanish. The monks went to the sultan (to implore him), and he repatriated them (to the monastery). On their way back, they were confronted at the Hazourin Mountain by highway robbers who fought them. As a result, three robbers were killed, and a young servant (novice) and the rest (of the monks) reached the monastery.

When Melitene was saved but with no expectation, the mother of the youth (Dhu al-Qarnayn) began to reign. She tormented the Christians rich and poor without mercy, imposing on them land-tax and different tributes. The Muslims were also oppressed, and no one could intercede on their behalf. She claimed that the city was her own possession and did not belong to her son. She further claimed that the city was saved not because the sultan accepted her supplication, but it was saved by magicians and soothsayers. She gathered around her a group of sorcerers and women of ill repute who predicted for her a long life and that she would reign like Dalminius (Julian) in his time. She contemplated killing her son in order that the power would remain hers alone. However, God hearkened to the cries of the poor, and the Divine wrath extended to the second Jezebel. Her plan was discovered and she was driven away (by the nobles). She departed on foot accompanied by the ill-reputed women who anticipated good luck for her. The words of the prophet who censured the iniquitous applied to them, saying, "Keep on, then, with your magic spells and with your plenty of sorceries at which you have labored. Perhaps you will succeed. All the counsel you have received has only worn you out."²³⁰⁴ ²³⁰⁵ After remaining for a few days at the gate of the city, she was finally driven out naked and barefoot. Her son was established in the leadership (of the state) and killed the entire company of magicians and sorcerers whom she had gathered around her. He confiscated their possessions and pillaged their homes. He issued a decree that anyone of this kind of people should be burned and should not appear before him. He assured the inhabitants of the city of peace and safety, and abolished the exorbitant taxes. All the Christians rejoiced and enjoyed salvation. When he was told that some of the noblemen were plotting with his mother to kill him, he expelled them one after the other and confiscated their possessions lest no one should attempt to conspire against his sovereignty.

Patriarch Athanasius departed Amid for Hisn Ziyad, whose bishop had passed away and the patriarch remained in it for three years. He ordained his secretary Sergius a bishop for it and called him Iyawannis (at his ordination). He sent him to Amid to look after its congregation on his behalf. When the patriarch was at Hisn Ziyad, he was visited by Maphryono Ignatius, chief of the entire bishops of the East for the following reason.

The Easterners had a tradition according to which the Maphryono of Takrit was the one who ordained a bishop for Nineveh and Mosul. After his nomination and ordination as bishop for that great diocese, he would not come under the jurisdiction of the maphryono like the rest of the bishops, but would become equal (in authority) to the maphryono. Such tradition was, in fact, deleterious to the orderly

²³⁰² A reference to Mary Mother of God.

²³⁰³ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 279, says that the young man was sent forth carrying a sword and a shroud.

²³⁰⁴ Isaiah 47:12-13.

²³⁰⁵ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 279.

BOOK SEVENTEEN

regulation of the church. It created constant controversies in the East as mentioned in the history of Dionysius Tell Mahre. This tradition began in the time of Patriarch Cyriacus. However, when the diocese of Takrit had declined and the diocese of Nineveh kept flourishing, the maphryono of Takrit wanted the diocese of Nineveh to be united with his own diocese. For this reason, Maphryono Ignatius went to visit Patriarch Athanasius at Hisn Ziyad. The patriarch did not agree with him and the maphryono departed for Melitene and then to the Monastery of Sergisiyya. When the patriarch left Hisn Ziyad for the Monastery of Mor Barsoum, the maphryono came again to convince him of the idea of uniting the diocese of Mosul with the diocese of Takrit under his jurisdiction. He spent all summer in the Monastery of Mor Barsoum but did not obtain the patriarch's approval. In November, he returned to his diocese without giving up his idea, and waited for the right opportunity to accomplish his desire as shall be said later. As for the patriarch, he spent the rest of his life in our monastery, that is, the Monastery of our lord Mor Barsoum, although this provoked the malice of some people.

On a night of October 1463 (A.D. 1152), heavy rain fell and swept the threshing floors and the plains. Many people and animals were drowned in the inundation, especially in Hisn Ziyad and Semha. In addition, the torrents washed away plenty of earth and huge rocks, even millstones fell into the valley situated between the villages of Abdahar and Tarshana. They formed a dam in the middle part of the River Euphrates and blocked its flowing for three hours. I, (Michael Rabo), saw the place and the people who picked the fish from that spot until the waters became forceful and washed away the earth and the rocks, and opened a watercourse at the foot of Claudia Mountain and rushed through it.

In this period, an Armenian priest named Joseph from the village of Bargish (Prosidin according to Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 279), in the region of Hanzit, built a church, embellished it, and plastered it with white color on the outside. One day the amir Kara Arslan went out for a stroll as was the custom of kings, and saw the church shining brightly and became greatly wrathful. His fiery wrath was stirred up even more by Turks who hated the priest. By demonic influence they slandered the priest to Kara Arslan saying that, "Whenever a new church is built, the ruler of that region in which it is built dies." Kara Arslan issued an order to demolish the church at the foundation, and the wronged priest was imprisoned. The Christians of Hisn Ziyad gathered to intercede for him, but the amir issued an order to execute him. The execution was carried out on September 14, the Festival of the Cross. Since that time, an order was issued forbidding the construction of a new church or renovating an old one in Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia), and the Christians were immensely distressed. However, after the death of Kara Arslan, the Christians gave his son plenty of money, and he issued an order permitting the renovation of old churches. Everywhere the Christians heaved a sigh of relief.

Here ends this Book (Seventeen). It consisted of fourteen chapters covering a period of ten years during which were set up two kings for the Greeks and the Franks, two kings for the Turks and one king for the Arabs.

BOOK EIGHTEEN

WE, BY THE HELP OF GOD, WILL TREAT EVENTS FROM THE YEAR 1464, WHICH IS THE YEAR 1153 OF THE INCARNATION OF OUR LORD, THE YEAR 531 OF THE HIJRA (ISLAMIC CALENDAR), THE YEAR 93 OF THE TURKS AND THE YEAR 6683 OF ADAM AND THE BEGINNING OF THE CREATION

Chapter One: On the Franks' wresting Ashqalon (Ascalon) from the Egyptians, and other events that took place in this period

In the year 1464 (A.D. 1153), King Baldwin (III) of the Franks in Jerusalem was still a young man, and his mother (Melisend) administered the state. However, when he reached the legal age, he wanted to be the sole ruler ...lacuna...

In this period, the prince of Caesarea Cappadocia issued an order to demolish all the churches. Because of this the priests ...lacuna...

In this period Jacob the rhetorician of Melitene, already mentioned, was ordained a bishop for Mar'ash. The reason for his ordination was ...lacuna...

Note: The copy of the Edessa-Aleppo Syriac Codex of The Chronicle of Michael Rabo, published by Gorgias Press, 2009, contains only the above passages at the beginning of Book Eighteen, Chapter One, followed regrettably by a lacuna from page 659 to page 679. The text then resumes on page 680, only to be followed by a second lacuna from page 683 to page 698. In his French translation of the Chronicle of Michael, Rev. J.B. Chabot filled in these lacunas from Bar Hebraeus' Chronography and his Ecclesiastical History, in order to give the work continuity and maintain a coherent series of events. However, he admits that what he filled from Bar Hebraeus was mere résumé and, to an extent, conjecture. I have personally decided to adhere to the original text by adding nothing to it. In addition, since most of the chapters of Book Eighteen, the title and some chapters of Book Nineteen are missing, and the remaining chapters are not numbered, I thought it necessary to number them for the benefit of the reader. (Trans.)

...lacuna... he opened his storehouses in Antioch and fed the people from the beginning of March until June. *End of the narrative.*

... he set up mangonels (engines of war) and built towers supported by iron. They never kept still all day long, and a great number of people perished. A Turkish prince from the clan of Ataturkians was in the city (Amid). He had a shrewd Vizir named Ibn Nisan Kalam al-Din who had placed everything including gates, walls, army, city dwellers, villagers, and money under his authority. Amir Jamal al-Din was a meek old man and subject to Ibn Nisan, from whom he received bread to eat. With established determination and cunning, he overwhelmed the power of the army that surrounded the city. He urged the people in the inside with honey-like words and promises of gifts, in order to protect the wall and fight the enemy. Meantime, he prepared arrow-throwers and operators of mangonels (engines of war) on the inside more than on the outside. Three times at night, he sent three groups of men to burn down the armaments of those outside. They destroyed the towers where the fighting was carried out with huge rocks. In the meantime, he strengthened on the inside the huge stone columns with lime both in length and width. While he was engaged in constant fighting, he sent delegations to all amirs to make them enemies of his enemies, and he succeeded in what he wanted.

He made Jacob Arslan, lord of Cappadocia, his ally although he was the father-in-law of Kara Arslan. In fact, the letters he received from Amid and the oaths that the people would be subject to him, made him turn against Kara Arslan and save Amid from his grip, as a revenge for what he did to him in the case of Melitene. When he attacked his region pillaging and spoiling, Kara Arslan departed Amid brokenhearted after having endured (adversity) for five months and after spending abundant money, and went to Hisn Ziyad in his own country. Then, Jacob Arslan invited him to make peace with him, but he refused. In turn, he ravaged Kizan, Kharsan and Tell Batriq, and captured by military force the fortress of

Shumushki and evicted from it a thousand men, women and children and animals. Among those evicted was Ignatius, bishop of Tella, situated on the River Arsanius. He also captured Qamah and returned to Melitene. He seized the bishop of the fortress, but released him after two days.²³⁰⁶ *End of the narrative. He who reads let him pray for the weak and sinful Michael Urbish who transcribed (this book).*

For many years, even Muslim Turks, Kurds, and people from other nations visited the Monastery of Mor Barsoum, especially on his commemoration, which extended for several days. They came to seek the grace of healing, and many received it. However, scarcity of water caused them some distress. Water was brought from a far distance to the monastery on the backs of mules. The metropolitan of Mardin, who was an expert in land survey, and had the ability to extend aqueducts with facility wherever the monks wished, wanted to perpetuate his name in that holy place. However, the monks refused on the pretext that a gigantic work like that could not be accomplished while the Turks were surrounding the monastery from every side. They also could not believe that water ducts could be extended through caverns and rocky places to the top of the mountain. They reasoned that, "Ancient people were wiser and more intelligent than us, and yet could not carry out such work, how can we ourselves then do it?" Days passed by, and I, the weak Michael (Rabo), was called to be the archimandrite of this monastery. God, whose power is manifested in weakness, strengthened my feebleness. I addressed a letter to the Metropolitan Mor Yuhanon who responded to my appeal with alacrity. Upon exploring the spot, he was convinced that he could draw water to the monastery. The work began by digging the ground and making ready the necessary tools. When the winter overtook the workers, the metropolitan returned to his diocese hoping to return to the work in April. Here, I would like to keep silent over the complaints and harassment of the brother monks caused by Satan who wishes the people no good, corporeal or spiritual, and who has instigated them, old and young, to murmur against my weakness saying that I am squandering money and mistrust those around me. Thus, the entire (monks) unanimously maintained that the monastery was heading toward ruin. Nevertheless, I endured all of this with magnanimity while seeking help by the prayers of Saint Mor Barsoum. While receiving these stings, I tried to convince some by words in order to mitigate the vehemence of their hot zeal, and win others by praying instead of insults with the intention to shame them.

Finally, spring arrived and the venerable metropolitan returned according to his promise. Instead of the malice, which we were expecting from the neighboring governors, we received encouragement and support from both Christians and Muslims. Emboldened, the monks endorsed the project by the power of our lord Mor Barsoum, who triumphed over the hatred of the devil. Each one of them rushed to work trying to be in the vanguard. They did this especially when some of them saw visions at night or during work indicating the interest of the saint in this work, although this may sound strange. Those who consider visions sheer fantasies should not disdain these visions. In fact, Mor Barsoum appeared to some monks and servants who opposed this idea and tried to hinder the work waving a string in his hand and saying, "I would like to draw water to this place."

During the work, the following incident took place. While the digging went on, a huge rock obstructed the work and the workers tried to move it. Because of the intensity of rolling it, the foot of one of the workers slid, and he fell under the rock, which rolled over him. I do not say it was a mountain that rolled over him, but a rock. The people rushed to see whether any bones of that young man, whose name was Barsoum, were left intact. When they got to him, they saw that he was caught between two small stones, and he was alive and wholesome without bodily scratch. All of us witnessed this incident with our own eyes and touched him with our hands.

If some were, then, skeptical about this contrary-to-nature miracle mentioned in the life story of the saint (Mor Barsoum), concerning the young man under whose belly iron was crushed but he was kept alive, this incident confirms the miracle of the young man who was caught between two stones. Indeed, the power that enlivened the former young man is itself what kept this young man alive. How long the speech may be, it remains incapable of absorbing of all the miracles that took place during this work. I have, in fact,

²³⁰⁶ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 287.

recorded only a small amount of them. Nevertheless, I should relate briefly the miracle that took place at the end of this work.

We were disappointed when a big rock obstructed the flow of water to the monastery, and there was no means of breaking it or setting up something to dam it. Saint Barsoum appeared to a monk, who was a stranger, and said to him, "Go and tell the laborers and the archimandrite of the monastery not be frustrated, and they will find the course of the water in such and such place." When the monk revealed his vision, no one believed him because the spot he indicated in the mountain was a massive rock. Nevertheless, the monk dug up the spot by himself and discovered a cleavage in the mountain five hundred paces long, no more and no less. Those present were astonished and praised God. Some of them said that the cleavage was old, while others said that the Lord has recently split it. I, (Michael) say that, "Whether the cleavage is old or new, it is the power of God which is in the Saint Mor Barsoum confirming that it is of God's work and not of ours. I hope no one will entertain bad thoughts thinking that I have written untrue events among those, which I have compiled in this book. In fact, I decided to record many events in order not to discuss them at length. I also hope that no one will believe that I count myself among the combatants. This is why I did not mention what I have suffered except a smattering. I only recorded very little. I do not overlook my weakness. And what I have written I did so to obtain the prayers of the venerable people who read this (narrative) and learn that the work ended on August 24, 1474 (A.D. 1163)."

Chapter Two: On the time when Bohemond, son of Bidawi (Raymond of Poitiers), reigned in Antioch; and the entry of Amaury, king of Jerusalem into Egypt; the death of Jacob Arslan and the Maphryono Ignatius; the defeat of the Franks at Harim where the lord of Antioch and Tripoli was captured

When Rangad (Reginald of Châtillon) was captured by the Turks in Aleppo,²³⁰⁷ his wife claimed that she was the heiress of her father in the principality of Antioch. Therefore, she was given its administration. She had a son, who had come of age, but she did not allow him to assume power. She became subject of the skepticism of the leaders ...lacuna...

Because of his acute illness and suffering, the Maphryono Ignatius wanted to come to the Monastery of Mor Barsoum. Some of his disciples carried his books and possessions and reached the village of Hil in the province of Nisibin ...lacuna...

In 1476 (A.D. 1165), wheat was very scarce, especially in the regions of Antioch and Cilicia where the price of one-half measure was one dinar. Finally, it vanished completely.

In the same year, the Vizir Jamal al-Din of Persian origin who was in Mosul was assassinated. He had delegated the maphryono to the king of the Iberians. Zangi had appointed him an administrator in Mosul and gave him one tenth of its revenues. He became wealthy and of prominent position. He represented ...lacuna...

Here follows a lacuna of fifteen pages. The narrative resumes on p. 698

... let us fear brothers, let us fear. If an earth tremor can cause fear of such magnitude, who will then be able to endure the forthcoming judgment on that awful day?

As we were standing at the altar of the Monastery of Mor Hananya (The Za'faran Monastery), we fell with our faces before the Table (of Life) and held onto it while we were vacillating from here to there. We supplicated God heartily to make us worthy of the end (the life to come). After a long while, we returned to ourselves, bewildered, as if we had come back from the grave without hope. Tears flowed down

²³⁰⁷ Reginald of Châtillon was captured by Nur al-Din Zangi at Harim in 1164 along with Raymond III of Tripoli, and were taken in chains to Aleppo and imprisoned. See William of Tyre, *History*, 2:299; Ibn Kamil *al-Tawarikh*, 1:537-540; Ibn Wasil, *Muṣfarrij al-Kurub*, 1:144-145; Yahya Ibn Abi Tayy in Abu Shama, *Kitab al-Rawdatayn*, 1:239; the Anonymous Edessan, 188-189; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 288; Röhrich, *Geschichte*, 318-319; Marshall W. Baldwin, *Raymond III of Tripoli and the Fall of Jerusalem*, 1140-1187. Princeton University Press, 1936, Reprint. New York: AMS, 1978, 13, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 740.

our eyes, our tongues engaged in praise, and we were like one who had just woken from sleep. We were especially composed when we were sure that the monastery and we were safe from harm. We thanked God even more when we heard of the reports of the calamities that took place in some regions and cities. The tremor had destroyed the city of Berea, which is Aleppo, where abominable things multiplied like in Sodom and Gomorrah. We have seen with our own eyes the reprehensible deeds committed in it. Thousands of Christians were not allowed to leave their homes except for attending the church on Sundays while their necks and feet were bound in fetters, and their cries ripped the clouds. What tongue can discuss, or what ear can endure to hear the kinds of torment suffered by the captives? If a hand wanted to write down some of these calamities, it would need several volumes. Perhaps the atmosphere of that city has become foul because of the reprehensible stench of the abomination of the Tayoye (Arabs, Muslims) in it.

Many, witnessing these abominations, began to profane saying that the grace of God did not extended to this place. However, by this chastisement, Divine Justice has been merciful to prevent them from committing vile deeds like those committed by the people in the days of Noah before the Flood. Those who said that God could not save the captives from their hands, their bodies have become piled up because of the tremor. Their walls and homes were demolished, and the water and the air were fouled by the great number of those drowned. The city was cleft and many cleavages and subterranean vaults appeared. It was blackened and became a mound of rubble. What confirms even more that the sword of wrath was drawn upon it, is that some of its environs were saved from this calamity. The wall of Antioch on the seashore collapsed. The Great Church of the Greeks collapsed, as well as the altar of the Great Church of St. Peter. Some houses and other churches also tumbled down, and fifty souls perished in Antioch. Gabbula was entirely demolished and so a great part of Tripoli including the Great Church. The seacoast cities, Damascus, Homs, Hama and other cities and villages, suffered damage from this tremor. However, what happened to Aleppo happened nowhere else. Its prince took the tonsure and put on sacking cloth, gathered the people and went to up to Qusayr. He asked their (Latin) patriarch for forgiveness and appealed to him to enter the city. However, (the patriarch) said to them, "Unless you drive out the Greek patriarch, I will never enter the city." When they tried to drive him out, they found him bruised by the tremor. They carried him while he had still breath of life outside the city but he passed away on the road. Then Amaury (the Latin king) entered Antioch and rebuilt its walls and church. Meantime, Nur al-Din (Zangi) rebuilt the wall of Aleppo, and the lord of Samosata rebuilt its wall too. In fact, every Frankish and Turkish governor rebuilt his own domain.

As to us (Syrians), the tiny band in all the cities, God extended to us great help perhaps because we had no king or wealthy man (to protect us). In Aleppo while the entire city tumbled down, our church was saved and not one of its stones was lost. Also was saved the church of Mor Barsoum. In Gabula, our church was saved. In Antioch, three of our churches were saved: the Church of the Mother of God, the Church of Mor Gurgis (Jirjis), and the Church of Mor Barsoum. In Tripoli and Latakia, our churches remained intact. This was because of the glory of God and the courage of our small Orthodox flock. *End of the narrative.*

...the gold, which they were accustomed to deliver at times, and they paid a ransom as a guarantee for their delivering of money every year, he took it and returned to Jerusalem much to the chagrin of the Greeks. A great number of them perished because of the winter, and some of them hardly went back to their country.

In the same year, the foolish young lord of Melitene was carried away by detestable lusts. He attached himself to a sorceress prostitute who incited him to commit all kinds of abominations against the sons of his city and his Turkish troops, much to the displeasure of his nobles. However, he indulged more in his frivolity and laid hand on all the treasures of his fathers. He, accompanied by the prostitute and his companions, departed the city perplexed. When the nobles learned of what the wicked Mahmud had done, they set up his brother the young man Abu al-Qasim as leader. Peace prevailed in the city when he assumed the reins of government. His brother (Mahmud) moved from one house to the other, and we will mention his end later.

When the king of Jerusalem (Amaury (Amalric) 1, 1163-1174), heard that Malih²³⁰⁸ was mistreating the Christians in many ways and everywhere, he went forth to fight against him. Malih asked the Turks to help him. They did, and the battle between the two began. By the help of God, the king triumphed, the Turks fled and Malih took refuge in his fortress. The king besieged the fortress and fought against him. Malih repented, apologized, and pledged allegiance to the king.²³⁰⁹

In this year Izz al-Dawla, governor of the fortress of Agel, died and was succeeded by his son Asad al-Din. Conflict, however, arose between him and his uncle, the lord of Amid, and both of them took farmers captive and sold them as slaves.

...and the region. (The eunuch Amin al-Din, governor of Mardin) usurped our church of Mardin and gave it to the Tayoye (Muslims) who added it to their mosque, a thing that broke our hearts. Some of our people impudently profaned the saints instead of blaming themselves or us because God had forsaken us for our sins and permitted the nations to strike us with this just blow for our sins. Therefore, and with utmost truth, the saints say to us that, "God's name is blasphemed among the Gentiles because of you. Woe to that servant whose master is disdained because of him."²³¹⁰ On the next day, that eunuch fell off his beast. He repented and wanted to return the church (of the Christians) but was afraid of the Tayoye (Muslims).

In the year in which the metropolitan of Samosata died, Joseph, who was set up as bishop of Tell Arsanius without being worthy, also died. The faithful heaved a sigh of relief because they did not trust him.
End of the narrative.

Chapter Three: On the death of the sultan of Mosul and the caliph of Baghdad, and on Nur al-Din going down to Mosul, and the plundering of St. Matthew's Monastery, and the convening of the council of Mor Hananya Monastery

In August of the year 1482 (A.D. 1171), Qutb al-Din, lord of Mosul and all of Athor, died.²³¹¹ His brother (Nur al-Din), who was lord of Aleppo, gathered troops at once and seized Nisibin without war. The Tayoye (Muslim) jurists rejoiced because he honored them abundantly. Like them, he observed the rules of the law (Shari'a). He drank no wine and never neglected the time of prayer. The Muslims considered him a prophet. As much as he was magnanimous to the Tayoye (Muslims), he oppressed the Christians. He ordered that any new building of a church or monastery should be demolished. They (Muslims) demolished the foundation of the Great Church of Mor Jacob in Nisibin, which the Nestorians had usurped since the time of Barsoum, the heretic.²³¹² They plundered its vessels and thousands of its books. They did the same to many other places. Nur al-Din appointed a relative jurist named Ibn 'Asrun as a judge and sent him to travel around and destroy any renovation of the churches built since the time of his father and his brother, in order to win God's favor. However, wherever the callous 'Asrun went, the people bribed him, and he swore that the renovation they did was old. When he was not offered a bribe that blinds the eyes, he went ahead destroying and ravaging. When Nur al-Din heard of his actions, he dismissed him.²³¹³

Then Nur al-Din moved from Nisibin to Sinjar and captured it without resistance. In December of the same year 1482 (A.D. 1171), he besieged Mosul.

In that year the (Abbasid) Caliph al-Mustanjid (1160-1170) died and was succeeded by his son al-Mustad'i (1170-1180), who mitigated Nur al-Din's hatred of the Christians for reasons which shall be explained in the tables of years.

²³⁰⁸ Malih was son of the Armenian Leo 1, Roupenid lord of Cilicia, 1173-1175.

²³⁰⁹ On Malih, see Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh*, 1: 566-589; and by the same author, *al-Tarikh al-Bahir*, 169; Nicolas Iorga, *L'Arménie Cilicienne* (Paris, 1930), 98; K. I. Astarjian, *Tarikh al-Umma al-Armaniyya* (Mosul, 1951), 214-215; William of Tyre, *History*, 2:386-387; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 292, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 682-684.

²³¹⁰ Romans 2:24; Isaiah 52:5 and Ezekiel 36:22. For the second verse Cf. Isaiah 45:9.

²³¹¹ Qutb al-Din is brother of Nur al-Din Zangi, atabeg of Mosul, 1149-1170.

²³¹² Barsoum of Nisibin, a champion of Nestorianism, died toward the end of the fifth century.

²³¹³ For the career of Nur al-Din, his warfares and inveterate hatred of the Christians, see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 681-691 and the many different sources used.

The waves (of persecution) which swept us for our sins reached even the Monastery of St. Matthew in the region of Mosul and Nineveh.

In this year (1170), Qutb al-Din died and was succeeded by his son Sayf al-Din. In the following year of 1482 (A.D. 1171), Nur al-Din, lord of Aleppo, attacked this region (of Mosul and Nineveh). Many neighboring Kurds of the Monastery of St. Matthew learned that Nur al-Din was intending to strike down the Christians. They rejoiced in reviling the Christians, and found this an opportunity to show their hatred of them. They intended to destroy the monastery and ravage it at night. However, the monks were on guard and many times shattered the ladders and killed some Kurds. Then the Kurds assembled at daytime and fought against the monastery, but the men of nearby villages of Nineveh came to the rescue of the monks and defeated the Kurds. The Kurds, cunningly, made false peace with the monks and gave them thirty dinars as a payment of love. The monks believed the trick and sent the villagers home. Then, the Kurds suddenly assembled and rolled a huge rock from the top of the mountain which hit the wall at the spot where the water enters the monastery (this translator saw this rock several times). When the monks tried to rebuild the spot with lime and stones, the Kurds showered them with arrows until they weakened. Then they shouted with one voice and, drawing their swords, attacked the monks killing some of them. Other monks sought refuge in the Upper Citadel of the monastery and were safe. The monk Matta and the solitary monk Denha perished in this raid. The Kurds numbered one thousand five hundred men. They loaded their beasts with the monastery's possessions, not to mention what they carried with their hands. These possessions belonged to the men of the region (mostly villagers) who deposited them in the monastery for protection.

After the Kurds departed, the monks carried all the manuscripts and whatever was found in the Upper Citadel to Mosul and the monastery was desolate of monks and servants. It was a pitiful spectacle meant for our reproach. Then, men of the neighboring villages hired soldiers to guard the monastery lest the enemies might destroy the building. They paid them thirty dinars a month. When the governors of Mosul learned of what the Kurds had done to the monastery, they sent troops and killed a great number of Kurds. However, the Kurds went forth, destroyed five villages in the county of the Nestorians, and killed their inhabitants and animals. They spoiled them and burned them by fire.²³¹⁴

In this year, the monk-priest Hasan bar Kumaib *hgar* (embraced Islam) in Mardin for a conflict with his brother monks.²³¹⁵ The Tayoye (Muslims) captured their monastery known as the Monastery of the Abkar (First Born) in the Mountain of Mardin and converted it to a house of prayer for the Kurds.

In that year the Maphryono Metropolitan Dionysius renovated the Church of the Mother of God in Amid and set up in it his secretary, the deacon Abraham, who taught children how to read. He learned (how to teach) from the metropolitan and taught the children. He also renovated the floor of the church with his own money and from the donations of the faithful.

In the same year, we (Michael Rabo) built a church in the Monastery of Abu Ghalib in the region of Berta in Gargar. In this year, we assembled a council in the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran Monastery). Ignatius was ordained as bishop for Tell Arsanius, and Iyawannis for Sebaberik. One of them was from the Monastery of Sergisiyya, the other from the Monastery of Physqin (the Canal). *He who reads, please pray for the weak and sinful transcriber.*

Chapter Four: On Nur Din's war against Mosul, and other events which took place in this period

When Nur al-Din besieged Mosul, the five sons of his brother and their tutor, the eunuch Fakhr al-Din Abd al-Masih from the district of Antioch, were in the city. Because Fakhr al-Din helped the Christians as Mordecai helped (the Jews), the Tayoye (Muslims) were jealous of him as Haman was jealous of

²³¹⁴ For these details see Ignatius Yacoub III, *Duḥaqat al-Tib fī Tarikh al-Qiddis Mar Matta al-Aib* (Gushes of Perfume in Writing the History of the Monastery of the Marvelous St. Matthew), translated into English by Matti Moosa under the title, *History of the Monastery of Saini Matthew in Mosul* (Gorgias Press, 2008), 89-90.

²³¹⁵ Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, biography of Michael Rabo calls him bar Kulaib. See Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 691 and 694.

Mordecai.²³¹⁶ Nur al-Din himself came to Mosul because of his jealousy of Fakhr al-Din who was administering the city with wisdom. When Fakhr al-Din realized that it was difficult to oppose Nur al-Din, and that the inhabitants were inclined towards him, he sent a delegation appealing for peace. Fakhr al-Din went forth and received a pledge (from Nur al-Din) not to take Mosul from the son of his brother. Nur al-Din went up to the Citadel and appointed for it a eunuch named Sa'd al-Din (Gümüshtigin) to keep it protected for him. Then, he left the city and its region to his brother's son. He divided the other regions among his brothers' sons and daughters giving each one of them their share.²³¹⁷ Then he registered in his name the regions of Mardin and appointed a governor to each of them.

Nur al-Din overburdened the Christians with taxes, and increased on them the land-tax. He issued a decree that the Christians should wear sashes and not grow hair long in order to be differentiated, so that the Tayoye (Muslims) could ridicule them. In addition, he ordered that the Jews should put a red patch on their shoulders to be distinguished (from other people).

In this period Aimry (Amaury), king of Jerusalem went to Constantinople to see the king (emperor) of the Greeks (Manuel I Comnenus). The emperor offered him abundant gold and arms. When he returned to his country, Nur al-Din learned of his visit. He returned hurriedly taking with him the eunuch (Fakhr al-Din Abd al-Masih), lest his remaining would help the Christians. When he left for Aleppo, the (Christian) inhabitants of Athor (Mosul) and Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia), heaved a sigh of relief. All these events took place in the year 1483 (A.D. 1172).²³¹⁸

In this period, Melitene was ruled by a fifteen-year-old young man, who was the brother of the governor who was forced to abandon it in disgrace. They married him to the daughter of Kilij Arslan, lord of Hisn Ziyad. While they were celebrating the wedding, the young man went out to frolic, as was the usual custom of the Turks and the soldiers. He fell off his mount and died, and their joy was turned into mourning. People thought to invite the city's old governor to rule the city, but the Turks disagreed. They assembled and swore, and the Christians also swore an oath, they would not accept the one who had abandoned them. Therefore, they set up the younger brother, Fredon, as their ruler and married him to his brother's wife without her consent.

As we have said briefly before concerning Nur al-Din, he was intoxicated with vainglory because the Tayoye (Muslims) considered him a prophet. He tried every means to humiliate the Christians in order that the Tayoye (Muslims) would look to him as the leader of their faith. He became more arrogant after he captured Syria, Egypt and Athor (Mosul and Nineveh), as if he controlled all of mankind. Satan enticed him to decimate the Christians. For this reason, he addressed letters to different quarters. He addressed a letter to the (Abbasid) caliph saying that, "In the Quran Muhammad prophesied that the Muslims will rule for five hundred years without harming the Christians. Now that these five hundred years have come to an end, the Christians living in the countries under the authority of Muslims should be annihilated, and any one of them who does not convert to Islam shall be killed." He also mentioned in this letter that he was prepared to come and see him. However, these words frightened the caliph who realized that Nur al-Din was treacherously intending to oust him as he did to the sultan of Egypt, and appropriate the caliphate because he considered himself a prophet. Therefore, the caliph disappointed him. It happened at that time that the caliph died and his son was set up in his place. He killed the vizier because he did not want him to replace his father. Since the vizier hated the Christians, the new caliph loved them because he hated him. He set free the imprisoned leaders of the Tuma family and restored to them their homes and church. The leaders informed the caliph how his father frustrated the messengers of Nur al-Din when he learned of his deception. He addressed to Nur al-Din a letter saying, "You have no right to claim to be a prophet and issue

²³¹⁶ On Mordecai and Haman, see the entire Book of Esther.

²³¹⁷ See Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil fi al-Tarikh*, 573-577, and his *al-Tarikh al-Bahir*, 146; Abu Shama, *Kitab al-Rawdatayn*, 1:186; Ibn al-Adim, *Zubdat al-Halab*, 2:331; Ibn Wasil, *Mufarrij al-Qulub*, 1:191-193; Imad al-Din al-Isfahani, *Sana al-Barq al-Shami*, abridged by Qiwam al-Din al-Fath ibn Ali al-Bundari, ed. Ramadan Sheshen (Beirut, Dar al-Kitab al-Jadid, 1971), 93-94, Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 395-397 and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 687-688.

²³¹⁸ See the Anonymous Edessan, 196, who discusses Nur al-Din's persecution of the Christians.

laws like a god. You have not truthfully understood what Muhammad said concerning the (five hundred) years. For God did not command us to kill people for no offence." Nur al-Din was ashamed but sent other delegates asking him to visit the grave of the caliph who had passed away. This was in the interest of the Christians because the new caliph was certain that Nur al-Din was cunningly trying to usurp their city and rule over it. For this reason, the caliph sent him a reply threatening him and forbidding him to come to the city.

We should understand that although God placed us under the high-handed power of the Arabs and the Turks because of our sins, yet he did not deprive us, not even one day in any shape or form of his compassion. In fact, he always bestowed his care on us and saved us from our haters for his affection towards his church.

In the year 1483 (A.D. 1172), the monks of the Monastery of Mor Barsoum drove out the old monk Gabriel and he came to us at the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran Monastery). We went to the monastery to look into his case and other matters. With us was the venerable Mor Iyawannis, bishop of Kesum in a feeble health condition. On Saturday 24 of the month, he passed away in the Monastery of Mor Barsoum. He was well versed in the priestly ranks and of eloquent speech. He was of great renown in the church.

Two months later, that is in October, 1172, our people were immensely saddened for the loss of our Orthodox Church of Mor Dionysius Jacob (Bar Salibi), bishop of Amid. He was a doctor and the star of his generation. Like Jacob of Edessa, this Bar Salibi was worthy to be called "lover of work" because he labored greatly in the field of science. He collected books and wrote many significant books. He penned an important commentary on the Prophets (the entire Old Testament). He also wrote a commentary on the Gospels, the Epistles and Acts and the teachings of Gregory the Theologian (Gregory of Nazianzus), the books of Basilus, Dionysius the Areopagite, Gregory of Nyssa, Saint Severus of Antioch, Peter of Callinicus (al-Raqqā), and hundreds of aphorisms of the solitary Eugris (Evagrius). He also wrote a book on *Disputations* (Syriac, *Oroutho*) in refutation of the creeds and religious faiths contradictory to our Orthodox dogma. He also penned a commentary of the books of philosophers like Aristotle and others, a book on *Divine Providence*, a book on annals, a book on letters and a book containing discourses. He also collected all the melodies of our church in a single book with which he enriched the church. He also enriched himself by preserving the holy canons. We have written a discourse on his life story, his works and literary achievements. Those interested should read it. His body was interned in the southern part of the Church of the Mother of God in Amid next to the graves of Bar Abdun and Bar Shushan. May God have mercy on him, forgive anyone who reads, and pray for my weakness. *End of the narrative.*²³¹⁹

Chapter Five :On the coming of Sultan Kilij Arslan to Melitene and his departure from it; the unanimous intention of the amirs to fight him by the instigation of Nur al-Din; the circulation of false reports about the death of Nur al-Din, and the conflict between the Turks and the Arabs under his rule

When Sultan Kilij Arslan heard of the dissension which took place in Melitene in the year 1483 (A.D. 1172) because of the young amir, he prepared to invade it. However, the inhabitants who lived in it (Melitene) before the dissension had sworn that they were of one united opinion. They sent messenger to Hisn Ziyad asking for the wise administrator the eunuch S'ad al-Din. He strengthened them, encouraged them and united their armies. He confirmed the engagement of the daughter of his master to that young amir. When the sultan arrived at Melitene, he failed to capture it. However, he took about twelve thousand people of the region captive. As to Nur al-Din who was in Caesarea, he urged the amirs of Mosul, Mardin, Hisn Ziyad and the Armenians to join his army. They assembled in the domain of Isma'il the lord of Sebastea, but Nur al-Din procrastinated the entire summer. Moreover, when the winter arrived, and they realized that he was still deceiving them, they marched to the gate of Caesarea to fight him, but the sultan

²³¹⁹ For a detailed account of Bar Salibi, see Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, translated into English by Matti Moosa (Gorgias Press, 2003), 432-441.

did not confront them. They asked him to hand over those whom he had taken captive from Melitene, some of whom were already killed and others were at their last breath. As they were killing them, they gathered their clothes and arms. However, the contingent with Salah al-Din (Saladin) reached Egypt, wore black and sat mourning. Meantime, the news of joy reached Antioch while we (Michael Rabo) were in the city.

In this time, the Turkish lord of the fortress of Harim heard that the lord of Aleppo was intending to seize him and kill him. He rebelled against him and joined the Franks. The prince swore that he would not evict him from the fortress, and he helped him and protected him. Thus, submitting to the Franks, he became an enemy of the Turks. However, the Franks reneged on their oath. They assembled from Jerusalem and the seacoast, and were joined by the lord of Tripoli, Rafan (Roupenid) lord of Cilicia, and the count of Phalant (Sic). A great crowd (of troops) joined the prince and besieged Harim for four months. They fought with every conceivable means distressing all people and the city and causing them losses. Many people lost their lives in the struggle. Despite all this, God did not give them victory. This was just because they reneged on their oath and swearing on the Cross and the Gospel. They thought that victory could be gained by human power. When the Turks who were in the fortress weakened, they sent a message to the lord of Aleppo who, after offering them a pledge on oath, they handed to him the fortress. He gave the prince twenty thousand dinars for his losses, and the prince returned to Antioch with a broken heart. In the meantime, the other became famous for what he had taken from the regions of his brother Shahanshah, which they usurped from Dhu al-Nun and from the sons of his brother who were imprisoned by him, and restored them to the inhabitants of Melitene. He appropriated ten thousand dinars a year for his brother but gave no one of them a piece of land. Indeed, he committed a crime against his brother's sons. He slaughtered one of them, roasted him, and sent him on a platter to his father with bread as a meal. He threatened saying, "If you want three more like this one, I will send them to you." When the Turks heard this, they were frightened. Because they were sore distressed, they reconciled and each of them returned to his own town, especially that winter had arrived and their country was desolate of troops.

When the news of the death of Nur al-Din was circulated, the Arabs and the Turks fought each other, and thousands of them fought and killed and were killed. The Christians feared that they might be swept by the wrath of these two peoples. However, the villages were desolate of people and the roads of pedestrians all over Syria, Beth Nahrin and Athor. After the armies of the amirs returned from Cappadocia to their towns in November, Nur al-Din recovered from his sickness and the people knew that he was alive. They dispersed and would no longer assemble. Peace prevailed. In this conflict between the Turks and the Arabs, about one thousand people were taken captive from Kesum. They were bought by the inhabitants of Melitene trafficked in human beings.²³²⁰ *At this point, the narrative ends. He who reads it let him pray for the weak and sinful Michael who wrote (transcribed) it down.*

In July of the year 1483 (A.D. 1172), the Tayoye (Muslims) usurped the Church of St. Thomas in Mardin for the following reason. A certain (Syrian) of Mardin named Barsoum committed adultery with a Tayoyto (Muslim) woman. He was tortured almost to death and his possessions were confiscated. Because Barsoum had renovated the Church of St. Thomas at his own expense in the time of the governor Husam al-Din, the Tayoye (Muslims), said to the governor that the church actually belonged to Barsoum because it was rebuilt by his own expense. Therefore, they (the Muslims) usurped the church and converted it into a mosque. The Christians (of Mardin) who grieved to the extent that they blasphemed against Divine Justice, tried to reclaim the church from the Tayoye (Muslims), but their action angered the Tayoye (Muslims) more against them. They assembled and lodged a complaint against the governor. Because they did not rely on God, they went on profaning him and the saints. The governor dismissed their complaint, and he became more wrathful than before. His wrath was aggravated more because of the case of the monk-priest Hasan bar Kumaib, mentioned earlier. Bar Kumaib, in a fit of anger with his two brothers (monks) and other inmates of the monastery concerning his deprivation of the priesthood, converted to Islam. He fled to

²³²⁰ The above passage seems to be confusing and inconsistent. Perhaps it suffered a lacuna which disturbed its continuity.

Jerusalem. Later, he felt guilty and returned to Christianity. When the governors (of Mardin) heard this, he arrested Bar Kumaib's brothers and the other monks, and they were tortured to death.²³²¹

In September of the year 1483 (A.D. 1172), rain and snow suddenly fell and ruined the grapevines and the olive trees. The cotton and the sesame were blackened as if they had been scorched by fire. This chastisement not only was confined to Syria, Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia) and Athor (Mosul), but also extended to Persia, Armenia, Palestine and Egypt. All of humanity appeared as chaff swallowed by fire and became cinder. It was a fearful and scary spectacle for the viewers who did not completely die or were turned into granite with no feeling. All of this happened because of the sins and abominations of the different kinds of people, which were perpetrated in this evil, and wicked generation, where every one of us has strayed with all his power from the fear of God. Whatever happened, then, is just, although it surpasses what had been written, "But before they turned from food they craved, even while it was still in their mouths, God's anger rose against them."²³²²

In this year (1483, A.D. 1172), Abraham, secretary of Mor Dionysius was ordained a bishop for Amid.

In this year we (Michael Rabo), were at the Monastery of Mor Barsoum. We built cells for the patriarchs and for the comfort of the visitors.

In this year began the renovation of the great church of Melitene called al-Sa'i Church in the following manner. Through years, its dome became dilapidated and about to fall down. When the faithful tried to renovate it, they did not do so for fear of the governors. The truth is that they feared that if they began the renovation they might not finish the work. Thus, the renovation was abandoned until this time. When prominent men of the city saw the dome and wanted to begin its restoration, they consulted us as the Patriarch of Antioch. We welcomed the idea and endorsed it. They sent to us the bishop of Tarsus and two presbyters of his own regarding this matter. The bishop asked us to go with him to see the dome. After examining the matter and verifying what the bishop said, we joyfully went there. Immediately, I (Michael Rabo) gave fifty dinars to begin the work, and promised to give even more. The workers demolished the dome, the front and the northern doors and commenced the construction. However, the devil with his malice rose against us in order to render vain the spiritual and corporeal benefits. Still, there were men who helped my weakness, among whom were the Archdeacon Abu al-Hasan and the steward Romanus known as 'Ujan. Romanus, motivated by faith, exhibited a great effort in completing the entire construction. When the people saw that the doors were fixed, even the obstructionists came to the fore and joined those who were concerned for the construction. Thus, they gradually began to demolish segments of that great church and rebuild them. All the people of the city participated in the work. Even the poor and the widows secretly gave what they had to the steward Romanus.

The church was first built in the year 1280 (of the Greeks, A.D. 969), by the Metropolitan Ignatius known as al-Sa'i. The renovation took place first in the year 1483 (A.D. 1172), and lasted six years until 1488 (A.D. 1178) with the total expense of two thousand dinars.

Chapter Six: On the murder of Isma'il, governor of Cappadocia, and the setting up of his uncle Dhu al-Nun; the appearance of Nur al-Din, and the spread of famine because of the multitude of harsh (Divine) disciplinary actions

In the year 1484 (A.D. 1173), Isma'il (son of Danishmend), governor of Cappadocia, was murdered for the following reason. Famine spread throughout the country and the people were distressed by it and by the severe winter. The inhabitants asked Isma'il for food, for he had already stored wheat, but gave them nothing not even a little amount. Several times, they asked him for food but he expelled them and humiliated them. Having become sore distressed by famine, the people decided to kill him and lay hands on the wheat in order to feed themselves and their children. They concurred with each other, attacked Isma'il, killed him and his wife who was the sister of the sultan (Kilij Arslan), and five hundred of his relatives, cast

²³²¹ See Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 690-691.

²³²² Psalm 78:30-31.

them on the snow, and would not bury them. In addition, they laid hands on whatever he had in order to feed themselves. No one knew about his murder, not even highway robbers, until February because the roads were cut off by the heavy snow. However, his murderers felt guilty and decided to set up a leader from his own clan. They invited his uncle Dhu al-Nun, who was driven out by the sultan from Caesarea and fled to Damascus, to be their leader. Based on their request, and the assistance of Nur al-Din, Dhu al-Nun came walking on the snow. When he drew near the Monastery (of Mor Barsoum), the monks went out and spent five days clearing the road from the snow. Still, he hardly managed to reach Sebastea to assume the reins of the government. Immediately, he killed the murderers of Isma'il and their companions who deserved the cup that they had mixed.²³²³

Nur al-Din, who was thought to be dead, reappeared. He went out to welcome the Sultan Kilij Arslan. When Gogh Arslan, lord of Kesum, and uncle of the sultan, learned that the sultan did not trust him, he, out of fear, left Kesum and went to Nur al-Din. When Dhu al-Nun began to reign in Cappadocia, the Sultan (Kilij Arslan) went forth to fight him. Nur al-Din assembled his men and captured Kesum, Beth Hisne and Mar'ash, and penetrated the country of Jihan. Then, the sultan left Cappadocia and came to fight Nur al-Din. The two armies met at the region of Jihan. Both were scared of each other because each was strong and had a great number of fighting men. Famine, however, spread throughout the ranks of the two camps and a great number on both sides perished. Both were forced to sign peace through mediators. Nur al-Din surrendered Kesum and all the places he had taken from the sultan, and the sultan permitted Dhu al-Nun to reign in Cappadocia and submit to Nur al-Din. Thus, the two sides reconciled and every one returned home.

Let us now discuss the calamities that afflicted people, animals and birds, which God allowed in this time to strike almost all of mankind. This was done in utmost justice because the spirit of our rebellion overcame our obedience. When in September and October the crops were spoiled, astrologers began raving and saying that nothing of this sort would strike again, but they were wrong. For the Lord doubled his chastisement. Dense darkness prevailed to the point that the light of the sun looked like the light of the moon. Heavy snow fell in abundance and covered the mountains and the plains, and it was difficult to move from one village to the other or from one house to the other. Thus, the alleys of the cities and village were filled with snow, and people were confined to their houses as if they were in graves. The rivers and water springs froze, and people and animals and birds perished from thirst and hunger.

What tongue can describe, or what hand can draw a true picture of the torment that extended to everything which crawled on the ground like animals, and to the birds that fluttered to enter the houses. It was a tearful and painful spectacle, for they soon perished. Even oxen, donkeys and horses perished inside the houses, and (the carcasses) of sheep and goats piled up under the snow. The air reeked from the decomposed corpses. Those people who remained alive suffered immensely. Even the fish did not escape the scourge that was not confined to the northern regions, but extended even to India. The thickness of the snow in some places where usually snow did not fall was fourteen spans. It buried the tents of the Tayoye (Arabs) who did not live in houses and they suddenly perished. There was no one to transport the news from one camp to the other and many houses collapsed as the snow piled up on their tops and killed everyone inside. Many villages totally perished. Snow did not recede until April. Furthermore, snowstorms took many travelers by surprise and buried them on the road. Thus, the gluttonous people fasted in spite of themselves and the drinkers were abstinent in spite of themselves. The kings and the wealthy, the rulers and the poor went on supplicating, weeping and offering alms. However, Satan, who is the enemy of every good, hardened the hearts of kings and rulers not to repent by using astrologers who ascribed this scourge to the juxtaposition of the planet Saturn with Mars and fighting with each other. They said that, "The scourge will lift up when the two planets separate from each other, and will not recur for many years to come. Therefore, there is no need for supplications and giving alms." Many people believed this reasoning, but God exposed their deceit. For this calamity recurred in the following year and lasted from March to the middle of June.

²³²³ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 299, places this event in the year 1172.

Then, those who believed the astrologers admitted that they were charlatans, and that the will of Lord must be fulfilled. We have recorded these events in order that the wise may obtain benefits by faith.

In his period, the Tayoye (Muslims) usurped the Church of the Forty Martyrs in Mardin when God subjected us to another blow. However, his Divine Grace saved this church by a miracle.

In this time, we devoted great attention to the library of the Monastery of our lord Mor Barsoum. We restored the old books by the help of God. We prepared a parchment for the transcription of two *fanqithos* (service books) for the monastery in commemoration of my uncle, the Metropolitan Zakai and my father Iliyya (Elijah). In this year, too, we restored the spring which supplied water to the monastery.

In this year, the bishop of the Jazira was driven out by the Tayoye (Muslims) whose usurpation of the monastery was based on forged letters. When the bishop was imprisoned in Mosul, men of his congregation went down to Baghdad. After immense loss (most likely offering of ransom money), the monastery was saved and the bishop rescued.

In this time some Armenians from Edessa, one of them a vartaped (presbyter) named Garabed, and two monks, Geork (George) and Ausig, accused their catholicos of Simony that is selling the office of the priesthood for money. The catholicos was angry against them and had their beards shaven off (a sign of disgrace). They became even more incensed against him. They concocted a heresy that was adopted by four hundred families and came to be known as Ausigians. This angered the catholicos even more who sent messengers and gifts to the governor asking him to drive them out of his city. The governor accepted the gifts and permitted the Armenians to stand against them. A great turmoil resulted and the two groups began beating each other. The Ausigians offered the governor gifts and he permitted them to manage their affairs as they wanted. Then they joined the Chalcedonians, and we (Michael Rabo) and the Armenians scoffed at them. When they became immensely distressed, they found a person from Alexandria who knew good Arabic. This man visited Nur al-Din (Zangi) and slandered us, the catholicos and the people of Edessa to him saying that, "Letters have arrived from the king of the Greeks (Roman emperor) addressed to the Armenians and the Syrians to surrender the city to him." The Metropolitan Athanasius accompanied by Armenians and some Edessans went to Aleppo (to see Nur al-Din). After investigating the matter, the Greek person appeared to be a liar. He was driven out and fled to his country. The Edessans returned (to their city) with peace.

Chapter Seven: On the death of Nur al-Din and King Amaury (Amalric); and our moving to Amid; and the death of the Catholicos Narses

Nur al-Din became puffed up by arrogance especially after subjugating Athor, Beth Nahrin, Syria and Egypt whose rulers were like slaves unto him. After subjugating Cappadocia and Cilicia, he prepared to decimate the state of the Franks in Jerusalem and Antioch and the state of the Turks in Bithynia. His messengers in all quarters rushed to marshal armies and assemble them in Damascus. Innumerable multitudes were assembled from interior Arabia, Egypt, Athor, Beth Nahrin, Armenia, Cappadocia, Syria and Cilicia. Fear prevailed everywhere but especially gripped the hapless Christians. However, the Lord who is alone in control of the kingdom of men and who raises the weakest of them to the places of power, commanded, and Nur al-Din suddenly died (in May 1174), and his thoughts perished. His death brought feelings of relief not only to the Christians, but also to the rulers who were discontent with him, particularly because he forbade them to drink wine in his camp, or sing or dance.²³²⁴ Thus, his military camp was always quiet for he constantly listened to the reading of the Quran. He also considered himself like Muhammad and expected God to speak to him one day as he did with Moses. The Tayoye (Muslims) who discovered his false thoughts sarcastically called him a "prophet." They said to him, "You have appeared to us in the mosque," and he believed them. He reigned for twenty-eight years and was succeeded by his son al-Malik Salih in Aleppo and Damascus.

²³²⁴ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 302.

The Armenian Catholicos Narses passed away on Thursday, August 8. He had two brothers, each one of whom had a son who was a bishop. (One of them was older than the other). When the older was absent, his seal was given to the younger and he was proclaimed a catholicos. The older son returned with haste, but the younger would not let him in. The older sought the help of his son-in-law Mleh (Malih), the governor of Cilicia. Malih introduced him to Nur al-Din, and he returned carrying with him the instruction of the Turks. The Armenian people feared that through Malih, he might surrender the region to Nur al-Din. The Armenians brought the older son to the Romaitha (Roman) Citadel without the consent of the younger one. He seized his cousin and placed him under guard, and he was ordained a catholicos on Sunday September 25, 1184 (A.D. 1173). The case of those Christians, whose priestly leadership was not in conformity with the apostolic canons, was exposed. How gracious would it be if kings were just and not tyrannical?

As to the new Catholicos Krikor (Gregorius), he summoned our (Syrian) bishops who were near him. Among them were Gregorius, Bishop of Kesum and Basilius, bishop of Ra'ban, to participate in his ordination. On the next day, he sent to my lowliness (Michael Rabo) a delegation with a letter saying, "I wish you would attend my ordination and be my ordainer. And with your hands will place on my head the right hand of Gregorius (the Illuminator), the evangelizer of the Armenians, because it is the one which grants the priestly ordination. However, we have rushed to finish the service of the ordination for fear of the army of the Turks that has been surrounding us. Therefore, I ask you to fulfill my desire through the Spirit." I answered him as much as my weakness allowed. I blessed him and prayed for him. Still, I did not forget to mention the apostolic canons. However, with love I admonished him not to commit grave sin by selling the office of the priesthood, a practice that has become legal with the Armenians. I reminded him of what the great Peter said to Simon the magician.²³²⁵ The Armenian people appreciated this letter, which was a reprimand to their leaders. I also requested him to release his cousin from prison.

Two Ausigian priests came to us (Michael Rabo) accompanied by a monk complaining against the catholicos. We noticed that they did not understand the teachings of Athanasius and Cyril, or derive from them any authority. They rather said that sometimes these two saints maintained two natures, and other times one nature of Christ. They went on to say, that they have the choice to maintain one nature or two natures of Christ. We began to explain to them many teachings based on the books of these saints, and they deserted the faith which they were maintaining and endorsed the Orthodox faith. We provided them with letters to the catholicos requesting him to forgive them. When they departed, they found that the Catholicos Narses had died. They chose to dwell in our monasteries, and their leader Ausig, went to Antioch and joined the Chalcedonians while the rest of them were dispersed.

After Dionysius ordained his secretary Abraham a bishop for Amid, he lived only three months after his ordination. Meantime, the governor forced the clergy to pay him the amount of a hundred dinars, which the rebel Abu Sa'id had imposed on them. He wrote to us (Michael Rabo) threatening to demolish the churches if we did not pay him a hundred dinars a year. Then, I submitted myself to the Lord and went there (to Amid). The governor was astonished at my arrival and honored me greatly. We found that the churches were closed and some patriarchal cells were destroyed, while others were filled with the governor's cotton. We need not say how much money and expenses were spent for other renovations, but by the help of God, we rebuilt the church of the Monastery of Qanqart with lime and stones, which was formerly built with bricks and timber. In addition, we ransomed the imprisoned men of a village for three hundred dinars while the governor demanded two thousand dinars. We spent all the winter there. When the festivals were over and we had consecrated the *Mirun* (Holy Chrism), and ordained Iliyya and named him Iyawannis (at this ordination), we traveled to Mardin after the New Sunday (the Sunday following Easter).

In this year, rain fell heavily all over causing damages. The flood in Baghdad demolished about thirty houses. The same took place in other quarters. The grapevines and trees yielded no fruits in this year. Wheat and legumes did not come to fruition until the flood subsided.

²³²⁵ See Acts 8:18-25.

BOOK NINETEEN

(lacuna)

Here ends Book Nineteen covering the cycle of eight years. I pray every brother to fulfill the aforementioned evangelical commandment "forgive one another," and forgive me that God may forgive him and have mercy on him.

Note: Since the Syriac copy of the Edessa-Aleppo Codex contains no title of Book Nineteen, it is difficult to ascertain where it began because many pages are missing, as said earlier. Therefore, I preferred to follow the Syriac text by numbering all the chapters of Book Eighteen and then resume the numbering of the chapters with Book Twenty. (Trans.)

BOOK TWENTY

IT BEGINS WITH THE YEAR 1486 OF THE GREEKS WHICH IS THE YEAR 1156 OF THE INCARNATION OF OUR LORD, AND THE YEAR 553 OF THE ARABS (ISLAMIC CALENDAR), THE YEAR 114 OF THE TURKS AND THE YEAR 6655 OF ADAM

Chapter One: On the period of the cessation of the rule of the Danishmends in Cappadocia, and its rule by the sultan of Iconium; and the beginning of the kingdom of another Baldwin in Jerusalem; and the tempest which tossed our church by men of our own

After the death of Nur al-Din, his son al-Malik al-Salih reigned. King Amaury (Amalric) invaded Damascus and spoiled it. Then he laid siege to Banyas and the Muslims were gripped by fear. They were prepared to invade the country of the Franks who had come forth to invade their own country. The inhabitants of Damascus sent a delegation promising to give him the tribute as before. The king refused to make peace with them. He was intending to punish them with their same punishment of the Christians. However, the incomprehensible judgment (of the Providence) did not allow this (to happen). Also, the king's ardor dampened when he suddenly became sick and felt that his end was near. He then made haste to accept the money from the inhabitants of Damascus and sign peace with them. He went back to Acre (Akka) where he passed away at the beginning of July 1486 (A.D. 1175), forty days after Nur al-Din's death. (King Amaury (Amalric) died on July 11, 1174. Nur al-Din died in May 1174). He ruled for twelve years and instructed that his young son the fifteen year-old Baldwin IV, who was of the same name of his uncle, to succeed him. When Baldwin IV assumed power, he confirmed the peace his father had concluded with Nur al-Din.

In the summer of the year 1486 (A.D. 1175), Kilij Arslan, sultan of Iconium, heard of the death of Nur al-Din, who was supporting the Banu Danishmend, he penetrated their country and the Banu Danishmend were gripped by fear, and the prophecy of the Prophet Jeremiah, "Cursed is the one who trusts in man, who depends on flesh for his strength and whose heart turns away from the Lord. He will be like a bush in the water lands," was fulfilled in them.²³²⁶ The sultan imposed his dominion on them, destroyed them and seized from them Sebastea, Neo-Caesarea, Comana and the rest of the cities and fortresses of Cappadocia. Sultan Kilij Arslan became strong and glorious. Those amirs fled, every one to a quarter for protection. Their leader fled to the king of the Greeks (Roman Emperor Manuel I), but the emperor did not accept him. Thus, in this time the government of the Danishmends ceased. It began with the going forth of the Turks and their capturing of the regions from the Greeks (Romans) in the year 1366 (A.D. 1055), and ruled for one hundred twenty years. Six rulers rose up from this clan in succession.²³²⁷ *End of the narrative*

²³²⁶ Jeremiah 17:5.

²³²⁷ They are Danishmend, Ghazi, Mahmud, Yacoub (Jacob) Arslan, Isma'il and Dhu al-Nun.

In this time when the leadership of the Danishmends ended in Cappadocia, the grass began to grow in this summer and the crops increased after the great famine, which swept Syria, Palestine, Athor (northern Iraq), Armenia, and Persia up to Sijistan, even to the confines of great India. Now, the Almighty Lord changed things by his intimation, and there was a saturation (of food) especially in Egypt. The crops, especially wheat, were abundant to the point that two camel loads were sold for one dinar.

In this period a storm, not to be taken lightly, was blown against my weakness (Michael Rabo) because of my sins, perhaps that we may partake in the sufferings of the saints although by as much as a little finger. We were not persecuted like the Apostles by the heathens, or like the fathers by heretics, but the storm was stirred up against us by our own brothers. It was a new kind of persecution. However, the truth cannot be concealed from those who love it, and its reward is kept with him (God) who examines everything and knows my weakness.

When I was called to this awesome service (the patriarchate), I deemed it my responsibility to observe and defend the holy canons that were trampled upon and their effect was inoperative. I issued the law that forbade ordination for a bribe, and a law that prevented the usurpation of a diocese or a church by the influence of a king or governor. I also admonished that no one should dare trample upon the canons by moving from one diocese to the other without lawful reason. For this reason, I was opposed by the bishops of Damascus (John), Jihan (Abu Ghalib), Tur Abdin (Ignatius Gabriel), and then the bishop of Callinicus (al-Raqqqa) named Iyawannis Denha. Since the time of Patriarch Athanasius of good memory, Denha's congregation lost confidence in him and launched complaints against him, and many times the patriarch suspended him from service to reform him. These dignitaries themselves launched complaints to us against him, but we, according to our own ability, counseled them and reconciled them with him. I also urged Denha, not only once or twice but for eight years, to abstain from unlawful practices. Moreover, in each year they renewed their complaints against him, not only because he did not keep any promise, but also for his improper conduct.

A council was convened in the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran Monastery). Its members listened to testimonies presented against Denha and in his presence. Based on the resolution of the council, we commanded that he should leave his diocese and stay in a monastery in the diocese of Mardin for three years until we treat his case. He consented before the council to comply with the canons. Shortly afterwards, the devil enticed him and he trampled upon the canons. He went to some Nestorian leaders and other responsible men in the region of Mardin complaining against my weakness, and I endured much torment. However, when the men discovered his conduct, they expelled him. He went to the governor and promised to give him a bribe if he killed me, but the Lord had mercy not only on me but also on the church. The governor sent soldiers who took me as someone condemned to death and set me up before him. He spoke to me angrily, but the Lord who promised the faithful that, "At that time you will be given what to say,"²³²⁸ gave me, I, the sinner and unworthy, a power not for my own sake only but also for his church. I defended myself with few words, which revealed the truth, and the slanderer was thrown out. No one, other than God, was with me then except the great master Abu Kair, the archdeacon of Mardin. May God have mercy on him.

Afterwards, Satan instigated Denha against me. He slandered me to the lord of Mosul promising to give him a thousand dinars. The lord of Mosul sent soldiers who arrested me and sent me to Nisibin. Accompanying me were Mor Athanasius, metropolitan of Edessa, Mor Yuhanon (John) and many monks. When we arrived at the camp, they delivered me to the deputy of the Amir Sayf al-Din. He spoke to me gently saying, "Now that you are under our sword, and God has placed you under our command, it is improper for you to resist the king's decree. See to it that before you are dishonored and delivered to be whipped, you should abide by the order of the victorious king. He had ordered that this bishop (Denha) should be the shepherd of the cities under his authority, which are Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia), al-Raqqqa, Harran, Sarug and the district of Habura. Therefore, go back to your place in peace or something bad will

²³²⁸ Matthew 10:19.

happen.” I asked God for help and prepared myself for death. I said to him with avid courage, “The three laws are contained in the Old Testament for the Hebrews, the Gospel for the Christians and the Quran for the Muslims. You should explore three of them, especially your book, and see how God commanded kings to administer the affairs of the countries with authority. As to faith, it should be without compulsion but by choice. This made the just kings who came after Muhammad and until our day to observe the law of God and not violate it. They, according to the command of God, imposed on the Christian’s tribute and obedience. However, they did not interfere in the matters of the faith. Now that you are trying to change what they have decreed, you ought to know that you are not doing this against me but against Moses, Christ and Muhammad. You will also be transgressing their three books. In other words, you will be transgressing the command of God. Worst still is that you believe the slanderer. If you want to discover easily that he is a liar, the cities that you say that you have given them to him are still under your sword. Now if he was given them by your order, why do their inhabitants reject him? However, he violated our law and can claim no right with us; he sought the protection of the royal sword. Also, you want me to transgress the law of God and render it invalid. It is easier for me to have my head cut off than violate the command of God.” Then, I stretched my neck and said, “I am stretching my neck by my own will; you may cut it off. But I will not transgress the law.” The captain of the host entered the tent of the king. After a while, he came out, held me by the hand and made me enter the (tent) alone. He let no others, not even bishops or monks accompany me. I prayed for the king at length. His deputy said to me joyfully, “O patriarch, pray for the king Sayf al-Din for he has ordered that your law should be observed, and no one can disobey you.” I repeated my prayers and gratitude for him and left thanking God tearfully. While the bishops and the monks rejoiced, the slanderer who was standing there was disappointed. He tried to kill me in the body and kill himself spiritually. He shouted before the crowd of Muslims saying, “O Muslims! Know that this old man is an impious (infidel). He is trying to Christianize the Tayoye (Muslims) in the countries of the Tayoye (Muslims). Here is the evidence.” He presented a letter, which I (Michael Rabo) wrote a long time ago concerning (Hasan) Bar Kulaib (Kumaib, previously mentioned). When he read it to the Muslims, they were agitated and picked up stones to stone me. The monks with me fled, but God increased his mercy on me. For when the letter was examined, and discovered that it was about Bar Kulaib (Kumaib), a group of Tayoye (Muslim) men from Mardin testified that Bar Kulaib (Kumaib) was a monk and not a Tayoyo (Muslim). Then, Sayf al-Din provided us with a letter and we returned to our place in peace. As to the slanderer, he went down to Baghdad to launch complaints against me to the caliph. When I heard this, I sent letters to the faithful of Baghdad and they drove him out. Finally, he came to us to Antioch, and we prayed over him and sent him to the Mountain of Edessa to wait for us to appoint him to a place (diocese) after we returned to Mor Barsoum Monastery. However, death overtook him before our arrival at the monastery. May God have mercy on him.²³²⁹

Chapter Two: On the murder of the amir of Melitene, Mleh (Malih), governor of Cilicia, and Amin al-Din, governor of Mardin all in same period. On the events which took place in this period; the murder of the metropolitan of Tur Abdin, and Salah al-Din the Egyptian who ruled over Arabia; and the governor of Mosul who retrieved from him the occupied regions; and the Turks who ruled in the Mountain of Sasson

After the death of Nur al-Din (d. 1174), his nephew Sayf al-Din (Ghazi II) seized Nisibin and abolished the rules set by his uncle. He destroyed the rock which was at the mosque and on which the rules were inscribed. He allowed the drinking of wine in public. He was visited by the amirs of Mardin and Hisn Kipha, and then he invaded Harran and occupied it. He did the same to Sarug and Callinicus (al-Raqqqa). His cousin (Malik Shah), governor of Aleppo and Damascus, submitted to him and returned to Mosul.²³³⁰

²³²⁹ For more details, see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 292-294.

²³³⁰ See Imad al-Din al-Isfahani, *San al-Barq al-Shami*, 161-162; Ibn Wasil, *Mufarrij al-Kurub*, 2:9; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 302-303, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 691-692 and footnote 32 on page 692.

In this year Salah al-Din (Saladin) who was in control of Egypt, invaded Arabia interior and several regions of the country of the Nubians with great success.

In this same year, the Turks seized several fortresses in the Mountain of Sasson, which was ruled by the Armenians for generations. They ruled over the Armenians by the help of the lord of Miyafarqat, who allied himself to the Turks and oppressed the Armenians by starving them, and they were forced to surrender the fortresses to (Sukman II, Nasir al-Din Muhammad 1128-1183, known as) Shah Armen, lord of Khilat.²³³¹

In this year, the king of the Iberians seized the city of Ani from the Persians.²³³²

On December 15 of the year 1486 (A.D. 1175), amir Qutb al-Din (Ilghazi) murdered in the Citadel of Mardin the eunuch Amin al-Din, the administrator of the region. He carried his head by his hand, took it to his aged father, and said to him, "I killed him because he wanted to kill me." The old man said nothing because his mind was confused.

In that same year, the troops rebelled against Mleh (Malih), governor of Cilicia because of his bad deeds and swore to kill him. Upon learning this, he fled the camp at night to one of the fortresses. However, the guards of the fortress who were in collusion with the troops, seized him, cut him into pieces and cast him to the dogs. They brought his nephew (son of his brother) Roupen II, son of Stephen who was hiding in Tarsus to escape his uncle, and made him a ruler over them.²³³³

In this year (A.D. 1175), Qutb al-Din (Qaimaz), an army commander of the (Abbasid) Caliph al-Mustadi' (1170-1180), rebelled in Baghdad. He assembled an army and fought against the caliph in his own palace with the intention that he would proclaim him a sultan. Being immensely distressed, the caliph went up to the roof of the palace. He shouted with a loud voice, weeping, to the people of the city to save him from the rebel. The people assembled and after killing many, the rebel fled with thirty thousand horsemen to the wilderness to save their lives. They began to suffer thirst for five days for lack of water. They sent a delegation to the lord of Mosul who promised to reconcile them with the caliph. While en route to Mosul, a violent hot windstorm blew up scorching them with their beasts. It rendered them like black, burned wood that even predators would not eat them because their heads were calcified like rocks. Only one hundred men made it to Mosul but the physicians could not save them, and their sight was frightful. *End of the narrative. He who reads let him pray for me.*

On Sunday, February 15 of the year 1486 (A.D. 1175), the lord of Melitene (Feridun) was assassinated by his brother (Muhammad) who had been a governor. He fled and lived extravagantly for five years until Nur al-Din seized him, but managed later to escape to Antioch and join the Franks. However, living in Antioch did not suit him, so he went to the Turks to Sultan Kilij Arslan. The sultan gave him Heraclea but he was expecting to be given Melitene. This did not happen and the sultan took even Heraclea from him. He went to the Turks in the east. However, Nur al-Din seized him and cast him into prison in Birah on the bank of the Euphrates. There, he lived on charity with great torment. The monks of the Monastery of Mor Barsoum were bold enough to send him charity with some messenger monks because he had loved the monastery when he was still in power. The monks' action yielded good consequences as shall be said later.

Shortly afterwards Nur al-Din died and (Muhammad) got out of prison. He heard that his brother's wife had left Melitene and went to her parents in Hisn Ziyad because she hated her husband. Muhammad went to Hisn Ziyad, and upon receiving encouragement from its rulers, he returned secretly and found refuge in the Monastery of Mor Barsoum. He made many vows to the Monastery that if he regained the rule of Melitene, he would exempt the monastery from taxes. When he reached the city of Melitene in the evening, he entered its gate disguised as a poor man. No one recognized him except the two men who were with him. These men took him to a Turk, who was his follower, and he remained at his house for two days.

²³³¹ The Anonymous Edessan, 202, Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 303, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 701.

²³³² Bar Hebraeus, *Ibid.*, 303.

²³³³ On Mleh (Malih) see the Anonymous Edessan, 205; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 305; Frédéric Macler, "Armenia," *Cambridge Medieval History*, 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1170-1171, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 684.

In the evening of the aforementioned Sunday (February 15, 1175), (Muhammad, brother of Feridun, lord of Melitene), risking his life, and he and the men with him sneaked out into the garden (of the mansion of his brother) without being detected by the guards. They found a ladder lying on the ground. They set it against the wall and climbed into the house. They found the wretched (Feridun) sleeping and with him his old nursemaid. Suddenly, the young man (Feridun) and the nursemaid woke up and began to tremble. Muhammad struck him dead, (cut off his head) and took the keys of the gates of the city and the citadel and held his brother's head in his hand. He went first to the homes of the leaders whom he was sure were loyal to him. He also went to the homes of others. Whenever anyone of them woke up from sleep and saw the head of the amir (Feridun) in his brother's hand, they trembled and submitted to his authority. Fifteen of these leaders swore fealty to him (Muhammad). When daylight appeared, Muhammad climbed to the Citadel with a hundred men. In the morning, there was a great agitation and a new lord was proclaimed for (Melitene). People were greatly astonished and the Christians kept hiding in their houses. The Turks, wearing their arms and mounting their horses, assembled at the gate of the Citadel. They disputed the murder of the amir (Feridun) until his head was dropped down over the wall, and they lost hope (of his survival). They were forced to swear loyalty to Muhammad.

When Muhammad was established in power, he exempted the monks of the Monastery of Mor Barsoum from taxes, but the monks suggested paying him three hundred dinars a year. They asked him to exempt them only from the excess taxes imposed on the monastery by the amir Ghazi. The monastery had never felt the weight of the taxes before Ghazi came to power. When he came to power, he imposed on the monks the payment of seven hundred dinars of taxes a year. Since Muhammad was in power, the monastery was relieved from this burden. Nevertheless, the monks insisted on paying the amir (Muhammad) seven hundred dinars a year. However, Muhammad had already vowed to abolish all the taxes imposed on the monastery. The monks kept insisting to pay this amount in order to avoid the hatred of the Muslims. To do the monks a favor, he gave them the Monastery of Mor Domitius (Domit). *End of the narrative.*

In the year 1486 (A.D. 1175), Ignatius, metropolitan of Tur Abdin, was killed for the following reason. He was concerned with collecting money by different means and was afflicted with the disease of the love of money, which is idolatry. He was not even ashamed when we (Michael Rabo) rebuked him to adhere to the canons, but continued to commit evil upon evil. He deserted the true hope in God and put his trust in the earthly sultan that he may collect money with the power of the king. Almighty God deserted him. On Sunday morning, he left the service and went to the sultan, as was his custom, to throw the monks, priests and laymen into prison for different charges. At night, he was met by Kurds and this wicked man fell into the hands of wicked men. Those with him fled but he was beaten and tortured harshly. Finally, they impaled him and left him at the last breath. Some men found him and when they pulled the stake out of his body, he breathed his last. Shortly before, a number of faithful men of the clan of Cyriacus in Hah (in Tur Abdin) were killed. They were Marzuq, his brother Barsoum and their children. A rumor was circulated that they were killed by the instigation of the tyrannical metropolitan (Ignatius). However, when he (Ignatius) himself was killed, the idea prevailed that he was killed by the instigation of those who sought revenge against him. Nevertheless, the whole thing was done by God's permission.

In the same year, God seemed to have deserted me (Michael Rabo) for my sins. The monks of the Monastery of our lord Mor Barsoum, rebelled against me because of the immense respect, affection and familiarity I had, which shall be correctly explained later.

Chapter Three: On the time when Salah al-Din (Saladin) departed Egypt and ruled Damascus, and his triumph over the lord of Mosul. In this time the Franks who were detained in Aleppo were released

In the year 1487 (A.D. 1176), Salah al-Din (Saladin), who was ruling Egypt, left it for Damascus with the pretext that the lord of Mosul (Sayf al-Din Ghazi II, nephew of Nur al-Din) captured Harran and Edessa from the son of Nur al-Din (Isma'il al-Malik al-Salih). Salah al-Din circulated the idea that he had come to rescue the son of his master (Nur al-Din). With this pretext, he controlled Damascus and its

environs. However, the young son of Nur al-Din, his mother and his guardians who were in Aleppo, were afraid of Saladin. Saladin sent messengers telling them that he was a slave (of Nur al-Din) and had only come to serve the young man and become his legal guardian and fight his enemies. However, they (the nobles) did not believe him and did not open the gates for him.²³³⁴ Saladin became very angry and captured Hama and Homs by force.²³³⁵ He brought from Egypt plenty of gold (money) and scattered it like dust. He also assembled a huge army, released from detention the prominent Frankish personalities who were imprisoned by Nur al-Din in Damascus at the beginning of his reign, sold them for cheap prices, and signed peace with the Franks. As to Sayf al-Din, lord of Mosul, he sent his forces to expel Saladin, believing they would easily overwhelm him. They mocked Saladin and branded him "a dog set to assail his master."²³³⁶ Saladin sent them a messenger to tell them kindly, "We are the sons of one house, and we should not be divided." They insulted the messenger, attacked him, and give him no chance to flee from their hands. However, God, who thrusts down the proud and the haughty, weakened them and, gripped by fear, the huge force turned back and fled. Saladin captured most of them and seized their arms, horses and camels. He also did another thing worth mentioning. When he saw them fleeing, he took off his helmet and cried out to his men saying, "Don't kill anyone, for they are our brothers." He released the captives after supplying them with money and horses and thus became more popular among the Muslims.²³³⁷

When those in Aleppo witnessed Saladin's victory, they were scared. They sent gifts to the lord of Antioch (Bohemond III, 1163-1201) to come and help them. The prison doors were opened and the prisoners were released and were sold in order to leave Aleppo. Of those sold were the kings who had been imprisoned for a long time and had lost hope (of freedom). They were Raymond IV, count of Tripoli, who was sold for eighty thousand (dinars), Joscelin II, son of Joscelin for fifty thousand (dinars) and Reginald of Châtillon for one hundred and twenty thousand (dinars). At several times a ransom was sent from Constantinople to have Reginald released, but he used it to free other captives instead. Then he was freed with the rest.²³³⁸

After the forces of Sayf al-Din, lord of Mosul, were defeated, he mustered double their original number (about twenty thousand men) and was joined by the lord of Mardin and Hisn Kipha, and the total number of both forces was sixty thousand against twelve thousand, the forces of Saladin. Saladin sent an envoy to warn Sayf al-Din (Ghazi) not to resort to war, saying, "If I am defeated, my defeat is of no significance because I am only a slave fleeing from his master. But if you are defeated, your defeat will be a disgrace because you are the son of a king." However, Sayf al-Din despised Saladin and insulted him. When the battle began, Sayf al-Din's commanders fled because Saladin had already bribed them generously. Sayf al-Din fled too, riding a camel, and barely escaped to Mosul in disgrace. He killed some of those who betrayed him and expelled the others.²³³⁹

Saladin marched against Mabug (Manbij and the Tayoye (Muslims) who were there handed it over to him. He seized its lord (Qutb al-Din ibn Yinal ibn Hassan), of amiable character who was formerly the lord of Edessa. He appropriated his possessions unjustly and imprisoned him for five months. Upon his release, he went to Mosul. The governors of Tell Bashir, 'Ayntab and other parts of Syria immediately came to Saladin and offered him allegiance.²³⁴⁰

²³³⁴ See Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil al-Tawarikh*, 1:607-608 and 616-617, and by the same author *al-Tarikh al-Bahir*, 176-177; Ibn Wasil, *Mufarrij al-Kurub*, 2:7; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 303; The Anonymous Edessan, 207, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 732.

²³³⁵ Imad al-Din al-Isfahani, *Sana al-Barq al-Shami*, 180, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 737.

²³³⁶ The Syriac verb *sobaikh* used here could mean to assail or to crawl upon or cling to. See R. Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary*, ed. J. Payne Smith (Oxford At the University Press, 1903), 357-358. For this and more analysis see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 735-737 and the sources used.

²³³⁷ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 304; The Anonymous Edessan, 208, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 743.

²³³⁸ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 305.

²³³⁹ Al-Isfahani, *Sana al-Barq al-Shami*, 207, and The Anonymous Edessan, 208-209, with slight difference.

²³⁴⁰ Al-Isfahani, *Sana al-Barq al-Shami*, 207-209; Ibn Abi Yaiyy in Abu Sahma, *Kitab al-Rawdatayn*, 1: 257; Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil al-Tawarikh*, 623; Ibn Wasil, *Mufarrij al-Kurub*, 2:42-43; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 306, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 747.

Saladin then captured 'Azaz (in 1176) by war and marched against Aleppo. During the siege of 'Azaz, the Batinis (Assassins) made an attempt on his life. They wounded him by knife (in his head and neck), but he did not die. However, he killed his assailants and spoiled their country. He then marched against Aleppo, and its inhabitants appealed to the Franks for help. The Franks sent them Reginald (of Châtillon) who had been released from prison, and God gave him victory. He killed a number of Saladin's army. Then, the Franks entered the region of Damascus, killing, destroying and taking many captives. In addition, they sent forces to Egypt and plundered that country. When Saladin was greatly pressured by the Franks, he gave back 'Azaz to the lord of Aleppo (al-Malik al-Salih), and concluded peace with the leaders of Aleppo, and returned to Egypt.²³⁴¹

The reason that our monks thought of a futile rebellion is traced to the disturbance that took place in the church following the death of Patriarch Yuhanon (John) X bar Shushan (d. 1072). At the council, which met at the Monastery of Mor Barsoum to elect a patriarch, the monks demanded from the council to resolve that the (elected) patriarch should have no authority over the monastery in any shape or form. The monks resorted to this stratagem in order to avoid what had happened to some of the patriarchs, who being oppressed by rulers, became a burden to the monastery. At one time, they took from the monastery silver vessels, and at other times borrowed money from it and did not pay it back. However, when the monks received a document from the bishops of the council (that the patriarch would have no authority over the monastery), the patriarchs, who later followed each other, rejected it. They said that there was no letter of confirmation (of such document) of Patriarch Athanasius and Yuhanon who preceded him, and another Athanasius who preceded us (Michael Rabo). Consequently, what the bishops demanded was unlawful and the document demanded by the bishops was invalid, and conducive to discord. Also, it would have created dissention between every patriarch and the monks. As to me (Michael Rabo), because I was raised in the monastery, I wanted to help it, but the help turned into harm. When I endorsed the document and pressured the bishops to sign it, I believed that such a procedure would put an end to the controversy between the patriarchs and the monks of the monastery. However, the conflict increased and became in their crooked mouths like a bit (in a horse mouth). As a result, controversy was stirred up in the monastery, and the monks were split into two factions.

On the morning of New Sunday, April 11, 1487 (A.D. 1176), after the end of the Celebration of the Eucharist, an eclipse took place, darkness prevailed and the stars and the moon appeared. Near the sun was seen a depressing and tear compelling spectacle for those who watched it. Sheep, oxen and horses butted one another from the enormity of fear. Two hours later light reappeared. In the evening of Monday, April 15, an eclipse occurred in the same place in which the former had taken place. Glory to the omniscient (God).

In the spring of this year, rain was scarce and heat was severe. Crops and plants dried up, and several villages became desolate of people because of heat and thirst, especially in Jerusalem and entire Palestine, interior Syria, the region of Nisibin, and Tur Abdin. In Mosul, farmers harvested nothing, and people and animals had no water to drink. *End of narrative and the one above. He who reads it let him pray for me, I, the weak and sinner.*

Chapter Four: On the death of Najm al-Din, lord of Mardin; the war between Sultan Kilij Arslan and Manuel, king (emperor) of the Romans, and other events which took place during this period

On July 22, 1487 (A.D. 1176), Najm al-Din, lord of the Mardin, passed away after reigning for twenty-two years. Because of his meekness and kind-heartedness, the people of his country, especially the Christians and their churches, lived in prosperity. He was succeeded by his son Qutb al-Din (Ilghazi II). He antagonized his uncles, the lords of Hani and Dara, so much that by the intervention of the lords of Mosul and Hisn Kipha, they came to the Citadel of Mardin, prostrated and offered him allegiance as they did to his father, and peace was established between them. Afterwards, it was rumored that Qutb al-Din died, and his

²³⁴¹ For a thorough analysis of the above events, see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 747-751 and the profuse footnotes he used.

country was almost ruined if it were not for the Lord who had mercy on him and healed him from his illness. He killed thousands of Arabs and seized twelve thousand of their camels, the rest fled and peace prevailed in the region.²³⁴²

In this time the king (emperor) of the Romans (Manuel I Comnenus 1143-1180), went hunting. He was attacked by a wild boar and was rumored to be dead. Kilij Arslan (II, Seljuk Sultan of Rum (1155-1192)), invaded the emperor's territory. The emperor was outraged because Kilij Arslan seemed ungrateful for the benefits he had bestowed on him, and even more so because he had invaded the regions of the Danishmend amirs who were on good terms with the emperor. The amirs fled to Constantinople seeking refuge with the emperor and urging him to fight Kilij Arslan. He assembled a huge army, which covered the face of the earth and marched against the sultan's Turkish territory. He put pressure on the Turks hoping that Kilij Arslan would agree to return the lands he had taken from the Danishmend and the lands he had taken from him. The sultan refused, and conflict resulted between the two (sovereigns). The emperor restored the building of two cities, which had been ruined for a long time, and stationed army contingents to oppress the Turks. He killed thousands of Turkomans and took others captive, but the Turkomans penetrated the unguarded Roman territories from the north and took about hundred thousand captives. They killed all the men and sold the women and the children to the merchants in countries as far away as Persia. The emperor was furious and chased the sultan, who was fleeing from one mountain to the other, and would not meet the emperor in battle. The emperor sent thirty thousand men with the amir Dhu al-Nun (the Danishmend) to rule over Neo-Caesarea. Because they were greatly distressed, the city inhabitants surrendered to Dhu al-Nun. They addressed a letter, as if it was from the mouth of a Christian, to the captain of the Greek (Roman) host saying, "This amir (Dhu al-Nun) who you are supporting is a crafty person and wants to deceive you. He is in collusion with the Turks, his own people who are determined to annihilate you." They shot the letter with an arrow into the Greek (Roman) camp, and the Greeks were scared and began to flee. The Turks inside the city emerged shouting, "King (Emperor) Manuel has died." They killed most of them, and the captain of their host killed the nephew of the emperor. Dhu al-Nun fled northward but the Greeks captured him and left it to the emperor to decide his fate. *Here ends this other narrative.*²³⁴³

When harm (conflict) began to happen in the Monastery (of Mor Barsoum), because of not seeking the counsel of venerable men, we (Michael Rabo), in conformity with the canons, devoted our attention to redress the harm. We treated the bishops and the solitaries with the rod (of discipline) and with the language of command, lest the wound should transform into a gangrenous sore. Then those who were immersed in the apostolic salt were motivated by divine zeal to bring back the rest to repentance. They sent the entire elder brothers and the inhabitants of the monastery to my lowliness at the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran Monastery). They begged us to accompany them to the monastery (of Mor Barsoum) to stop the schism. We went with them to Amid, whose governor went out to receive us with joy. On Sunday, December 4, which is the festival of the martyr Barbara, we consecrated by the power of the Holy Spirit the church we had built there. With great difficulty, we arrived at the monastery. After lengthy deliberation, we, the bishops and the lay people, became certain that the documents that were issued now and then in one form or another, were the cause of the dissension in the church, and in a short while, would have led the monastery to ruin. Thus, it was decided to abolish them. This was done by God's help. Reconciliation was accomplished. Peace and joy prevailed in the Holy Church and among the inhabitants of the monastery. All relished the fruits of this effort.

In this year, God with his compassion had the crisis of scarcity of rain pass. The water springs flowed and people and animals were saved from the thirst which consumed them. However, famine was still rife everywhere, because the crops did not yield until the year 1487 (A.D. 1176). Indeed, the wrath of Divine

²³⁴² Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 307.

²³⁴³ The Anonymous Edessan, 211; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 306 and William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, translated by Emily Atwater Babcock and A. C. Krey, 2 (Columbia University Press, 1943), 414, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 752-753.

Justice was still standing because of our iniquities. Thus, poor people everywhere withered. The price of a measure of wheat in Damascus, Aleppo and the wilderness of Maliha was three golden (dinars). Soon, wheat disappeared because Arab caravans came and loaded their camels with it. Thus, the red gold (dinars) in Syria were plentiful, and were worth their half price. Wheat was so dear that the measure of wheat in these countries was worth one dinar.

In this time, something like a half moon pointing eastward appeared in the western part of the sky. However, whenever it moved, its size became larger until it became three fold the size of the moon. It then moved to the middle of the sky and split into three segments, fell off and could no longer be seen. When the king (emperor) of the Greeks (Romans) was defeated, everyone knew that this spectacle symbolized him. *End of the narrative. Anyone who reads it let him pray for this sinner.*

Chapter Five: On the defeat of Manuel, king (emperor) of the Greeks by Sultan Kilij Arslan

When Manuel, king of the Greeks, heard that his nephew was killed at the gate of Neo-Caesarea, he rushed angrily to take revenge of the Turks. The Sultan (Kilij Arslan) commanded his forces not to start the fight but every one of the divisions should move to the front, the right, the left and the rear of the camp in order to burn down the villages and the food provisions of people and animals. In addition, they should contaminate the water canals, springs and cisterns with the corpses of dogs and donkeys. He also ordered those in the fortress to not only fight but also strictly guard the fortress if possible. However, if they felt that they were weakened, they could then burn down the entire region and depart. The sultan went up to a rugged mountain and moved from place to place, while Emperor (Manuel) penetrated, with determination, to the middle of lands of the Turks as far as five days journey. When the Turkomans saw that the emperor of the Greeks wanted to drive them out of their abodes, they assembled in five thousand and ten thousand groups and burned, destroyed and killed anyone they found outside the Greek camp. When the Greeks were one day's journey from Iconium, and three hour's journey from the place where the sultan was, they entered a narrow, waterless place. There were about five thousand of them with carriages loaded with provisions for people, fodder for animals, armaments, and wood for the engines of war, church's gold, crosses and other miscellaneous objects. When the Turkomans and their forces saw that they were far beyond the camp with their carriages loaded with provisions, five thousand of them who were in the rear of the camp began plundering it. The ranks of the king (emperor) soldiers were stricken by fear, especially when they learned that their provisions and possessions were pillaged. The Turks, noticing their fright, rolled down large rocks from the mountain's top crushing them and the animals. Their crowds rushed down to the ditch and were piled on top of each other, while their knees trembled from fear of the Turks. The arrows of the Turks reached them because the distance between them and the Turks was not too far.²³⁴⁴

In the middle of the night, the emperor sent an envoy asking for peace with the sultan. The sultan, who was also fearful, agreed immediately. The delegations shuttled back and forth all night between the two camps under the light of torches. The emperor gave the sultan the three cities, which he had built. In the morning, they announced peace, but the Turks were agitated and insulted the sultan, branding him an infidel for accepting peace. The emperor requested the sultan to have three of his men accompany him lest the Turks should assault him, but the Turks did not quiet down. When the Greek troops began to depart, the Turks assailed their camp from all directions killing a number of them. When the emperor asked the Turk amirs, why such a thing should happen after the agreement was reached (between him and the sultan), they said, "What has happened is by our order."²³⁴⁵ The emperor, then, placed ambushes for them and killed about twenty thousand of them (Turks).

Upon his arrival at Constantinople, Manuel sent plenty of gold to the sultan, and took a cross that contained a piece of the wood of the Cross of the Crucifixion.²³⁴⁶ The Sultan sent to all the amirs, to the

²³⁴⁴ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 306.

²³⁴⁵ For the defeat of Manuel by Kilij Arslan see A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, II, 428-429 but does not mention some of the events as Michael Rabo does.

²³⁴⁶ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 307.

caliph of Baghdad and the sultan of Khurasan: slave girls, arms, and the heads of the Greeks mounted on the tips of lances or attached to the tails of horses. The people paraded them down the streets dancing in front of them. With this evil result was the departure of the emperor of the Greeks. Who would not admit that by an indication from above (heaven), and by incomprehensible judgments, all these things happened on earth?

In this time Yuhanon (John), metropolitan of Homs, that venerable and saintly old man, could no more take charge of pastoral service and religious duties. Several times, he asked with good conscience to be relieved from his duties because of old age or other reasons, which permitted him to resign. The congregation beseeched and encouraged him not to abandon his flock which God, the chief shepherd, entrusted to him. However, the old man, who feared God, wept as he was pressured to stay, and postponed his resignation to the next year. This situation continued for ten years. Finally, not only I, (Michael Rabo) but also the present bishops, were embarrassed by his tears, and ordained the monk Dawud (David) from the Monastery of Mor Hananya, as bishop for Homs and called him Dionysius (at his ordination).

Chapter Six: On Sultan Kilij Arslan II, assuming dominion over Melitene; and the rest of events that took place here and there in this period

At the time the Sultan (Kilij Arslan II) made peace with the king (emperor) of the Greeks, he invaded Melitene. In Melitene at that time was a notorious amir from the Danishmend clan who had killed his brother. He and his brother were engaged in evil deeds. Most Christians abandoned the city because of famine that had spread everywhere, especially in Melitene. In addition to the famine, those who remained in the city suffered imprisonment, whipping and all kinds of hardships. They began to remember, not only what I (Michael Rabo) had said to them before, but also what others did. We felt compassion for them and wrote them saying, "Why did you shift to the left and abandon the good traditions of your fathers, and thus deserve the chiding of the Prophet who said, 'They mingled with the nations and adopted their customs.'"²³⁴⁷ When they saw that the blow had convulsed them, they were afraid and contracted. Their hearts opened up as the chastisement overwhelmed them as it is written, "The chastisement of the Lord opens my ear."²³⁴⁸ Then, they repented with tears, sorrow and contrition. The Lord hearkened unto them, and put fear in the amir's heart, and he said, "The Turks hate me, and because of the famine they will soon kill me and will surrender the city." He secretly sent an envoy to the Sultan (Kilij Arslan II) asking for safety, and then left for Hisn Ziyad. The sultan entered Melitene on Wednesday, October 25, 1489 (A.D. 1178), and ruled over it much to the joy of the inhabitants. The sultan's forces had besieged the city for four months without overwhelming it. The soldiers built abodes of unbaked bricks for the winter. They also built a house for the sultan with tombstones in the graveyard. Thus, God visited the hapless people of the city with abundant mercy in accordance with his ineffable dispensation.

Two years after his ordination as bishop for Homs, Metropolitan Dawud (David) departed this temporal life. The congregation of Homs appealed to us (to have a bishop), and I, (Michael Rabo) pressured the old man Yuhanon (John) to return to his service. In this time, Metropolitan Athanasius passed away and the solitary (monk) Abu Ghalib, was ordained a metropolitan for Jihan. He came from his Monastery of Abu Ghalib in the district of Gargar. In the same year, Yuhanon (John), bishop of Arsamosata, died in the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran Monastery). In Melitene, Ignatius Romanus, metropolitan of Tell Arsanius, died in the district of Gargar and was buried in the church of his fathers. In addition, our brother (sibling) Rabban (monk) Saliba was ordained a bishop, with the name of Athanasius, in the Monastery of Mor Hananya on Sunday, October 9.

In this period too, the Lord, because of our sins, chastised the earth with a scarcity of rain. Crops dried up and severe famine inflicted Syria, Palestine, Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia) and Armenia, and the price of a measure of wheat was one dinar, if wheat was found. In Damascus and its environs, wheat and legumes could not at all be found, and many people perished from starvation. Some people moved to far

²³⁴⁷ Psalm 106:35.

²³⁴⁸ Cf. Job 36:10.

away countries, but the Christians never ceased praying and supplicating tearfully. Muslim kings who had wheat and grains, distributed them to the poor and the needy. In addition, Amaury, Patriarch of the Franks in Antioch, distributed wheat and grains generously. Finally, and after losing hope, the floodgates of heaven were opened in mid-spring and watered the earth, and the weather moderated. People rejoiced and raised their hearts and voices to heaven praising God, and were satisfied everywhere.

Chapter Seven: The departure of Salah al-Din (Saladin) from Egypt to Palestine, his defeat by the Franks, and the events that took place in this period

In Teshrin (October) of the year 1489 (A.D. 1178), Saladin left Egypt with thirty three thousand armored men in addition to the infantry and other soldiers, along with fifty-two thousand camels bearing provisions and arms. He entered Jerusalem consumed by blind zeal. He killed the first Frank he captured and splashed his garment with his blood as an act of purification.²³⁴⁹

At the time when everyone lost hope, God had compassion on the Christians. All people were distressed when the signs of leprosy appeared on the young King Baldwin IV and he began to be consumed by it.²³⁵⁰ However, God who manifests strength in weakness encouraged the sick king. He assembled a force, and went out to challenge the enemy. He dismounted from his horse and knelt before the Cross, supplicating with emotional words and tears. The soldiers with him were moved as they witnessed him. They placed their hands on the Cross and swore that they would fight and never retreat, and if they were defeated by the Turks, they would regard as an apostate anyone who might be tempted to flee battle. When the Turks, saw how few they were in number, they rejoiced thinking they could easily defeat them. On seeing the Turks who were as numerous as sands on the seashore, the Franks dismounted, cut their hair (in tonsure), exchanged greetings, wished another well, asked each other for the last prayer and engaged in battle. At that moment, a mighty windstorm blew from the Franks' side toward the Turks, filling their eyes with sand and causing them to wander in confusion. The Franks knew that the Lord had accepted their repentance. They rejoiced and gained strength while the Turks fled. The Franks fell upon them killing them all day long and plundering their camels and possessions, and the Turks were scattered. The Franks kept chasing them for five days until they found them in groups. They killed some of them who were breathing their last and gathered their arms and possessions, while others fled. Saladin and a few of his men barely escaped to Egypt.²³⁵¹ They wore black and mourned. The glad tidings arrived in Antioch while we (Michael Rabo) were there.²³⁵²

In this time the governor of the fortress of Harim (Sa'd al-Din Gümüshtigin) realized that the lord of Aleppo (al-Malik al-Salih) intended to arrest him and kill him. He rebelled and joined the Franks. The prince of Antioch (Bohemond III) swore that he would not evict him from the fortress but would help him and protect him. Therefore, Gümüshtigin offered the Franks allegiance and became an enemy of the Turks. However, the Franks committed a horrible iniquity by reneging on their oaths (to Gümüshtigin). They gathered in a large number from Jerusalem and the coastal areas. They were joined by the lord of Cilicia (Roupen), and Philip, count of Flanders and laid siege to the Harim fortress (near Antioch) for four months. They fought by every means and imposed heavy taxes on the city and the entire region. They committed great atrocities, and many people perished. Still, the good God did not grant them victory because they had sworn by the Cross and the Gospel (to help Gümüshtigin). They thought that victory could be achieved by human power. The Turks inside the fortress sent a message to the lord of Aleppo (al-Malik al-Salih), and received from him a pledge and handed the fortress over to him. He paid the prince (Bohemond III of

²³⁴⁹ See Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 762. Apparently, mentioning Ascalon instead of Jerusalem is a typo. For the correct name of Jerusalem, see p. 845. Michael Rabo is the only historian who mentions this incident. Since he was living in that period, he must have received his information from an eyewitness.

²³⁵⁰ William of Tyre, *History*, 1:2, and 2:398 ff., devotes an entire chapter to Baldwin the Leper; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 308, and The Anonymous Edessan, 217.

²³⁵¹ This battle occurred on November 25, 1177. See Reinhold Röhrich, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem*, 1100-1291 (Innsbruck, 1898), 377.

²³⁵² The Anonymous Edessan, 217-218; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 307-308, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 762-764.

Antioch) twenty thousand dinars and the prince returned to Antioch with a broken heart. This was the result.²³⁵³

In this period, a great number of the sons of Arabia departed due to famine and arrived at the banks of the Euphrates. The amirs would not let them cross the river saying that the famine was caused because of them. Nevertheless, they crossed the River Euphrates, but were confronted by the Turks who killed about a hundred thousand of them. The rest tried to cross to the other side of the river, but as they reached mid-river with the women, children and camels, the waters of the river raged and swept them, and they died and floated over the water like straw.

In May of the year 1489 (A.D. 1178), while we (Michael Rabo) were in Antioch, heavy rain fell and the waters swept the inner part of the city, the houses, the animals, and many people drowned. The flood reached the gates of the city and was so powerful that the gates could not dispose of it. The waters were raised higher than the wall, a great commotion took place in the city and people were stricken by fear.

In the following year, while we were still in Antioch, the winter was like a spring. In May, fire broke out in the city and destroyed a number of houses near the Great Church of St. Peter. God, however, protected the people and they were not harmed.

In this same year, while we were still in Antioch, the pope of Rome sent a delegation to the Frankish patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem, summoning them because of the heresy that appeared there. Their (Latin) patriarch of Antioch sent to us a bishop and two priests of Tarsus, asking us to accompany him (to Rome) for the same reason. When we investigated the subject, we learned that some Franks, who had compassion on the needy, were caused by Satan to fall into the heresy, which maintained that the elements of the bread and the wine in the (Eucharist) could not turn into the real Body and Blood of God (consubstantiation). They also maintained that there is no virtue except compassion, helping the needy, love of people and concord with each other. Their number was raised into thousands and myriads, and they had bishops of their own. They were joined by many counts and the lords of some regions. However, the most abominable thing they introduced into their brotherhood was the practice of the communal use of women. When their repulsive practice was exposed, and in order to decimate it, Apostolos (the pope) of Rome assembled an ecumenical council. As for us, we were unable to travel to that far-away country. However, we expounded to them how and when Satan created this heresy and how our fathers condemned it. *End of the narrative.*²³⁵⁴

In this time, we, (Michael Rabo) by the Grace of God, set up Athanasius as bishop in Mardin and departed to Antioch. In Antioch, Dionysius was ordained as bishop for Aleppo.

In this time, the monks of our Monastery (of Mor Barsoum) were slandered to the sultan of Melitene that they had supported the former amir, and that he exempted them from taxes. The sultan imposed on them the payment of five hundred dinars annually as a tribute. He warned them not to contact the former amir whom he had expelled. He also drove out all the Turks who served the Danishmends.

A conflict stirred up between my weakness (Michael Rabo) and Maphryono (John) concerning the Hasisone (Hassasin) in the district of Takrit who had seceded from the church since the time of Patriarch Cyriacus, because of the phrase of "the heavenly bread." Now they wanted to return to the church's fold. They asked me to ordain for them a bishop, and I said, "Let the maphryono ordain a bishop for you in his capacity as the chief priest of Takrit. It is not proper that you become separate from our brothers who are there." Nevertheless, they resented what we said and considered it an insult. Then, they asked to have a bishop ordained for them and they would still keep their submission to the maphryono. We said to them, "Be patient until we have obtained the consent of our brothers to avoid suspicion." We sent back the Hasisone with this condition and, accordingly, addressed a brotherly letter to the maphryono. When he heard that the Hasisone had come to us, he thought that he had lost his dignity. He proclaimed in his entire

²³⁵³ The Anonymous Edessan, 218-219, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 759-762. On Philip of Flanders at the siege of Harim, see William of Newberg, *Historia Rerum Anglicorum*, ed. by Richard Howlett as *Chronicle of the Reigns of Stephen, and Richard 1*. Vol. 1 (London, 1884. repr., Wiesbaden Kraus, 1964), 242. Cf. Röhrich, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem*, 1100-1291, 375.

²³⁵⁴ For more explanation of this subject, see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 677.

diocese the condemnation of the Hasisone and everyone who followed them. Upon hearing this, we were greatly astonished. Using patience, we sent him venerable monks as envoys, and addressed to him a letter informing him with affection how much trouble and pain the holy fathers Cyriacus and Dionysius suffered, what the Council of Chalcedon had resolved, and whether, in the case of the Hasisone's admission to the church, they were allowed to iterate the phrase (we brake the heavenly bread). Nevertheless, the maphryono, displaying rebellion, did not receive the envoys. After their departure, some wise and God-fearing men rebuked him, and he repented and came to us. I refused to meet him and said, "This matter should be investigated by a council." The maphryono returned to his diocese and sent us messengers to intercede with us. We assembled a council at the Monastery of Mor Barsoum, which was attended by the maphryono and his bishops. We explained to him how much he had transgressed the canons. He asked for forgiveness and promised obedience according to the canons. We prayed for him and peace prevailed.

Chapter Eight: Our pilgrimage to Jerusalem for the third time; and other events

In October, the Franks assembled with King Baldwin (IV) at the place called Jacob's Ford on the Jordan River to build a city in order to put pressure on Damascus.

Saladin came out of Egypt and went to Damascus to subdue the rebellious lord of Ba'lbak, which is Heliopolis, or, city of the Sun. He pitched his camp in front of the city and tightened his grip against it in many ways. Many times the amir of the city sent gifts with pledges to the Franks to submit to them, but received no help from them, and lost hope. He was frustrated and forced to make contact with the one who was attacking his city (Saladin). He received a pledge from him and surrendered the city to him. Encouraged, Saladin marched to Jerusalem but the Franks confronted him, and he fled to Damascus. The Franks spoiled the country and then returned about one day's journey. As they camped, Saladin fell upon them suddenly and captured a hundred of their men, among whom was the master of the Frères (Eudes, or Odo of Saint-Amand, Grand Master of the Templars). The Christians were sorely grieved.²³⁵⁵ Being encouraged, Saladin returned swiftly to the place where the Franks had built a fortress and fortified it. Inside, were five hundred Frères (Templars) who jumped into the fire lest they fall into the hands of the Tayoye (Muslims). Others plunged into the Jordan and drowned. Still others jumped off the wall, hit the rocks and died. Those who fell into the hands of the Tayoye (Muslims) were slaughtered by the sword (on August 13, 1179).²³⁵⁶

In October of the year 1490 (A.D. 1179), we (Michael Rabo) departed Antioch and met in Akka (Acre) the young King Baldwin (IV). He welcomed us and we showed him his father's covenant with us. He added by providing us with a letter and a pledge. We arrived in Jerusalem, and there we met the messengers of Mark, patriarch of Alexandria, whom he delegated to us. They informed us about the schism that took place in this time in the ranks of our brothers the Copts, caused by the blind man Mark Bar Qanbar. Bar Qanbar was a highly learned man but vain and conceited on account of his knowledge. Because he was praised greatly by insignificant persons, he became vainglorious and believed that he was something magnificent. He began to teach errors and deceive his hearers who were attracted by his teaching, as the Apostle Paul said, "And no wonder, for Satan himself masquerades as an angel of light. It is not surprising, then, if his servants masquerade as servants of righteousness."²³⁵⁷

He (Bar Qanbar) criticized the Egyptian for neglecting the confession of sins. At one time, the patriarch forbade him to preach in our domain. However, because he gained followers, he rebelled against the patriarch. He said that we were commanded to instruct the believers to confess their sins as dictated by the apostolic canons as he himself did. Then, a delegation came to us carrying letters from the (Coptic) patriarch. Meantime, a delegation carrying letters from Bar Qanbar came to us too. From his letters we ascertained that his teaching was false and adulterated like honey mixed with wormwood. In addition, he had fallen into the heresy of the corrupt Messalians and Lampetius who taught that, "The body (of Christ)

²³⁵⁵ Cf. Röhrich, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem*, 1100-1291, 385. For an elaboration of these events see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 765-766 and the different sources quoted.

²³⁵⁶ Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 768-769 and the sources used.

²³⁵⁷ 2 Corinthians 11:14-15.

does not seem to be corporeal. And anyone who confesses his sins will transcend suffering and his body becomes like the body of Christ, and then he partakes in the body and blood of Christ.” Based on this opinion, Lampetius maintained that in Christ there are two natures, two wills and two operations. When we smelled such a stench from the letters of Bar Qanbar, we addressed to him a lengthy discourse of reproach supported by testimonies from the Scriptures. We explained to him that although the confession of sins is commendable, it is not compatible with his ugly point of view. Therefore, we circulated a proclamation to the bishops and the people condemning Bar Qanbar, as Patriarch Mark has also condemned him. Meantime, we addressed a letter to the patriarch telling him that he should not be concerned about the confession (of sins) because of the error of Bar Qanbar. Finally, Bar Qanbar joined the Chalcedonians (Malkites) and continued his evil deeds.²³⁵⁸

This Book ended in a cycle of five years and in eight chapters. He who reads let him pray for the sinner.

²³⁵⁸ For more on Mark Bar Qanbar and his writings, see Georg Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, 2 (Vatican City, 1947), 327-332. Graf presents Bar Qanbar's idea concerning confession of sins, not as an error but a reformation. Bar Qanbar died on February 18, 1208.

BOOK TWENTY-ONE

IT BEGINS WITH THE YEAR 1491 OF THE GREEKS WHICH IS THE YEAR 1181 OF THE NATIVITY OF OUR LORD, AND THE YEAR 558 OF THE TAYOYE (ISLAMIC CALENDAR), THE YEAR 119 OF THE TURKS, AND THE YEAR 6660 OF ADAM AND THE BEGINNING OF THE CREATION

Chapter One: On the death of Manuel, king (emperor) of the Greeks; Bar Wahbun's attempt to transgress the canons and his fall like the fall of lightning from heaven

In the year 1491 (A.D. 1180), Manuel, king of the Greeks fell sick. When he felt that he was going to die, he became a monk. He set aside the crown for his twelve-year-old son, Alexius, and proclaimed him a king (emperor) (Alexius II Comnenus 1180-1183). He made his wife, Alexius' mother (Mary of Antioch), a nun and entrusted to her the treasures of the kingdom. He also appointed twelve nobles to govern the army. Manuel administered the kingdom with success for thirty-seven years. After his death, things went badly as the mother of the young man who was reigning committed fornication with one of the twelve nobles. Though the rest of the nobles wanted to oust her and her son, set up the daughter of Manuel who was born of his first wife, and proclaim her husband an emperor, they did not succeed because their plan was discovered and they fled to the great church. Because of them, there was fighting and bloodshed in the city for seven days. They set up mangonels (engines of war) against the Hagia Sophia. Finally, someone acted as a mediator between the two sides, and Patriarch Theodosius guaranteed (the safety) of those who fled to the church for refuge. However, when they came out and went to the royal palace, the king (emperor), his mother and their supporters, reneged on their oath and on the guarantee of the patriarch. They seized the twelve wretched nobles and put out their eyes, and bloodshed increased. The patriarch excommunicated the whole city and forbade the ringing of bells and prayers in the churches and monasteries from the beginning of February to November. They could not even bury their dead. The patriarch left the city and retreated to a monastery outside it.²³⁵⁹

In this year 1491 (A.D. 1180), Sultan Kilij Arslan dispatched an army against Ra'ban. Its lord, who was under the hegemony of the Egyptian Saladin, went out and brought an army from Damascus. When the men of Cappadocia saw this, they fled and did not engage in battle. Though both sides were Turks, those who came from the region of Aleppo were more experienced in warfare, which they had learned from the Franks, so the Cappadocians fled before them.²³⁶⁰

In this time, Yeshu the scribe of Tur Abdin was ordained a bishop for Hisn Ziyad. From the beginning, he transgressed the canons and abandoned the diocese for which he was ordained in order to occupy the See of Tur Abdin. He contacted the governor, Sa'd al-Din, who wrote to us to transfer Iyawannis Ishaq, bishop of Tur Abdin, to Hisn Ziyad, and offer Tur Abdin to Yeshu the scribe. I (Michael Rabo) answered that, "According to our (church) canons, we are not authorized to transfer a bishop from one place (diocese) to another by the order of a governor. I absolutely cannot do this." Meanwhile, I excommunicated Yeshu.

In this same year, we returned from Antioch to the Monastery of Mor Barsoum, where we laid down the foundation for the building of a church in it. However, we were challenged by Satan who impeded the work. He found a client called Theodore bar Wahbun, who devoted thirteen years to obstruct our work. Therefore, it is necessary to write what he did at length.²³⁶¹

Since it has been our duty, as we face God the examiner of hearts, to tell the truth in this book, we shall not record in this context except the truth, and shall not interpolate any falsehood into it. Indeed, our brothers the bishops, monks and presbyters, testify to the truth that whatever we write down is the truth

²³⁵⁹ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 309 who wrote down these events in a better consecutive order.

²³⁶⁰ Imad al-Din al-Isfahan, *Sana al-Barq al-Shami*, 344-345; Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil al-Tawarikh*, 639-640; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 397, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 770.

²³⁶¹ On Theodore of Bar Wahbun, see The Anonymous Edessan, 350-352, 356 and 366, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 695-696.

free from falsification. However, we shall not relate all the evil deeds of those who opposed us, but shall confine ourselves to what is important and explain how their satanic work began and ended.

Five lovers of evil connived to tear up the church of God. They were first, Simon, bishop of Arzen, whose ambition was to transfer to Miyafarqat. However, when we rejected his unlawful request, he was filled with hatred and wrath against us. Then was Yeshu, the scribe, who was ordained a bishop for Hisn Ziyad, and interceded with the governor to be transferred to Tur Abdin. When he was excommunicated according to the canons, he acted secretly in collusion with Simon. Both went to Abraham, bishop of Amid, who was deposed because of his transgressions. These three men incited the bishop of Sebaberk, who had been deposed for his transgression of the canons by receiving a bribe for performing an ordination. Acting in collusion, they seemed to have forgotten the pledges and the anathemas each one of them put down with his own hand when they were ordained. They alleged that they would be divested of the priesthood and become suspended from performing any ordination if they dared turn against us. If they dared to do so, the ordination they performed would be invalidated by the Holy Spirit. In fact, they coalesced with each other because God gave them over to a depraved mind.²³⁶² They were joined by the one who was the vessel of wrath and Satan incarnate. He was the head of the gang, the second Belial (Bar Wahbun), who, from the outset, many realized that he was possessed by legion demons.²³⁶³

When Bar Wahbun was driven from Melitene where he came from, he was also exposed and rejected in Edessa. He was also exposed in Jerusalem, and fled the city. Such was his case wherever he went. After wandering around for a long time, he finally came to my lowliness (Michael Rabo). Here I should admit that I did not consider his case seriously. I thought it was possible to reform him and have him saved because he was learned and well versed in books. I desired well for him, as God knows who examines the hearts. I kept him in my cell (the patriarchal residence) for seven years during which I offered him sincere advice and endured his shortcomings. However, he went beyond his boundaries and resorted to trickery and deception. Like Absalom he sat in front of my cell to trap who he could deceive and instill hatred in him.²³⁶⁴ In this manner, he was able to catch these four men and promised to give each of them two dioceses if they made him a patriarch. However, I was not the only one who suspected his behavior. Many others suspected his demonic behavior, which created malicious controversies, and I expelled him from the patriarchal residence. In any event, he succeeded in influencing these deceived men who pledged to offer gold to the governor of Amid (Abu al-Qasim ibn Nisan) if he helped them set up a patriarch in his own city. The patriarch would then gather people from every quarter and pay money to the governor. However, the governor was not only ready to violate the canons and rules of the Christian churches for money, but also those of Islam. Therefore, Abu al-Qasim ibn Nisan, or rather Satan, provided them with an invitation to Bar Wahbun. When Abraham, bishop of Amid, proceeded to deliver the invitation, he took off his sacerdotal vestment, put on Turkish attire and mounted a horse like a soldier in order not to be detected. Truthfully, such a stratagem was an indication of the deprivation of their positions (as priests). No sooner had Abraham proceeded to Bar Wahbun, than God's wrath was extended to the governor of Amid who died suddenly.

When these four men, not relying on God, offered money to the governor, they went to see his son (Jamal al-Din Mas'ud). They informed him of his father's invitation (to Bar Wahbun) and offered him more money. He allowed them to do what they wished. Their news spread throughout Amid causing its sons and the sons of the entire region to be filled with zeal. The priests, monks, and all the people gathered and clamored saying to the governor, "We will never permit our faith to be destroyed." He replied, "If your patriarch visits us, we will expel Bar Wahbun." They promised to have the patriarch meet with him. Then, he ordered those (bishops) not to ordain Bar Wahbun (a patriarch) until he was sure of my (Michael Rabo) meeting with him.

However, when I left the Monastery of Mor Barsoum accompanied by priests, monks and noble laymen, those wicked men multiplied their evil deeds. They entered the church, locked the doors and

²³⁶² Romans 1:28.

²³⁶³ This is an allusion to Mark 5:9.

²³⁶⁴ See 2 Samuel 15:1-4.

ordained at night the wicked Theodore (Bar Wahbun) as patriarch. In the morning, they disguised themselves in different clothing and left the city for Mosul to meet with the Maphryono (Yuhanon).

When I heard of what happened, I felt that my sins were the cause. I was grieved over this calamity that had afflicted the church of God like none other for generations. Therefore, I decided to abandon the holy position (the patriarchate) of which I was unworthy. When those present learned of my decision, they said to me with tearful eyes, "If you go along with your decision, God will take revenge of you for the blood of the people who will lose their faith." Truthfully, fear entered my heart and my lips quivered. I found myself pressed between the two sides. I stepped on myself, constrained my will and accompanied them to Amid hoping to fulfill my resolution during the assembling of the council. The governor of Amid rejoiced and made promises of affection. All the people and those from other regions were filled with consolation. Priests, monks and lay people from every quarter joined us and all of us went to the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran Monastery).

As for those wicked men, they went to Mosul unsure of whether they could receive the maphryono's approval, despite their counting on the conflict which happened a while ago between him and me. When they realized that the maphryono rejected them and proceeded to meet with us accompanied by the bishops under his jurisdiction and the entire people of the east, they began to wander from one place to another with great bewilderment. When they reached the city of Dara, the faithful nobles offered them advice and informed us of their whereabouts while we were at the Monastery of Mor Hananya. Then, the maphryono and some bishops and monks went forth and brought them bound in fetters. They confessed before the council their foolishness and put down in writing the condemnation of their satanic action.

When we proceeded to the Monastery of Mor Barsoum where the general council was to meet and decide what the people and the Holy Spirit wanted, Satan entered into Theodore bar Wahbun a second time on the way, and he renounced the faith and trampled upon the oaths and the anathemas which he had written down against himself. As was his custom, he resorted to trickery and promised gold (money) to some willful men who brought a band of Kurds who came to where we were staying, and took him at night into hiding until we departed. When the bishops and the maphryono learned of this, they were furious against me (Michael Rabo) saying, "Why didn't you let us detain him?" Then, every one of them went in different directions looking for him. They found him hiding and seized him. We went to the Monastery of Mor Barsoum where a number of bishops and numerous people assembled. With one voice, they demanded that Bar Wahbun should be unfrocked. This is what happened, and the rest of the problems were resolved.

Each of the bishops returned to his diocese carrying the council's resolution of deposing the willful Bar Wahbun, which was unanimously taken according to the will of God and the church. Bar Wahbun, however, remained with us in the monastery. He repented and asked for forgiveness. According to the teachings of the Gospel, I accepted him and clothed him with the monastic habit in the hope of repentance. I provided him with his needs and gave him a cell for his living. I said that, "If he remained constant in his repentance and eschewed deception and trickery, I would ask the council which deposed him to look into his case, when it assembles, with mercy in as much the canons allow." For this stipulation, I left him in the Monastery of Mor Barsoum, and I returned to the Monastery of Mor Hananya. As usual, he reneged on his promise and followed those of his kind.

At night, he cunningly made ropes, climbed down the wall of the monastery and fled to Damascus with his friends. He wrote a book in Arabic and became close to Saladin, king of Egypt. He promised to give him money if he would provide him with a letter to be accepted as a patriarch in the countries under his jurisdiction. He also slandered me to Saladin to have him kill me. When his letter was read to the King (Saladin), he asked whom he was. Some faithful men who were in the service of Saladin informed him about him and he expelled the wicked Bar Wahbun. Then, Bar Wahbun went to Jerusalem and stirred up trouble among the Franks, against the few of our brothers in the city, especially, against the venerable Mor Athanasius, bishop of Jerusalem, who had offered a thousand dinars to the patriarch of the Franks in order to return the Monastery of Mary of Magdalene in Jerusalem to us.

In fact, our church suffered a great deal sending a delegation because of this monastery. The trouble protracted because the Tayoye (Muslims') occupation of Jerusalem.²³⁶⁵ The wicked Bar Wahbun, then, went to the east having heard that the Maphryono Mor Yuhanon passed away, and planted his tares in Mosul and Mardin. He promised the Turkish governors to give them money, which encouraged them to demand the payment of money in every diocese. Our brothers and we in the east were engaged in a continuous struggle until his filthy actions were exposed.

He (Bar Wahbun) fled the east as he had fled Palestine and went to the Armenian Catholicos (Gregory IV, 1173-1193), in the Citadel of Romaitha. As was his evil and despicable custom, he promised to bring the people (Syrians) under the catholicos' authority if he extended help to him. In fact, he did the same with the patriarch of the Franks in Jerusalem who was deceived by him and extended help to him until he perished. Thus, the Armenian catholicos was deceived by him and opposed my lowliness with all his power and in every means.

Indeed, the (catholicos) never left a stone unturned. He squandered abundant money in the form of gifts to the Turkish governors in Syria and Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia). He even determined to have me condemned (deposed) and set up Bar Wahbun as patriarch over this poor small group of Jacobites (Syrian Orthodox) for nothing save to submit to the catholicos as he promised. Yet, despite all the efforts he extended in the region under the rule of the Turks, God did not have him succeed. The catholicos, accompanied by Bar Wahbun, left the Citadel of Romaitha and went to Leon the Armenian, lord of Cilicia. Having influenced Leon, Leon issued an order handed to the catholicos that Bar Wahbun should be proclaimed a patriarch in his domain. Bar Wahbun went out roaming around that country (Cilicia). He usurped the possessions of any monk, priest or bishop who refused to accept him as a patriarch and drove him out of the church. Indeed, the chief priests, priests, and monks in those regions suffered no less torment and persecution than the Christians had from the heathens. Space does not allow me, I, the sinner, to write down everything about the subject.

For the second time, I assembled a general council and demanded to be relieved from my service. I believed that God had left that wicked (Bar Wahbun) free to revile the church of God because of my sins. The bishops did not agree but decided to go and debate with the tyrannical catholicos and to meet with Leon. When I saw that they were insisting that I should not step down from the patriarchate, I said to them, "Brothers! Let us not rely on our strength, or the strength of sultans and rulers. For it is written 'Cursed is the one who trusts in man, who depends on flesh for his strength and whose heart turns away from the Lord.'²³⁶⁶ Let us take refuge in God and his saint Mor Barsoum, and what God wants to do with us, will be done." All of them appreciated what I said. We, and the entire crowd which came for the festival of Mor Barsoum, began to pray and supplicate with tears, sorrow, contrition and sighs. When we began to raise the right hand of Mor Barsoum in state and extoll it, we cried out in one voice, "Lord Jesus Christ have mercy on your church by the prayer of St. Barsoum. Manifest your power in the one who is the cause of this strife. If we are the cause, annihilate us from existence; and if it is another person, do the same to him." On that day in which the supplication ended in the Monastery of Mor Barsoum, the catholicos of the Armenians (Gregory IV) fell off his horse in Cilicia and broke his toe. They cut it off, but a few days later, his body was swollen. When he realized that his end was near, he confessed his foolishness and died. After him also died the twelve Armenian bishops who connived with Bar Wahbun. Each one of them was afflicted with a different blow and died. Moreover, the seven Syrian monks who followed Bar Wahbun were burned down by lightning. Forty days later, Theodore bar Wahbun was struck dead by the wrath of God.²³⁶⁷

²³⁶⁵ On the Syrian Monastery of Mary Magdalene, see Rev. Yuhanon Dolabani, "Al-Suryan fi Filistine aw Dayr Maryam al-Majdaliyya," (The Syrians in Palestine or the Monastery of Mary Magdalene) *al-Hikma*, 9 (June, 1928): 434-443, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 698.

²³⁶⁶ Jeremiah 17:5.

²³⁶⁷ For a greater part of the account of Bar Wahbun, see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 695-698.

These events were a great lesson to everyone, especially to the people of those regions. Even Leon himself was stricken with fear. He addressed letters and sent messengers and gifts to my lowliness and to the Monastery of Mor Barsoum; peace prevailed in the church of God everywhere.

Brothers! I (Michael Rabo) did not write down these events because I relied on my righteousness. Never! I confess that because of my sins a blow of wrath tormented me for thirteen years. God is the one who accomplished this salvation in the name of Saint Barsoum as an act of mercy for his church and his Orthodox people who are small in number. To him be the glory forever and ever. Amen. *End of the narrative.*

Chapter Two: On the sudden death of the Turkish rulers of Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia); on the coming of the sultan to Melitene and summoning me (Michael Rabo) to meet with him; and the deplorable incident of the burning down of the Monastery of our lord Mor Barsoum that took place in this period; may his prayer be with us

In the year 1492 (A.D. 1181), conflict was stirred up between Kilij Arslan (II of the Seljuks of Rum, 1155-1192) and his son-in-law Nur al-Din (Artukid lord of Hisn Kipha) because he abandoned the sultan's daughter and fell in passionate love with a whore.²³⁶⁸ Nur al-Din appealed to Saladin for help, and Saladin went forth from Egypt to fight the sultan. The sultan ordered the walls of Kesum destroyed and evicted its inhabitants. Nur al-Din made an alliance with Saladin at the Sanja River (Turkish Gök-Su). If it were not for God's mercy and the mediation of the wise man Hasan, whom the sultan delegated to negotiate peace with Saladin, war would have taken place instead of peace. The sultan went to Melitene and rebuilt the two walls, while Saladin returned to Egypt.²³⁶⁹

In this year the prince (lord) of Antioch (Bohemond III), divorced his Greek wife (Theodora, niece of Manuel) whom he had married lawfully in Constantinople in the time of King (Emperor) Manuel and married a whore (Sybil).²³⁷⁰ He trampled upon the canons imposed on him by the patriarch of Rome. The patriarch of Constantinople (more correctly, Patriarch Heraclius of Jerusalem) excommunicated him and the priest who had blessed his wedding with the whore, and excommunicated the whole city. He stopped the ringing of bells, the celebration of the Eucharist and the burial of the dead. However, the prince transgressed the canons even more by looting all the churches and the monasteries. Then, the Counts and the patriarch of Jerusalem assembled, and by their mediation, he gave back everything he had usurped. His marriage to the woman (whore) was made lawful and reconciliation was achieved.²³⁷¹

In this year, the amir who ruled Harran and Edessa rebelled against the lord of Mosul and joined Saladin. He was the cause that Saladin controlled Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia). In addition, Nur al-Din joined Saladin. The governors of Mosul, Mardin, Amid and Armenia (Shah Armen, Nasir al-Din Sukman II, ibn Abraham, lord of Khilat) gathered to challenge the Egyptian (Saladin), but they feared him and were scattered without fighting him. Then, the king of Egypt (Saladin) marched against Mosul and besieged it but abandoned it because of heavy rain or for some other reason and retreated.²³⁷² As to the governors of Mardin and Sinjar, they submitted to the Egyptian sultan. Then, (Saladin) besieged Amid and promised Nur al-Din to give it to him. On Palm Sunday, he began to attack it ferociously. Within a few days, he captured the wall, and the wretched Ibn Nisan (Mu'ayyid al-Din Abu Ali Ibn Nisan) surrendered the city and left it discomfited. Nur al-Din, lord of Hisn Kipha, ruled over the city in the year 1493 (A D. 1182).²³⁷³

²³⁶⁸ According to Imad al-Din al-Isfahani, *Sana al-Barq*, 346, and Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil al-Tawarikh*, 639-640, she was a songstress.

²³⁶⁹ There is much more to this episode than what Michael Rabo says. See Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 310, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 770-771, and the Arabic sources used.

²³⁷⁰ William of Tyre, *History*, 2: 452-453, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 859.

²³⁷¹ See Reinhold Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem*, 1100-1291 (Innsbruck, 1898), 392-393. Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 311, is the only Syriac writer to mention this story which contradicts the account of William of Tyre. See Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 671-672 and 860-861 and the sources used.

²³⁷² For a fuller account of this event, see Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil al-Tawarikh*, 656-657; Ibn Wasil, *Mufarrij al-Kurub*, 2: 118-119; Imad al-Din al-Isfahani in Abu Shama, *Kitab al-Rawdatayn*, 2: 32-33, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 780-781.

²³⁷³ Michael Rabo does not give a full account of Saladin's operations in the East, especially his attack against Mosul and his failure to capture it, his capturing of Dara and Harran as the Arabic and Syriac sources do. See al-Isfahani in Abu Shama, *Kitab al-*

In 1495 (A.D. 1184), Qutb al-Din (Ilghazi), governor of Mardin, passed away. His uncle Shah Armen came and made his child-son a ruler in his place.

In 1493 (A.D. 1182), Salih, governor of Aleppo, died. He had given Aleppo to Izz al-Din, governor of Mosul, who ruled it after his brother Sayf al-Din. In turn, Sayf al-Din gave it to his brother in exchange for Sinjar for the intention of keeping him away from him.

In the year 1494 (A.D. 1183), Andronicus I, who was expelled by Manuel, ruled over the Greeks.²³⁷⁴ He managed to enter Constantinople by a trick pretending submission to the young King (Emperor Alexius II). However, he resorted to the sword in the city, cast Manuel's daughter and her husband into the sea, and eliminated the young Alexius II. He killed more than a thousand nobles and burned them by fire. He gouged the eyes of many others and spoiled their possessions. That dirty old man (Andronicus) married the widow (Agnes, daughter of King Louis VII) of young Alexius II. Indeed, he committed innumerable abominations. He expelled the Franks from the city (Constantinople) who helped young Alexius, because he was the son of a Frankish woman (Marie of Antioch). When the Franks were expelled from their houses, they went forth and set to fire fourteen thousand monasteries and villages in the Greek domains. They went to Rome, and along with them marched the Franks' army. Meantime, the king of Sicily (William II) destroyed and burned completely many cities of Syria subject to the Greeks and left them desolate.²³⁷⁵

In the year 1492 (A.D. 1181), Sultan Kilij Arslan (II) came to Melitene and inquired about my (Michael Rabo) lowliness. He sent me a friendly letter, together with a patriarchal staff and twenty red (gold) dinars, which caused much astonishment. The next year Kilij Arslan came again to Melitene. Before he entered the city, he heard of the trouble Theodore bar Wahbun had caused, and sent a letter inviting my lowliness to see him in Melitene. When I arrived at the city, I was uncertain, but felt that something unusual was happening. On the next day of my arrival, three amirs and a host of horsemen came to accompany me with honor to meet the sultan. Truthfully, I was immensely astonished and thought that this was honey mixed with wormwood.

On the morning of Thursday, July 8, 1493 (A.D. 1182), we entered Melitene. The sultan, his army, and the townsmen came out to welcome us. He sent a messenger to tell us that the sultan ordered the patriarch (Michael Rabo) to come and see him in accordance with the traditions and rules of the Christians. The Christians, with torches lit and crosses fixed on their spears, raised their voices chanting. The sultan approached me and asked me not to dismount or shake his hand, but embraced my lowliness with his arms. I began to talk to him through an interpreter, and he was very attentive. When I realized that he was anxious to listen, I began to talk freely supporting my points with testimonies from the Scriptures and from nature, interspersed with exhortations. His eyes were filled with tears, and I thanked God. Overjoyed, the Christians raised a cry of thanks and praise when they saw the adored Cross hoisted over the heads of the sultan and the Muslims. In this manner, we entered the church. At the end of the sermon, we blessed the sultan and the people.

At the end of that day, the sultan sent the glad tidings that he had abolished the taxes imposed on the Monastery of Mor Barsoum and confirmed his order with a royal rescript.²³⁷⁶ On Sunday, he sent us a hand gilded with gold and inlaid with jewels. In it were deposited the bones of St. Peter, head of the Apostles. We remained in Melitene for a month, and every day the sultan sent us gifts. We exchanged questions and answers about Christ our God, the Prophets, the Apostles, and other matters. When he departed Melitene, the sultan invited me to accompany him. On the way, we, by order of the sultan, engaged

Rawdatayn, 2: 31-33; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 313; The Anonymous Edessan, 224; Ibn Wasil, *Mufarrrij al-Kurub*, 2: 118-124; Ibn Shaddad, *al-Nawadir al-Sultaniyya wa al-Mahasin al-Yusufiyya* in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, 3 (Paris, 1884, reprinted Israel, 1868), 70. There is also a translation of the same by D. S. Richards, (Ashgate 2001), Steve Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 2: 434, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 781-784.

²³⁷⁴ Andronicus I Comnenus, 1182-1185.

²³⁷⁵ Western sources give a different account of William II in this context. As to Alexius, he fled to Sicily asking William to restore him to the throne. For a full account of these events, and the many Western and Arabic sources, see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 936-938.

²³⁷⁶ See The Anonymous Edessan, 216.

in a lengthy conversation with Kamal al-Din, a Persian philosopher in the company of the sultan, and the sultan was listening to our conversation. As usual, we presented more testimonies from the Scriptures. The sultan praised the Syrians' wisdom and expressed joy over them.²³⁷⁷ This happened not because we deserve such honor, far from it. It happened because God's compassion willed to comfort his small flock and his church, which was weakened by the betrayal of Bar Wahbun. He granted her solace as a mother does to her infant child by nursing him. As to us, we deserve the revilement (of Bar Wahbun) which afflicted us.

On Saturday, July 30, 1494 (A.D. 1183), we were afflicted by Divine Justice for our sins, and the lord chastised us with mercy. Our begrudged monastery, that is, the Monastery of our lord Mor Barsoum, was burned down. An old monk named Denha entered his inner cell at dawn to get rest, but forgot to put out the candle, which may have been by God's permission. When he went out to the vineyard, the fire of the candle fell on the clothes and the wooden (furniture) up and down, and found enough food for burning, for not only the roofs of the cells were made of wood, but also their foundations. In fact, four, and sometimes five cells were connected with each other, which aggravated the flames even more. We were (in the church) performing the third hour prayer. We heard voices shouting for help and rushed to the closet where the coffin in which was deposited the right hand of our lord, the holy Mor Barsoum. However, the fire flames worsened because of the blowing of the wind by the (divine) wrath. We then believed that God had a hand in this matter. We saved nothing except the relics of Mor Barsoum and St. Peter, which we carried with us and left through the gate of the monastery, leaving everything else to the fire.

The fire consumed all the cells and the houses of the assembling of monks, the cells of monks and novices and everything therein. It also consumed the ancient church including the books, silver and copper vessels and even the iron, and turned the stones into lime. The doors of the monastery were burned down and the wall collapsed. In brief, nothing was saved except the new church that had been built recently, the high tower of the monastery, the oven's cavern and the outer gate called the Gargar Gate. The remaining belongings were turned into a heap of ashes. On Sunday, whatever was left of the building collapsed, and a young man from Gargar who came to loot, lost his life.

We witnessed three miracles taking place. The first was that no harm was done to the monks or the novices despite that they braved the fire to save whatever they could of belongings, and that the rubble fell on them in many places. This miracle was similar to the one mentioned in the life story of the saint (Mor Barsoum), that the saint supplicated God, and hailstone fell, destroying the fields surrounding the vineyards of the faithful without touching them or causing harm to anyone. Today, the saint supplicated God to burn down the possessions and save the souls because our mouths are accustomed to open for the love of money. The second miracle was that, despite the fire, no harm touched the wooden coffin in which were deposited the relics of the saints and preserved in the closet. I wonder whether this miracle was like what happened to the three young men who were thrown into the furnace in Babylon but not harmed by the fire because the Son of Elohim (God) was with them.²³⁷⁸ Likewise, Jesus the Son of God was present in these relics and protected them for the encouragement of the faithful. The third miracle was that there were many books (in the monastery) which no one read or opened, and they were burned by the fire as if they were expendable. On the contrary, the books, which were constantly read, remained intact despite that they were encircled by fire. They are the three copies of the Gospels, a thick volume containing sermons, the writings of Mor Jacob (of Edessa) and two *fanqithos* (Service Books) for the whole year.

We stayed with the monks for a whole month in the upper tower until the wrath subsided. Then, we began to rebuild the monastery, and in three years, we finished the work in a much better form than before. The construction of the new church took twelve years and was finished by the grace of the Lord. *Glory to the Father who helped us finish these stories.*

²³⁷⁷ See this episode in Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 709-710.

²³⁷⁸ Daniel 3:24-29.

Chapter Three: On the time when Isaacus, that is Ishaq, ruled over the Greeks; and the different world events which took place in this period

On September 14, 1496 (A.D. 1185), the Day of the Festivity of the Cross, Andronicus (I Comnenus, 1183-1185), was killed and Isaac (II Angeles, 1185-1195), reigned. While Andronicus was planning to kill Isaac as he already killed the members of the royal family, Isaac learned of Andronicus's plan and put on his arms. When the king (Andronicus) summoned him to appear before him, he refused. Furious, Andronicus sent the captain of his host to bring him in. When Isaac saw him furious, he sensed that he was intending to kill him. Taking death lightly, he drew his sword and struck the captain of the host dead. He mounted his horse, and dashed to the Great Church with the sword splashed with blood in his hand, shouting and calling on people for help. Crowds gathered, and the nobles entered the church. They had already lost confidence in Andronicus for the egregious iniquities he had committed. They agreed to set up Isaac, who was from the royal family, as an emperor. They pressed on their patriarch (Basilius) to consecrate him as emperor, and he performed his consecration in the church and was proclaimed a king (emperor). Andronicus fled the royal palace via the sea, but they overtook his ship and brought him back. They tortured him with cruelty and slashed his body with knives while he was still alive. They wounded him ferociously and finally burned him by fire in the midst of the crowd.²³⁷⁹

In April of this year, Saladin went forth from Egypt and attacked the fortress of Karak. He was challenged by Nur al-Din (lord of Hisn Kipha) and the rest of the amirs of Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia), who fought him with mangonels (engines of war) and all kinds of weapons. They were joined by the Franks, and the Turks (Saladin's forces) fled, but went on spoiling Samaria and its region. They killed a great number of people, especially, that the Franks remained in the fortress to protect it. However, when the Franks learned of what happened, they went after the Turks who fled from their presence and the captives were rescued.²³⁸⁰

In that year the leprosy of Baldwin (IV), king of Jerusalem, worsened and he handed over the kingdom to the little boy who was the son of his sister (Sibyl who was married to William Longsword),²³⁸¹ and who was also called Baldwin (V). Shortly after his enthronement, Baldwin the leper passed away.²³⁸²

After we departed Melitene, the Sultan (Kilij Arslan II) invaded the Romans' territory and captured twelve fortresses. He addressed the following letter to my lowliness:

From Kilij Arslan, the great Sultan of Cappadocia, Syria and Armenia, to Patriarch Michael, the friend of our kingdom, who resides in the Monastery of Mor Barsoum and who prays for our success. We declare that God has glorified the affairs of our kingdom at this time by your prayer. From ancient Philadelphia (Alashehr, Turkey), the son of the king of the Rum (Emperor Andronicus Comnenus, 1183-1185, grandson of Alexius I), came with his sons to offer submission to our throne. We dispatched with him an army of forty thousand men. The enemies gathered in large numbers in the Great City (Constantinople) and prepared for war. However, God gave victory to our army, chased, defeated the enemies of our kingdom, and slaughtered them so that they will never be able to rise against us for a long time to come. Our army occupied the great fortress of Diyadin and controlled the regions extending to the seashore, which has become subject to our kingdom. Now we administer that region which has not been subject to the Turks before, according to the laws of our kingdom. It should be said that verily God has given it all to us because of the power of your prayer. Therefore, we beseech you not to cease praying for our kingdom. Farewell.²³⁸³

²³⁷⁹ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 319-320; A.A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, II, 379 and 438 and George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 356-362.

²³⁸⁰ At best, Michael Rabo's account of these events is strange and confusing. For a full analysis, see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 799-800 and the sources used.

²³⁸¹ See William of Tyre, *History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, 2:415-419, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 756.

²³⁸² Baldwin IV died on March 16, 1185 and was succeeded by Baldwin V, then only nine years old. He died in 1186. See Reinhold Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem*, 1100-1291, 411; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 320, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 813 and the numerous sources quoted.

²³⁸³ For this letter, see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 710-711.

Afterwards, many similar letters were sent to us by the sultan at different times.

In this time, three brothers came to the sultan, and took an army of Turks and ruled in Philadelphia (Alashehr, Turkey). A short while later, the tyrant Andronicus marched against them. He killed one of them and the other two fled from his presence. One of them was Isaac who killed the wicked Andronicus and reigned.

In this period Ignatius, metropolitan of Jerusalem, passed away. He served the episcopate for forty-five years. In 1496 (A.D. 1185), my brother, Metropolitan Athanasius, was sent to Jerusalem, and a great commotion was stirred up by the wicked monks in that city on his account. When peace prevailed between him and the monks, Satan instigated his client, Theodore bar Wahbun, the second Arius, who provoked trouble and placed the metropolitan in a position of defense until Bar Wahbun perished.²³⁸⁴

In this time when Krikor (Gregory), catholicos of the Armenians, heard that the Monastery of Mor Barsoum was burned down by fire, he rejoiced because malice was deeply buried in his heart. He went on declaring that saint Mor Barsoum is gone and disappeared. With such raving, he tried to usurp the honor (of Mor Barsoum). However, God, who was dwelling in the saint (Mor Barsoum), and who chastised us justly for the burning of the monastery because of our sins, rejected Krikor and afflicted him with a heavy blow. Taking advantage of Gregory's departure from the fortress of Romaitha to Tarsus, his nephew (son of his sister) named Shahanshah, relying on the Turks, rebelled against him. He almost handed the fortress over to the Turks had it not been for Gregory who hurried back to it. He assembled troops and waged war against the fortress, but was forced to withdraw after many of the catholicos' men perished. Then, he came to the Monastery of Taboush near Kesum, confessing that Saint Barsoum was the one who had chastised him. He also, proclaimed repentance in public before Iyawannis, metropolitan of Kesum. Afterwards, he made pledges to his nephew supported by solemn oaths, and thus both were reconciled.

Chapter Four: On the claim of astronomers that a storm would blow up and destroy the entire world as did the Flood in the time of Noah, and their frustration for it not taking place; and on the events which took place in this period

After the death of Qutb al-Din (Ilghazi II) lord of Mardin (in 1184),²³⁸⁵ Nur al-Din, lord of Hisn Kipha of his own race, also died suddenly in Amid. He had transferred marble columns from the church to his own house and was struck by (Divine) blow, which ended his life. He was succeeded by his young son, Qutb al-Din (Sukman II, 1185-1200). In Mardin, was set up a young man named Husam al-Din (Yuluk Arslan). Both of these young men were sons of slave women. After the death of Nur al-Din, his brother Imad al-Din stirred up sedition and captured Hisn Ziyad.

Afterwards, the ruler of the Armenians Mir Miran (Chief Prince) the old man Shah Armen, died and no one of his own clan was found to succeed him, one of his slaves called Bektimur (Sayf al-Din, 1185-1193, governor of Miyafarqat) was set up in his place.²³⁸⁶ On the way to receive the government, Bektimur passed by Sasson Mountain and was met by the nephew of the catholicos of the Armenians (Gregory IV), who had come down from the fortress of Romaitha. He would not let Bektimur pass by until he pledged to give him back the fortresses of his father Bakhin.

In this year the prince of Antioch (Bohemond III, son of Raymond of Poitiers, lord of Antioch, 1164-1201), who had signed peace with Saladin and was sure that no one would challenge him, unjustly seized Reuben (Reupen), lord of Cilicia, and cast him in chains in prison. He gathered the Franks and attacked Cilicia. The fighting continued all summer long without being able to capture any part of it because Leon had taken the place of Reuben and protected the region with wisdom. The prince withdrew humiliated. Finally, the Armenians gave the Franks three thousand dinars and al-Missisa, Adana and other

²³⁸⁴ Arius was condemned for heresy by the Council of Nicaea in 325 A.D.

²³⁸⁵ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 317.

²³⁸⁶ Al-Isfahani, in Abu Shama, *Kitab al-Rawdatayn*, 2: 62-63; Ibn Wasil, *Mufarrij al-Kurub*, 2: 167.

regions, and he set Reuben free. After he was released from prison, Reuben rebelled against the prince and took from him the regions that he had captured. Then the prince went on looting and spoiling Cilicia.

In this period, the amir of Edessa, empowered by the sultan of Egypt (Saladin), captured the region of Shabakhtan from the amir of Mardin. The tutor of the amir of Mardin fought against the people of Edessa on his behalf but was defeated. Then, Saladin came with the intention of ruling Mardin. When he failed to capture it by treachery, he was satisfied by the pledge of its inhabitants to subject themselves to him. It was then that he fell ill and suffered immensely. He spent the winter in the city with his army, and a rumor was circulated that he died. However, he recovered and seized the amir of Edessa, Muzaffar al-Din ibn Zayn al-Din, and took from him the two Citadels of Edessa and Harran. Shortly afterwards, they reconciled and Saladin returned them to him.

In this time, Stephen was ordained a metropolitan for Sijistan, Basilius for the Bira of Gargar, and another Basilius for al-Raqqa (Callinicus). On Sunday of the Consecration of the Church, the church of Mor Yuhanon (John) in Edessa was destroyed by fire for the following reason. For a long time, the church was deserted and no service was conducted in it because of lack of presbyters, and it was used by the governors to store cotton. Pigeons nested in its roofs and some people hunted them at night by the light of torches. It happened that the hunters left one of these torches in the upper attic of the church and departed. Fire spread out of the torch to the upper parts of the church and consumed not only the wood but also the stones, down to the foundations. The thirty-two marble columns were burned down like hay, and the church turned into heaps of ashes.

The churches which were destroyed in Edessa in the time of the Tayoye (Muslims) were the Great Church, the Church of the Apostles, the Church of St. Thomas, the Church of St. Michael, the Church of St. Qawme "the Church of the Kerchief", the Church of St. Jirjis, the Church of St. Faruqa which was built by Abgar, the suspended Church of the Mother of God, two other churches in the name of the Mother of God, the Church of the Forty Martyrs, another great church in the name of the Forty Martyrs, the Church of the Confessors at the Sa'a Gate, the Church of St. Stephen and the Church of St. Theodore in front of the Citadel.

In April of 1497 (A.D. 1186), we (Michael Rabo) went from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran Monastery) to the Monastery of Mor Barsoum. By the grace of God and the intercession of Mor Barsoum, we overcame our weakness and rebuilt walls for a new church, whose foundations we had set up seven years earlier. During these years, many others and we suffered not a little in having it built.

In the year 1497 (A.D. 1186), an event took place which should be recorded for future generations for the glory of God who "catches the wise in their craftiness,"²³⁸⁷ and "chose the foolish things of this world to shame the wise."²³⁸⁸ Here are the details of this story.

For the past years, the *hakime* (sages)²³⁸⁹ began to say that in September of this year, the wandering seven celestial bodies: the sun, moon, Saturn, Mars, Mercury and Venus would juxtapose in one zodiac of the Libra. It never happened before that these bodies juxtaposed in one zodiac, except the zodiac of Pisces in the time of Noah, which caused the Flood. Since they would juxtapose in the Libra zodiac, they would cause another flood. This humbug and false prediction was confirmed not by only one or two but by thousands of people. A rumor was circulated that planets will juxtapose after thirty years, which is the year 1497 (A.D. 1186). They claimed that a storm would blow and destroy the cities, villages and everything therein of beasts, animals and birds, and nothing would ever be seen on earth.

This rumor spread in the East and the West, in Egypt and in India. Some faithful (members of the Syrian Church) wrote from Sijistan asking us to pray for them. Jews, Muslims, heathens and many Christians believed this (false rumor), saying that the sun would eclipse on that day, darkness would prevail, the earth would tremble, violent wind would blow, a storm would sweep the dust and stones and would cover the

²³⁸⁷ 1 Corinthians 3:19.

²³⁸⁸ 1 Corinthians 1:27.

²³⁸⁹ In the title of this chapter, the author uses the Greek term *Astronomos* (astronomers). Here he uses the term *hakime* (sages). I used the term astrologers instead of astronomers.

cities and villages. They claimed that two comets would appear, and they believed in like fables. Many kings and leaders stored food provisions in caves and built safe houses for themselves. Others moved to different places and settled in caves and caverns.

However, the Christians who were deeply rooted in faith, did not believe this insanity, and persevered in prayer, fasting, supplication and doing charity. They were ridiculed by heathens, Jews, and especially by the astrologers for persevering in supplication. They profaned saying, "It is impossible even for God to stop this determined matter which is destined to happen." We responded to those who addressed letters to our lowliness inquiring about this subject, saying, "No sparrow will fall to the trap as it is written,²³⁹⁰ and no tree leaf falls to the ground except by order from above." We also said that liars are those who claim that a flood will take place when the stars meet in the zodiac of Pisces. Our idea not only was derived from books but it was also based on rational evidence. We say that, if according to the claim of the erroneous astrologers, the Flood in the time of Noah occurred by the meeting of the stars, why then, could not those who were well-versed in the false knowledge of the stars predict the coming of the Flood except Noah, to whom the Flood was revealed by God? In fact, they laughed at Noah as people later did to Lot in the case of Sodom. However, the non-believers and those who submitted to the spirits kept repeating the term "winds" until every tongue reiterated "winds, winds," the winds are coming and business and trading will stop. When the day in which was said that winds would blow drew near, people began to flee and hide in caves and caverns. When that day dawned, a soft and invigorating breeze blew over the face of the earth and continued to blow smoothly for several months. All the nations praised God who alone dispenses of everything.

The kings scoffed at the astrologers and considered their craft a charlatanry. As for me (Michael Rabo), brothers, I say that although what the astrologers claim about the blowing of the wind and other things is sheer conjecture because they have missed the point. Yet the assembling of the stars in one zodiac according to God's plan to have them run in the celestial sphere is possible. Indeed, the movement of these stars was known to the Egyptians, who recognized that the eclipse of the sun and the moon is subject to this movement. However, God who created the elements is able to change and bring forth water out of a rock as he did with the Hebrews.²³⁹¹ And he turned water into a rock (dry land) as he did for Simon (Peter who walked on water)²³⁹² Also, he is the one who changed the eclipse of the sun and the moon at that time because he felt compassionate toward the sons of men, lest they fall into error and forget the creator who is glorified by all. He alone knows everything and dispenses of everything. *Transcribed by the poorest of monks, Mikha'il Bar Barsoum.* This colophon is written in Arabic script.

Chapter Five: On the time of warfare between the Kurds and the Turkomans, and their massacre of the Christians in the Tayoye (Muslim) domains; and their eradication of other people

Since the year 1496 (A.D. 1185), the Turkomans began their warfare. For eight years they fought against Armenia, Athor, Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia), Syria and Cappadocia. The reason for this warfare is as follows:

The great Turkoman people were tent dwellers. However, they spent the winter in the wilderness south of Syria where snow does not fall and the ground does not freeze, and pastures were available. In the spring, they moved to the northern regions where grass was plentiful for their cattle. Because their cattle were numerous, they crowded the roads during their movement up and down. The Kurds, who were accustomed to robbery everywhere, stole their sheep, horses, cows, and camels. Sometimes, they even killed some of them. Therefore, the Turkomans began to move in bands in order to protect their animals. At one time, they detected in the region of Shabakhtan two hundred Kurds waiting in ambush to plunder them. They attacked the ambushers and killed all of them. Now enmity between the two peoples was most apparent. About ten thousand Kurds and more than this number of Turkomans gathered for war, and ten

²³⁹⁰ Matthew 10:29.

²³⁹¹ Numbers 20:8-11.

²³⁹² Matthew 14:29.

thousand men were killed on both sides. The Kurds became more wrathful and hateful. About thirty thousand Kurds assembled from the regions of Nisibin and Tur Abdin. Likewise, the Turkomans gathered in the region of Habura and both engaged in battle. The Kurds were defeated and the corpses of their perished men scattered between the River Habura (Khabur) and Nisibin.

In the region of Mosul, two battles took place between the Turkomans and the Kurds, and the Kurds were defeated and fled into the mountains near Cilicia. They were close to the boundaries of the Armenians where they could protect their children. However, the Turkomans fell upon them and killed their men, women and children by the sword, and plundered their possessions. Thus, the Kurdish race was eradicated in Syria and Beth Nahrin. The Turkomans roamed in bands through plains and mountains killing the Kurds wherever they found them without mercy or reason.

In the early years, the Turkomans did no harm to the Christians. Later, however, they began to kill them for two reasons: First, they discovered that the Kurds hid their belongings in Christian villages. Second, the rulers did not prevent the Turkomans from spoiling and killing which urged the people to move to Greater Armenia. However, after the Turkomans annihilated the Kurds, they spoiled Armenia, took twenty-six thousand captives, and sold them as slaves. They burned down the (Armenian) villages and the great Monastery of Garabed, killing all its monks and looting its books and everything therein. They captured the fortress of Tell Arabs in the region of Shabakhtan and sold its inhabitants as slaves. In addition, they killed one hundred seventy men in Tellesme (Tell Besme) and many others like them. Finally, when the governors witnessed the destruction of their country and that the villages were desolate of people, each one of them waged war against the Turkomans in his own domain. Battles were fought in the regions of Cappadocia and Melitene. In the meantime, the Turkomans attacked Cappadocia, and its lord fought against them. Two hundred children from the village and the district perished. The tongue is too weary to relate the killing during those eight years. In fact, a small spark created a blaze, which consumed multitudes before it, subsided.

In this period, there was in the Greek Island of Cyprus a Greek governor named Comnenus (Isaac II Angeles, d. 1195). He rebelled against the king (emperor) of Constantinople. He summoned the Greek bishops and commanded them to ordain a patriarch for them. They did as he ordered, and the patriarch consecrated this Isaac Comnenus as king. The people of Cyprus proclaimed him a king and the other a patriarch of Cyprus. This whole matter was the cause of derision of those in Constantinople until the kings of the Franks came forth from Rome, and the King of England (Richard the Lion-Heart) controlled Cyprus. Richard arrested its Greek king (Isaac Comnenus), bound him in iron and cast him into a fortress near Antioch. Meantime, the patriarch who was proclaimed a patriarch of Cyprus, passed away, and their sinister plan failed. Then, the king of England gave Cyprus to the Frères (Knights Templar). When the Frankish king (Richard) departed the island, the Greeks, urged by arrogance, attacked the Frankish garrison thinking they would regain control of the kingdom (of Cyprus) if they killed the Franks. They began to fight but were defeated and the Franks set up a king for Cyprus (Guy of Lusignan in 1191), who was formerly in Jerusalem.²³⁹³

On the 8th hour on Friday, September 4, 1498 (A.D. 1187), an eclipse took place and stars appeared close to the sun.

In the year 1500 (A.D. 1189), Maphryono Yuhanon (John) came beseeching us (Michael Rabo) to relieve him from service. We urged him not to do so but he would not accept. He went to the Monastery of Mor Jacob in the Edessa Mountain, and afterwards, repented. He came unto us and we provided him with letters, and he returned to his diocese. While sleeping on the roof of the church in the village of Ba Khudayda (present-day Qaraqosh north of Mosul), he fell off the roof dead (in 1189). He was buried in St. Matthew's Monastery. Then, the congregations of Takrit, Mosul and Nineveh sent us a letter with envoys asking us, according to the canons, to ordain for them a chief priest. They informed us that they had an audacious person named (Karim) Bar Tamsih (The Anonymous Edessan, 355-379 writes the name as Bar

²³⁹³ In order to obtain a comprehensive picture of these events, the reader is advised to read Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, entire Chapter 28, pp. 961-997 and the multitude of sources used.

Masih) who was ambitious to assume this position, and he was supported by bad men like himself.²³⁹⁴ However, the entire faithful addressed to us a letter saying that they absolutely did not accept Bar Tamsih because of his impure and stinking deeds. We had also heard of this report from the late Maphryono Yuhanon. Therefore, according to the advice of the Spirit, we addressed a canonical invitation to my nephew and spiritual pupil, Rabban (monk) Jacob, and ordained him a chief priest. He was a learned man. Speech fails me to relate his virtues granted to him by the Father of Lights, from whom emanates every good talent and consummate gift. He was ordained in the monastery of Mor Domit in the province of Mardin on Sunday, at the beginning of Lent of the year 1500 (A.D. 1189). He was called Gregorius, chief of the Eastern Bishops, at his ordination.²³⁹⁵

In this period Mor Mark, patriarch of Alexandria and Egypt, passed away. He served the patriarchate for twenty-three years. He was transported to the spiritual realm (heaven) which has no end, in January. Iyawannis was ordained a pope, or patriarch, for the Alexandrian throne.

Chapter Six: On the time when Jerusalem was seized from the Franks by Saladin, sultan of Egypt, and subjugating it to the Tayoye (Muslims); and on the events which took place in this time

In the year 1498 (A.D. 1187), Sultan Saladin assembled an army from Egypt, Arabia, Syria and Athor (Mosul), and challenged the Franks. On Saturday July 4, the Franks were defeated because they were abandoned (by God) for our sins. The king of Jerusalem (Guy of Lusignan) was captured, and his prominent men were slaughtered along with the entire Frères (Knights Templar).²³⁹⁶ This defeat took place at Tiberias (Hittin July 4, 1187). It is said that the lord of Tripoli (Raymond III), who had the ambition to obtain the kingship but failed, rebelled, fled and betrayed the Franks.²³⁹⁷ However, I say that the Franks would have not been defeated if it were not that God abandoned them, because no sparrow falls into the trap without an order from above.²³⁹⁸ Saladin personally slaughtered the old man Rangad (Reginald of Châtillon) and three hundred Friars and washed himself with their blood. Then, he destroyed Tiberias and killed everyone in it. He turned and attacked Acre (Akka) and its noble men fled to Tyre by sea. Those who remained surrendered to Saladin. Saladin went on spoiling Caesarea, Yafa, Samaria, and Nazareth and the whole world was crowded with captives.²³⁹⁹ The pen fails to record what the Christians suffered in Damascus, Aleppo, Harran, Edessa, Amid, Mardin and Mosul and in all the regions under Muslim authority of abuse, humiliation, revilement and spit.

In October of the year 1499 (A.D. 1188), Saladin granted the Franks of Ascalon a pledge. He released the captured king (Guy of Lusignan) and handed the city to him. Then he marched against Jerusalem, the land of peace. After few days, he waged war against it and destroyed the northeastern section of its wall. Because there was no one to rescue its inhabitants, they agreed to pay ten dinars for every citizen and leave the city. Thousands and ten thousands left with weeping and lamentation, which would split stones. Those who could not pay were taken captive. Saladin, however, released twenty thousand men and women of whom were four thousand aged men and women. He designated six thousand men to serve his forces and sent five thousand to Egypt to build walls. He left five thousand in Jerusalem to build the walls and the Temple of Solomon, which they (Muslims) called the Rock and was built by the Arabs. They purified it according to their Shari'a (law) and would not let a Christian set foot in it. They closed the

²³⁹⁴ On Karim Bar Masih, see The Anonymous Edessan 359-362; Ignatius Jacob III, *History of the Monastery of Saint Matthew in Mosul*, translated by Matti Moosa (Gorgias Press and Beth Antioch Press, 2008), 86-87 and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 698-700.

²³⁹⁵ Ignatius Jacob III, *Ibid.*, and Matti Moosa, *Ibid.*

²³⁹⁶ See "The Old French Continuation of William of Tyre," in *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade*, ed. Peter W. Edbury (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1996), 47, 161.

²³⁹⁷ Apparently, Raymond sought the help of Saladin to become the king of Jerusalem. See "The Old French Continuation of William of Tyre," 29; Malcolm Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1994), 111, and Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 816-817.

²³⁹⁸ Cf. Matthew 10:29.

²³⁹⁹ The manner Saladin treated King Guy of Lusignan and killed the aged Reginald of Châtillon and the Templars, is related by both Arab and Western sources. For details, see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, 842-849.

Church of Resurrection and other churches, and the Christians who remained in Jerusalem stood at the doors praying while weeping.

Then, Saladin marched against the city of Tyre situated at the heart of the sea, but faced resistance. At that time, a count arrived from Rome named Marqiz (Marquis Conrad of Montferrat) to worship in Jerusalem with no prior knowledge of the situation. However, he encouraged the people and protected the city; Saladin failed to capture it, and he withdrew and went on to capture Sidon, Beirut, Jubayl and Tébni. In 1500 (A.D. 1189), he captured the fortresses of Karak and Shawbak on the coast of the Red Sea, and which were the cause of war between him and the wretched Franks. In this same year, he attacked the province of Antioch and captured Latakia, Gabala, the fortress of Sihyawn, Baghras and Darbsaq.²⁴⁰⁰

In this year trouble stirred up in Cappadocia. A conflict took place between the son of the Sultan Kilij Arslan (II), who made Sebastea his center, and Hasan (Ikhtiyar al-Din), his father's deputy. The two men prepared for war. Hasan instigated the sultan against his son, and he marched to fight him in the region of Caesarea. However, in honor of the old man (the sultan), the men who joined his son dispersed and the son returned to Sebastea without fighting his father. In retaliation and outrage, the sultan killed four thousand Turkomans who joined his son. Then, the amir Bahramshah (of Arzenjan), son-in-law of the sultan, arrived and mediated peace. Using a trick, he obtained a decree from the sultan to arrest Hasan, his deputy, and confiscate his possessions. He had him, his son and his slaves leave for Sebastea, but on the way, the Turkomans attacked Hasan, slaughtered him with his sons and slaves, and cut Hasan into pieces. They carried his limbs to Sebastea on the tip of lances. His death took place on the Festivity of the Cross (September 14, 1189).

When in the year 1500 (A.D. 1189), the partisans of Bar Tamsih (Masih) learned of what happened, they bribed the governor two thousand five hundred red gold (dinars). Emboldened by the governor's sword, and being corrupted by the spirit of Satan, they illegally ordained Bar Tamsih, but the faithful categorically rejected him. It is not worthy to record the abominations committed by Dathan the Second²⁴⁰¹ in this book. However, and for necessity only, we should explain what happened, for Bar Tamsih augmented his impudence by reconciling with Bar Wahbun, and both came to Mardin to proclaim Bar Wahbun a patriarch and Bar Tamsih a maphryono.

They bribed the lord of Mardin two thousand gold dinars and received a decree to act freely in his domain. Because of this, our (Syrian) people immensely suffered, and they particularly complained about the actions of the commissioners of the lord of Mardin, who traveled through the villages to levy taxes from the people. Finally, urged by zeal, the congregation of Mardin collected money, gave it to the lord of the city, and obtained an order to have Bar Tamsih and Bar Wahbun driven out of the city, and they went to Mosul.

In Mosul, the congregation enthusiastically had Bar Wahbun expelled first. They collected money and gave it to the governor, and obtained an order from him to arrest Bar Tamsih. They seized him, and, removing his holy priestly habit; they clothed him with a civilian garment. They delegated bishops, presbyters and monks to Maphryono Gregorius in Nisibin who accompanied them to Mosul. He was welcomed by the lord of Mosul and all the (Syrian) people. By his grace, God gave rest to his church. *End of the narrative with the help of God, to him is glory forever and ever, so be it and Amen.*

In the year 1501 (A.D. 1190), we, (Michael Rabo) under pressure from our bishops and others, delegated to Sultan Saladin, Gabriel, abbot of the monastery, and Abu al-Faraj, bishop of the Patriarchal Office, to explain to the sultan the stratagem of Bar Tamsih. They arrived in Damascus when Saladin was besieging Acre (Akka). They were seized as spies, thrown into prison, and lost everything they had. Finally, God showed mercy to them and rescued them by the effort of Muzaffar al-Din ibn Zayn al-Din, lord of

²⁴⁰⁰ See Runciman, *History*, 2: 471. The author's (Michael Rabo) treatment of these events from the time Saladin captured Jerusalem, his haggling with Balian of Ibelin regarding the amounts of ransom for the release of the captive men women and children, and the atrocities his men committed in Jerusalem, is extremely brief. For details see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, entire Chapter 25, pp. 883-907 and the different sources used.

²⁴⁰¹ On Dathan, see Deuteronomy 16:7.

Edessa. They obtained from the sultan (Saladin) authoritative letters and returned (home) joyfully by the intercession of our lord Mor Barsoum.

Chapter Seven: On the coming forth with zeal of the kings and the people of the Franks from the country of Italy to Jerusalem, and other events which took place in this period

In the year 1500 (A.D. 1189), Qaysar Shah Mu'izz al-Din, son of the sultan, ruled Melitene.

In this time, the kings and armies of the Franks came forth with great determination, and sent ahead of them numerous groups of different peoples and languages who did not understand each other. They besieged Acre (Akka) but had no king with them. Along with them were their bishops and presbyters with tents used as their churches. Saladin assembled a huge army of Muslims and the two camps were so close to each other that one could see the other. Neither the Franks could capture the city because there were sixty thousand fighting men inside, nor the sultan (Saladin) could challenge the Franks' army or push them away from the city. Then the Franks built houses, churches and four thousand districts.

Afterwards, the king of the Germans (Frederick Barbarossa) came to Constantinople and fought the Greeks and they became subject to him. Then, he turned to Iconium and suffered hunger. The Turkomans, led by the son of the Sultan (Qutb al-Din, son of Kilij Arslan II) fought them but were defeated. Then the Franks came, entered the city, and killed a great number (of people). Michael, the lord of Melitene, nicknamed Papa, was also killed. Then the sultan made peace with the Franks. They passed by the Reed Gate and then to Cilicia where the old king of the Germans died drowning in the river. (Barbarossa died by drowning on June 10, 1190). His son (Frederick of Swabia A.D. 1191) carried his body to Antioch. Then they proceeded to Acre. Meantime, two kings (Philip II Augustus and Richard Lion-Heart), came and took Cyprus from the Greeks. Then, they attacked Acre and took it by assault. Many on both sides were killed and the streets were filled with corpses. The Franks ruled Acre at the beginning of July 1502 (A.D. 1191). As to the Turkomans who remained in the city, the Franks wanted to exchange them with the Frankish captives in Damascus. After both sides agreed, Satan hardened the heart of Saladin and he did not agree to release the captive leaders of the Franks. The Frankish kings were outraged and determined to slaughter the entire Turkish captives. On that day, 20,000 Turks were slaughtered and their bodies were piled up and burned by fire at the gate of Acre.²⁴⁰²

After capturing Acre by the Franks, Saladin's morality weakened and he greatly regretted what happened. In a fit of rage, he demolished Yafa (Jaffa) and the walls of Asqalan (Ascalon) lest the Franks might capture them. However, the Franks were emboldened, especially after they captured Caesarea, and rebuilt Yafa and stationed a garrison in it. Then they rebuilt the walls of Ascalon and some of them dwelt in the city. It was then that Saladin gained strength and assembled an army to fight the Franks, but the Franks, in turn, went forth from Acre to challenge the Turks. The two sides arrayed for battle. Suddenly however, in October 1504 (A.D. 1193), both sides signed peace for three years. Saladin paid the Franks expenses for rebuilding the new wall of Ascalon. He went on to demolish the old walls down to the foundation, and the city became desolate. The Franks set up in Acre a governor called Henry who was the nephew (son of the sister) of the king of England, and they returned to their country. Saladin rebuilt the walls of Jerusalem and rendered them stronger than before.²⁴⁰³

In the year 1502 (A.D. 1191), Zayn al-Din (son of Zayn al-Din Koujak), lord of Arbil, died. His brother Muzaffar al-Din (lord of Edessa), abandoned Edessa, Harran and Samosata and went to Arbil to rule over it, and he was met with success.

Saladin gave some regions in Persia to his nephew, Umar Taqi al-Din (who was called a Sultan), to rule. He was a cruel and wicked person who hated the Christians, and even persecuted the Muslims. He

²⁴⁰² On the struggle for Acre, see Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, entire Chapter 26, pp. 909-934.

²⁴⁰³ In the former few paragraphs, Michael Rabo covers briefly a very significant part of the Crusades that is the Third Crusade and the campaigns of King Philip II Augustus of France and King Richard Lion-Heart of England. In order to obtain a comprehensive picture of this subject, especially the numerous Muslim and Western sources, the reader is referred to Matti Moosa, *The Crusades*, Chapters 28 and 29, pp. 961-997 and 999-1041.

overburdened both Christians and Muslims with taxes and fees. By deception, he evicted the amirs, the sons of Boghosaj, who were in Sebaberck from their fortresses. Then he proceeded to Miyafarqat, which was formerly under his rule. He captured Gabgashur and Qoulab. Then, he went to Khilat in Armenia and spent five months plundering and killing, especially the Christians, without mercy. It was there that Lord struck him and he died suddenly, and his death gave rest to the people, as was the death of the wicked Julian the Apostate. (Roman Emperor 361-363). His son (al-Malik al-Mansur) and his army departed for Miyafarqat. When his son rebelled against Saladin, his father's uncle, Saladin sent his brother al-Malik al-Adil, who drove away al-Malik al-Mansur from Edessa and from Harran and Samosata and took from him Miyafarqat. However, he gave him Homs and Hama, he returned the region of Sebaberck to the Boghosaj family, and they, as before, became subjects to Qutb al-Din, lord of Amid.

In this time, a council met at the Monastery of Mor Barsoum, which resolved the excommunication of Bar Tamsih, and the resolution was circled to all churches.

In this time, I (Michael Rabo) felt that God had turned his face from me because of my sins, and found no one who agreed to assume the leadership of the diocese of Mardin because of the heavy burdens placed upon it by its governor. Therefore, I was forced to ordain (a bishop) for it a confessor-monk in the Monastery of Mor Barsoum in the presence of Mor Athanasius, metropolitan of Jerusalem, who was saved like a piece of wood saved from fire. However, he apologized to participate in the ordination of that wretched confessor which was done at a time God had forsaken me. At the beginning, everyone welcomed this confessor, but was later exposed and expelled because of his worthless characteristics, which I prefer not to mention. Then he was possessed by a legion of demons, rejected the faith, and intended to proclaim his conversion to Islam. Some Chalcedonians of Melitene met him and, cajoling him, appointed him a canonical bishop for Miyafarqat.

As for us (Michael Rabo), we, after a great effort, completed the construction of the church at the Monastery of Mor Barsoum in fourteen years. As we said earlier, its construction started in the year 1491 (1180), and by the grace of God and the intercession of Mor Barsoum, was completed in this year 1504 (A.D. 1193). We celebrated its consecration during the convention of the Holy Council, mentioned earlier, concerning Bar Wahbun who died in this period. The consecration was done on Sunday, June 15, prior to Pentecost, in the presence of the bishops and a huge crowd of people.

In this period, the Armenian catholicos and many other people passed away.

On June 23 of this year, an-eclipse occurred and more than half of the sun disappeared. Stars were seen around it, and the moon was seen on its side.

Chapter Eight: On the time of the death of Kilij Arslan, sultan of the Turks, Bithynia, Cappadocia and Lesser Armenia; the death of Saladin, sultan of Egypt, Arabia, Palestine, Syria, and other events which took place in this period

When Sultan Kilij Arslan was pursued and persecuted by his sons, he began to move from one place to another. However, the inhabitants of Iconium brought him unto them with zeal and seated him on his throne. The old man (Kilij Arslan) assembled a great number of troops and marched against his eldest son (Qutb al-Din Malik Shah) who was ruling Axara. He fell ill, returned to Iconium and died on the way. One of his younger sons, who was in his company, carried the body to have it buried with his fathers, and he became the ruler of Iconium.

Sultan Kilij Arslan reigned successfully for thirty-eight years, and was inherited by his twelve children.

In the year 1504 (A.D. 1193), Saladin died in Damascus. He had twenty-three sons. Before his death, he trusted the leadership to his eldest son (al-Malik al-Afdal), and placed him in Damascus. He appointed his second son (al-Malik al-Aziz) to Egypt and his third son, (al-Malik al-Zahir), to Aleppo. He granted these three sons the title of "Sultan," and allotted each one of the other sons a certain region. He also granted the title of "Sultan" to his brother (al-Malik al-Adil) and gave him Harran, Edessa, Miyafarqat, Samosata, and the Citadels of Ja'bar, Karak and Shawbak.

Meanwhile, the lord of Mosul (Izz al-Din Mas'ud), his brothers (Kamal al-Din Zangi), lord of Sinjar, and (Muzaffar al-Din Sinjar Shah), lord of the Jazira, were joined by (Yuluk Arslan), lord of Mardin, marched as far as Haran to fight al-Malik al-Adil and capture his domains. Al-Malik al-Adil assembled troops and went forth to challenge them. Suddenly, however, the lord of Mosul fell ill and returned to his city; those with him were dispersed. Al-Malik al-Adil took from them al-Raqqqa and Habura and laid siege to Nisibin. These lords submitted to him as they had submitted to his brother (Saladin). Al-Malik al-Adil gave them back Habura and they were reconciled with him. Then, al-Malik al-Adil went to occupy Armenia but failed and returned empty handed. Meanwhile, Izz al-Din, lord of Mosul, died and was succeeded by his son Nur al-Din.

Leon, prince of Cilicia, seized the prince of Antioch (Bohemond III), and tortured him harshly as revenge for what he did to his brother Reuben. However, Count Henry arrived from Acre and by his intercession and pledges, the prince was released and returned to Antioch.²⁴⁰⁴

After the death of the sultan (Kilij Arslan) Leon controlled seventy-two fortresses in the land of the Romans, some of which he took from the Turks and some from the Greeks. He was always victorious in his wars with the Turks, and the sons of the sultan found refuge with him. In 1506 (A.D. 1195), the lord of Ablastain (Mughith al-Din Tughrul Shah) went and offered homage to him. Then, Leon marched against the lord of Caesarea (Nur al-Din Sultan Shah, one of Kilij Arslan's sons), overwhelmed him and seized from him a fortress near Caesarea. Then, al-Malik al-Aziz, sultan of Egypt, marched to Damascus to fight against his brother, but their uncle, the lord of Edessa, reconciled them.²⁴⁰⁵

It was said earlier, that the catholicos of the Armenians (Gregorius IV Dgha) passed away in July 1504 (A.D. 1193), and the Armenians ordained his nephew the young man also called Gregorius, nicknamed (Diratsu).

In this year Amaury, Frankish patriarch of Antioch, died in the Fortress of Qusayr, which he owned. They brought his body and buried it in the Great Church of Antioch. He left an enormous treasure. The Franks set up another patriarch, an old priest named Ramulf.

In this time Mor Iyawannis, patriarch of Alexandria, sent to us a messenger the old man bishop Peter. He was learned, amiable and chaste. He carried to us a message written in the Coptic and Arabic languages, containing eloquent words confirming the Orthodox faith. It was adorned with humility, and complete love.

When the wars of the Turkomans began in 1096 (more correctly 1496 (A.D. 1185),²⁴⁰⁶ the rods of wrath began with them and were repeated. The locusts swarmed, and bitter hunger was everywhere that even people ate the flesh of the dead and other unclean things. Many people sold their own children. In Shabakhtan alone, to the exclusion of other lands, twenty two thousand male and female children were sold in Dunaysir and were taken captive to Babylon (Baghdad). Up to this year, 1506 (A.D. 1195), the locusts continued to devastate the crops and vineyards from the boundaries of Egypt to Iberia, and from Persia to the Sea of Pontus (Black Sea). The price of a large measure of wheat in Melitene went up to sixteen sultanic dinars.

In this year (1195), al-Malik al-Adil, lord of Edessa, forbade the ringing of bells in the churches of Edessa, and the Christians were immensely distressed. May God have mercy. *He who reads let him pray for the sinner, the scribe Michael.* This colophon is written in Arabic.

After the destruction of Jerusalem, my (sibling) brother Mor Athanasius left the city and came unto me at the Monastery of our lord Mor Barsoum. I sent him as my deputy to the diocese of Antioch, and was received like an angel. He was greatly honored not only by our few people there but also by the Franks and the Armenians. After spending two years in that diocese, he, by God's dispensation, passed away after some illness on Thursday, October 21, 1504 (A.D. 1193), and was buried in the Monastery of Mor Dawud (David)

²⁴⁰⁴ Reinhold Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem*, 1100-1291, 661-662.

²⁴⁰⁵ Reinhold Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem*, 1100-1291, 659.

²⁴⁰⁶ The date 1096 does not make sense; it is most likely a copyist error.

next to Patriarch Mor Yuhanon. May the Lord God have mercy on him and on everyone who prays for him.

Ignatius Suhdo, prior of the monastery, (probably of Mor Barsoum) was ordained (a bishop) for Jerusalem.

In January, Dionysius, bishop of Melitene, passed away and was succeeded by Iyawannis Bar Conon, metropolitan of Qallisura, as its bishop.

In October 1506 (A.D. 1195), the Maphryono Gregorius accompanied by four bishops from his diocese, came unto us at the Monastery of Mor Barsoum. They confirmed their canonical pledge to their spiritual father (Michael Rabo). When they returned to their dioceses, Satan instigated Bar Tamsih once more. He slandered the maphryono to the governor claiming that he had fled (his diocese) and would never come back. However, when the maphryono and his bishops returned to their dioceses, Bar Tamsih was disgraced and held in contempt by the faithful, while the maphryono was received with a great honor by the governor and the people.

In this year (A.D. 1195), Leon, lord of Cilicia, sent men who captured the Fortress of Romaitha and seized the young (Armenian) catholicos. Upon examining his actions, the Armenian bishops deposed him and Leon placed him in the Gubira fortress under guard. The wretched (catholicos) tried to escape but a rock fell on him and he died. He became a disgrace to the Armenians. Then the Armenians ordained catholicos Abirad, cousin of the old man, and he was also called Krikorius (Gregory). *End of the narrative.*

Chapter Eight of Book Twenty-One is followed immediately by the following note:

With the hope of God Almighty, we write down the names of the chief priests in the upper column and the kings in the lower column who are set in order in this book one after the other in order to make them easier to find.

Note: Since the table of names covers pp. 744-750 of the Aleppo-Edessa Syriac Codex contains most of the names already set in the book, I find it superfluous to record here. However, and in order to complete the table of the names of the patriarchs, bishops and catholicoses at the end of this translation, I chose to put down the names of the bishops of Rome, the bishops of Alexandria and the bishops of Ephesus. It should also be noticed that this table of names of pontiffs and kings of ancient kingdoms, mainly based on those of Andronicus and Jacob of Edessa, is almost the same as that of the eleventh-century Bishop Ilyya (Elijah, Elias) bar Shinaya.²⁴⁰⁷ Another thing that should be noticed about the table of names of the Patriarchs of Antioch, is that it does not stop with the name of Michael Rabo, author of the book, but contains the names of thirteen patriarchs who followed his death in 1199. This interpolation indicates that a copyist must have tampered with the original text. However, this is not my main concern, and the task is left to scholars of textual comparison. (Trans.)

By the grace of God, we write about the ancient Aramaean kingdoms, which are the descendants of Aram who were called Syrians that is the natives of Syria. We have gathered about them truthful testimonies from books characterized by precision

Know that Eusebius, an expert in such historical matters, explains from the ancient histories of Alexander Polyhistor, Abydenus and other Chaldeans, the table of the generations of kings from Adam until the Flood, which took place in the time of Noah. He counts ten kings one after the other. We have mentioned them in this our book and the years of the reign of each one of them.²⁴⁰⁸ They are: Aloros, reigned 10 saros (*saro* is a Chaldean measure of time); Alaparus, reigned 3 saros; Almelon, reigned 13 saros; Amegalarus, reigned 18 saros; Daonus, reigned 12 Amanon reigned *saro* (more correctly 10); Edonvanchus, reigned 10 saros (more correctly 18 saros); Amempsinus, reigned 8 saros; Otiartus, reigned 10 saros (more correctly 8 saros; and Xisthusrus, reigned 8 saros (more correctly 18 saros).²⁴⁰⁹ All of them were called

²⁴⁰⁷ See *The Chronicle of Ilyya bar Shinaya*, translated by Rev. Yusuf Habbi (1975), 20-62.

²⁴⁰⁸ See above Book One, Chapter Four, pp. 43-44 where the author does not mention Eusebius but he mentions the same table of generations of ten Chaldean kings.

²⁴⁰⁹ For the list of these names see previous footnote.

Chaldeans. After the Flood, Euvexius the Chaldean reigned and after him Komasilos. He also indicates that twenty-six kings were set up since Xisuthrous, in whose time the Flood took place, until the Mede kings captured Babylon. Eusebius relies on the testimonies of Polyhistor and Abydenus saying that, "Polyhistor mentions every one of these kings and the years he reigned." He goes on to say that, "After the kingdom of the Chaldeans vanished, twenty-one Mede kings ruled successively." He continues saying that, "Then, forty Chaldean kings ruled." He mentions their names and the years they reigned. When the Assyrians put an end to the kingdom of the Chaldeans in the time of Shamiram (Samiramis), forty-six kings followed. Then, a Chaldean king named Phaulos, who Hebrew sources call Paul, ruled. He is the one who came to Judea. Then, Polyhistor says that Sennacherib came (to Judea) according to the Prophet Isaiah who says, "In the fourteenth year of King Hezekiah's reign, Sennacherib king of Assyria attacked all the fortified cities of Judah and captured them."²⁴¹⁰ Concerning Rabshakeh who was sent by Sennacherib to Jerusalem, he says, "Then Eliakim and Shebna and Jo'ah said to Rabshakeh; speak to your servants in Aramaic, since we understand it. Don't speak to us in Judean (Hebrew)."²⁴¹¹ It is clear from these Biblical testimonies and from the Aramaic language that the Chaldean and Assyrian kings were Aramaean. However, why were they called Chaldeans and Assyrians? We may know this from the writings of Polyhistor and Abydenes on which Josephus the Hebrew relied, and were quoted by Eusebius Pamphili, bishop of Caesarea. Discussing the generations of the three sons of Noah, he said, "Shem, the third son of Noah had five sons who dwelt in Asia which extends from the Euphrates to the Indian Ocean. He gave Elam to the Elamites who are the origin of the Persians. He stationed Ashur in the city of Nineveh, and his followers were called Assyrians. He called the sons of Arphaxad, Arphaxadians. The Aramaeans controlled the land of Aram, and they are called Syrians by the Greeks, of whom was Uz who built Trachonitis and Damascus between Palestine and Coele-Syria. All of them were geneally called, by the old name, Chaldeans and Athoroye or Assyrians since the time Ashur inhabited Nineveh."²⁴¹²

This account of Eusebius agrees with that of Josephus, the Jewish historian who said that Ashur from whom descended the Assyrians is the one who built Nineveh.²⁴¹³ He also said that, "The Chaldeans from whom are the Assyrians and the Aramaeans, they are the Syrians." After a protracted discourse, Josephus said, "these names are thus pronounced by the Hellenistic Greeks because of the beauty of their enunciation, and do not pronounce them like we Hebrews do. For their formula of names is different from that in our own language. They have only one formula of names, which ends with one form. For example, they pronounce the name of Noah as Nonnus, and this formula extends to all the names used by the Greeks." Based on these trustworthy sources, we can ascertain that the names of all the kings of this region, whether Chaldeans or Syrians are of our tongue (Syrians). However, they were later altered when the Greeks dominated Asia. In an opportune time, we shall discuss the reason the Syrian names were lost in the Holy Scriptures.

Let us return to the time of Sennacherib to see what was written about him. About Sennacherib and Nebuchadnezzar, Alexander Polyhistor says, "After Phoul, his brother Sennacherib reigned. He marched with an army against Babylon, triumphed, and dominated the Babylonians. He captured Sarnilibos alive and sent him to Athor. He set up his son Asordonisos a king over the Babylonians, and he departed for Athor. When he heard that the Greeks had entered Cilicia, he marched with a great army against them and annihilated most of them. He had a memorial statute of himself erected there in commemoration of his victory, and wrote down the events in the Chaldean language. He built the city of Tarsus in the likeness of Babylon and called it Tarshish. After returning to his own land, he lived eighteen years and then was killed by his son, who ruled eight years after he did. He was succeeded by Samogious for twenty-one years, and then by his brother for twenty-one years. Following these (kings), Neboplasoros ruled twenty years, and

²⁴¹⁰ Isaiah 36:1.

²⁴¹¹ Isaiah 36:11. See Robert Bedrosian, pp. 3-5; Roger Pearse, pp. 6-7 and Karst, pp. 5-7.

²⁴¹² Evidently, Michael Rabo quotes Josephus freely. See *The Works of Flavius Josephus, The Antiquities of the Jews*, translated by William Whiston (New York: Worthington Co., 1888), 37, which shall be cited throughout as Josephus.

²⁴¹³ Josephus, *Ibid*.

then Nebuchadnezzar ruled twenty years and was succeeded by Bondonosoros. The total years from Sennacherib to Nebuchadnezzar were eighty-eight years.²⁴¹⁴

Josephus says if you search our Hebrew books, you will find the period of the events from Hezekiah to Jehoiakim who was overwhelmed by Nebuchadnezzar. Concerning Nebuchadnezzar, Josephus, who derives his testimony from an ancient book said, "When Nabopolassar, father of Nebuchadnezzar, heard that the satrap (governor) whom he had set over Egypt, Syria and Phoenicia, had revolted from him and was not able to fight, he committed certain parts of his army to his son Nebuchadnezzar, who was then but young, and sent him against the rebel. Nebuchadnezzar defeated him and placed the country under his dominion again. Now it happened that his father Nabopolassar fell ill and died after he had reigned twenty-one years (more correctly twenty-nine years)."

"When Nebuchadnezzar learned (of his father's death), he organized the affairs of Egypt, Judea and Phoenicia and ordered the captives (he had taken from the Jews, Phoenicians, and Syrians) be taken to Babylon. With few men with him, he went in haste over the desert to Babylon. He found the affairs had been managed by the Chaldeans. After assuming power, he ordered the captives, whom he had brought, to be settled in Babylon. He adorned the temple of Bel by the spoils he had taken in this war. He also rebuilt the old city, and added another section to it on the outside. He adorned it and built three eminently high walls around it with baked bricks and lime, so that no natives or other fighters who attacked might have it in their power to divert the river, to find an entrance to it. He fortified the city with precision and embellished its gates. He added new palaces to those in which his father dwelt. It would perhaps require too long a narrative to describe their eminent height and splendor. He drew up the estuary of Armacles from the Euphrates and dug up a lake of Acrocranos forty cubits feet in circumference and twenty cubits deep, and made for it a water gate to irrigate the plains. He had a canal dug up from the Red Sea (most likely the Persian Gulf). He built the city of Teridon at the entrance of Arabia, and adorned the royal palace with trees and gardens which were considered one of the Seven Wonders of the World" (The Hanging Gardens).²⁴¹⁵

After a lengthy narrative, he (Polyhistor) said that Nebuchadnezzar appeared to be mightier than Hercules. He invaded Nubia and Iberia and destroyed them, and evicted the people of the south via the sea. He proudly said, "Is not this the great Babylon I have built for the glory of my majesty?" as it is written in the Book of Daniel (4:30). The Babylonians, however, said that when Nebuchadnezzar went up to the royal palace, one of the gods held him and said, "Babylonians! I tell you that I am Nebuchadnezzar. Wait and see the degradation which will befall you." They realized that the demon that possessed him was a god.²⁴¹⁶

In order not to be lost in mazes, we shall be satisfied with these few words from the books of Polyhistor and Josephus to make our path clear. Our intention is to show that since the time of Cyrus the Persian, the kingdom used our language and handwriting. This is attested to by Dionysius Tell Mahre (d. 845), who said, "The two brothers Syros and Cilicos quarreled during the sojourn of the children of Israel in Egypt. Cilicos moved to the region in the mountain known today as Ukomo (The Black Mountain), and it

²⁴¹⁴ There are some differences between Michael's account and that of Polyhistor. According to Polyhistor the Babylonian King Marduk Baladan was killed by a certain Elbius who ruled in his place. Upon invading Babylon, Sennacherib captured Elbius and his associates and sent them to his country Athor (Assyria). Michael calls Elbius as Sarnilibos. See *The Account of Polyhistor in Berossos and Manetho, Introduced and Translated* by Gerald P. Verbrugge and John M. Wickersham (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1996), 52-54; Bedrosian, *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5; Pearse, *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9 and Karst, *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

²⁴¹⁵ Michael Rabo quotes the Syriac version of the *Chronicle* of Eusebius, who in turn reproduced this narrative from the *History of Babylon* by Berossos, the fourth century B.C., Babylonian writer who wrote in Greek, and from Abydenes who most likely used the *History of India* by the Greek writer Megasthenes (350-290 B.C.) See *Berossos and Manetho, Introduced and Translated* by Gerald P. Verbrugge and John M. Wickersham, 58-59; Bedrosian, *Ibid.*, p. 7-9; Pearse, *Ibid.*, pp. 12-14, and Karst, pp. 9-10, and "Flavius Josephus Against Apion, Book 1," in *The Works of Flavius Josephus*, translated by William Whiston, section 19, pp. 792-793. On this last page, Josephus mentions Magasthenese.

²⁴¹⁶ This whole episode comes from the Greek writer Megasthenes as quoted by Abydenes, a Greek historian (350-290 B.C.) who wrote *The Indian History*, and was quoted by Polyhistor and Josephus and later by Eusebius from whom Michael Rabo took it. See Bedrosian, *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7; Pearse, *Ibid.*, pp. 12-31; Karst, pp. 8-9. Josephus credits Megasthenes for saying that the king of the Babylonians (Nebuchadnezzar) was superior to Hercules in strength and the greatness of his exploits, for he conquered a great part of Libya and conquered Iberia also. See *The Works of Flavius Josephus*, translated by William Whiston, 793.

was called Cilicia after his name. Syrus remained in the region west of the Euphrates, and it was called Syria after his name. It was greatly divided and many kings arose in it and were called Syrians. The Roman kings (emperors) themselves were called Syrians. It is mentioned in the Septuagint that Bar (Ben) Hadad, king of the Syrians, ruled over Samaria. In addition, the servants of the king of Syria said unto their master, "Their gods are gods of the hills."²⁴¹⁷ The king of Israel said unto his servants, "Know ye that Ramoth in Gilead is ours, and we be still, and take it not out of the hand of the king of Syria?"²⁴¹⁸ It is evident from this context, that Syria is situated to the west of the Euphrates, and that all of those who spoke our Aramaean language were called Aramaeans because they are a part of the total. The rest dwelt east of the Euphrates, that is, from the Euphrates to Persia. In this region arose several kings. In Athor arose Bel, Ninnus, and others who succeeded them. In Babylon was Nebuchadnezzar who spoke Aramaic (Syriac) with the magicians whom he summoned to interpret his dream. In Edessa arose kings from the Abgar clan, and from the Arabs the kings from the clan of Sanatrouq. We say this to make clear that the people who lived west of the Euphrates are, in truth, Syrians, and that Orhoi (Edessa) is the origin of this language (Syriac). Therefore, there is no validity to the claim that no kings were set up from these people. It is manifest that the Chaldean and Assyrian kings were from these people who were called Syrians. They total one hundred ninety-four kings, ten of whom were before the Flood, seventy-six after the Flood and forty after the Medes. Forty-five kings were set up in Nineveh and twenty-three kings of the dynasty of Sennacherib and Nebuchadnezzar after the Persians. We have gathered these names from as many books as much as possible. As we have promised earlier, we shall explain the reasons that these names are lost in this book of ours. Here are those reasons:

The Persian kingdom established by Cyrus, put an end to the ancient kingdoms which came before it. In addition, this kingdom itself ceased when Alexander (the Great) killed Darius (III). In fact, the Asiatic nations were subject to the Persians for two hundred and thirty-one years. Later, Alexander added the period of the Seleucids and Antiochus, who were called the kings of Syria, and which extended for two hundred twenty-two years until the reign of Gaius and Augustus.²⁴¹⁹ In their time appeared Christ the Savior and Son of God, and the kings from our own people would have ceased for five hundred and fifty years. However, when the teaching of the Gospel shone forth, these people (the Syrians) adopted it with anxiousness. With avid divine zeal, they burned by fire the entire books that contained the chronicles of their kings, because they were connected with the names and generations of the demonic paganism of these kings. For this reason, they entirely overlooked these books like someone who turns away from a foul smell. They burned them by fire in order not to preserve their memory for their posterity and future generations. In this context we are reminded of the Act of the Apostles where it is said, "Many of them who practiced sorcery brought their costly books together, and burned them at the feet of the apostles."²⁴²⁰ In fact, in many places and for many generations after the epiphany of the Lord, the fathers were wont to burn down every folio containing chronicles of the pagans and their gods. Hence is the absence of the names of pagan kings from our books. Our people (the Syrians) followed Jesus Christ and rejected the error of heathenism. This is also why they considered the victorious Constantine as the first Christian king because he believed and was baptized in the name of Christ. This was also true of all the Orthodox Christian kings who came after Constantine. Those kings, who deviated from Orthodoxy, were considered aliens. Accordingly, we do not pride ourselves for having no secular states, but take pride in Christ whose kingdom is not from this world.

We have written this against the arrogant and braggart Greeks who, when they saw that our holy fathers had distanced themselves from them because they deviated too much from Christ, tried to deceive the simple people by their prating and raving and claiming that no leader had been raised from our people.

²⁴¹⁷ 1 Kings 20-23, of the King James version.

²⁴¹⁸ 1 Kings 22:4 of King James version.

²⁴¹⁹ This might give the impression that Gaius and Augustus are two different men. This is not so. Augustus, the first Roman *princeps*, was born Gaius Octavius in 63 B.C. When Julius Caesar was assassinated in 44 B.C., he (Augustus) changed his name into Gaius Julius Caesar. In 27 B.C., he was granted the title of Augustus. He reigned between 31 B.C. and 14 A.D. See Michael Grant, *The Roman Emperors* (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1985), 9.

²⁴²⁰ Acts 19:19.

They also bragged that everything contained therein was taken from their books because they had not yet deserted paganism completely. However, Saint Gregory the theologian (Gregory of Nazianzus) bears testimony that they derived the life stories of their pagan fathers from those books. Moreover, Eusebius (of Caesarea) proved from their own books the veracity of what we have written. Also, our father Jacob of Edessa (d. 708), based on their books, proved the rise of mighty kingdoms from these people (the Syrians) who conquered all other nations of that time. Today, as we reject their (the Greeks) error, we hold on to Christ the king of all. We beseech him, to rest by his grace the Patriarch Mor Michael in peace, who compiled this book and forgive everyone who may read or copy it, and remember me (the copyist Michael of 'Urbish) in his prayer. And he himself may receive the grace of our Lord and the forgiveness of sins, forever and ever. Yes and Amen

By the grace of the Lord of all, we append the names of the patriarchs who were set up in our Orthodox Church one after the other beginning with the blessed Sawera (Severus) until our time

1. Sawera (Severus), from the Monastery of Theodore in Gazza, was ordained in November 832 (A.D. 512), at a council attended by twelve bishops by the laying on of hands of Abraham, bishop of Aleppo in the time of King (Emperor) Anastasius. He served in Syria for six years. When the Orthodox king (Anastasius) died, the heretics (Chalcedonians) turned against Severus in the time of Justin (Emperor Justin 1, 450-527). He left Antioch in September 829 of the Greeks (A.D. 518). During his persecution (sojourn in Egypt), he served the patriarchate for twenty-nine years. He died in February (538) in the city of Sakha in Egypt, and his holy body was interred in his monastery.
2. After the death of Severus, the Orthodox, Sergius of Tella from the Monastery of Dahla was ordained a patriarch of Antioch by the laying on of hands of Iyawannis, metropolitan of Anazarba.
3. Paul Ukomo (the Black), from the Monastery of Gubba Baraya (The Outer Pit Monastery), was ordained in this same monastery by the laying on of hands of Tuma, metropolitan of Edessa. He was deceived by (Emperor) Justinian (Justinian 1, 527-565) and entered into communion with the Chalcedonians hoping that they would renounce the Council of Chalcedon. When the king (emperor) reneged on his oaths, Paul condemned the council, but the Orthodox did not accept him.
4. Peter of Callinicus (al-Raqqa), was ordained, while Paul was still living, by the laying on of hands of Joseph, metropolitan of Amid. He straightened out the deviation of Damian the Alexandrian. He died in 902 of the Greeks (A.D. 591) and was buried in the Gubba Baraya Monastery
5. Julian was a syncellus of the patriarch. He was from the Monastery of Qinnésrin in which he was also ordained by the laying on of hands of John, bishop of Tella. He served the patriarchate for three years.
6. Athanasius Gamolo from Samosata, studied at the Monastery of Qinnésrin and in it was ordained by the laying on of hands of Severus, metropolitan of Jerusalem. He achieved union between the patriarchates of Antioch and Alexandria. He served forty-five years and passed away in 946 (A.D. 635) and was buried in the Gomoye (Gomites) monastery.²⁴²¹
7. John, syncellus of Patriarch Athanasius from the Gubba Baraya Monastery. He was ordained by the laying on of hands of Abraham, metropolitan of Nisibin. He served the patriarch nicknamed, "He of the Sedros" for eleven years. He died in the Monastery of Mor Z'ura in Amid on December 14, 960 (A.D. 649).
8. Theodore from the Scete wilderness. He was called from the Monastery of Qinnésrin and ordained by the laying on of hands of Abraham, metropolitan of Homs. He served the patriarchate for eighteen years.

²⁴²¹ According to Patriarch Aphram I Barsoum, Athanasius died in 631. See *The Scattered Pearls*, translated by Matti Moosa (Gorgias Press, 2003), 318.

9. Severus known as Bar Mashqa from the Monastery of Phigum (Euspholis) was ordained by the laying on of hands of Yuhanon Bar Ebraye, Metropolitan of Tarsus. Conflict was stirred up between him and the bishops. He served for twelve years.
10. Athanasius from the Great Monastery of Beth Malke was ordained during the assembling of the council at the Monastery of Euspholis in Rish 'Ayna by the laying on of hands of Hananya, bishop of Mardin and Kafartuta. He served three years.
11. Julian from the Monastery of Qinnessin was ordained in November 999 (A.D. 688), in Amid by the laying on of hands of Athanasius, bishop of Sarug. He served twenty years and died in 1019 (A.D. 708).
12. Iliyya (Elijah) of the Gubba Baraya Monastery was a bishop of Euphemia. After serving the episcopate for eight years, he was summoned to become a patriarch in 1020 (A.D. 719). He served for fifteen years, died on October 3 at the age of eighty-two, and was buried in his monastery.
13. Athanasius from the Gubba Baraya Monastery was ordained in April 1035 (A.D. 726). He was abbot of his monastery. He was ordained at the Monastery of Qartmin (Mor Gabriel Monastery) by the laying on of hands of Theodosius, bishop of Rish 'Ayna. He made union with the Armenians. He served fifteen years and died in 1051 (A.D. 740).
14. Iyawannis, was a bishop of Hawran. He was elected by ballot by means of Athanasius Sandeloio (the Cobbler), from whom the patriarch suffered immensely. He served ...(lacuna)... years and was buried at the village of Kadya on the bank of the Euphrates.
15. Athanasius Sandeloio was a metropolitan of Miyafarqat. He became a patriarch by order of Abu Ja'far, the Muslims' caliph and not by God's call. He was strangled when he came to Harran.
16. The Blessed Gewargi (George). He was called (to become patriarch) while he was still a deacon. He was ordained at Mabug (Manbij) during the meeting of a general council. He was opposed by wicked men like Yuhanon of Callinicus (al-Raqqa) and Dawud (David) of Dara, and was imprisoned in Baghdad for nine years. He served thirty years and then died. His holy body was interred in the Monastery of Mor Barsoum.

From this point on, we shall record the names of the bishops who were ordained by each patriarch:

Patriarch Quryaqus (Cyriacus) from the Pillar Monastery in Callinicus (al-Raqqa) was ordained a patriarch on August 18, 1110 (A.D. 799), by the laying on of hands of Theodosius, bishop of Ba'lbak. He ordained the following bishops:

1. Sharbil who became a bishop of Takrit by proxy
2. Philoxenus, bishop of Jurjan
3. Melchizedeck, bishop of Rasafa in the village of Hazza
4. Constantine, bishop of Duluk (Doliche) in the village of Tal'ada
5. Tuma, bishop of Dara, from the Monastery of Quba
6. Hananya, bishop of Mardin and Kafartuta, from the Monastery of Callinicus (al-Raqqa) believed to have built the Za'faran Monastery
7. Tuma, bishop of Tur Abdin, from the Monastery Qartmin... and in the Pillar Monastery
8. Yuhanon, bishop of Miyafarqat, in the village of Sehartat in the district of Harran
9. Yuhanon, bishop of the city of the Shu'ub (people), from the Pillar Monastery
10. Bulus, bishop of Aphra in Khurasan was ordained in the village of Kadya in Harran
11. Cyriacus, bishop of the Qaramanoye, in the city of Edessa
12. David, bishop of Nisibin, from the Monastery of Qartmin (Mor Gabriel Monastery), was ordained in Edessa
13. Basilius, bishop of Edessa, was ordained in the Monastery of Yuhanon (John) Bar Aphtonya
14. Habib, metropolitan of Euphemia, was ordained in Damascus
15. Anastasius, bishop of Tell Mawzalt, which is not in the district of al-Sham (Damascus)

16. Basilius, bishop of Callinicus (al-Raqqa), was ordained in the same city
17. Jacob, bishop of Cercegium, was ordained in the Monastery of Mor Zakai
18. Athanasius, bishop of Tarsus, was ordained in the city of Harran
19. Theodosius, bishop of Callinicus (al-Raqqa), was ordained in the city of Harran
20. Gabriel, bishop of Rish Kipha, was ordained in the town or Muraiba in Harran
21. Yuhanon, bishop of the Qaramanoye, was ordained in the village of Kafarhan in the district of Rish Kipha
22. Athanasius, bishop of Calonicia in Armenia
23. Yuhanon, bishop of the Armenian city of Khilat in the district of Callinicus (al-Raqqa)
24. Saba, bishop of the city of Arzen, was ordained in the Pillar Monastery in Harran
25. Li'azar, bishop of Nisibin from the Monastery of Qartmin, was ordained in the Pillar Monastery
26. Shimon (Simon), bishop of the city of Marw (Marv) from the Monastery of Mor Jacob
27. Ayyub (Job), bishop of Mopsuestia in Cyrus, was ordained in February and deposed in February
28. Timothy, metropolitan of Jerusalem, was ordained in the Monastery of Mor Jacob in Cyrus
29. David, bishop of the Taghlibite (Arabs) in the Jazira of Mosul, was ordained for the See of the Taghlibites in the village of Daqla (Palm Tree)
30. Matta, bishop of Tell Mawzalt, was ordained in Phiman of Sarug
31. Damian, bishop of Sarug, was ordained in the village of Mashra in the same district (of Sarug)
32. Philoxenus, bishop of Nisibin
33. Daniel, bishop of Samosata, was ordained in the city of Harran
34. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Homs, from the Monastery of Bit Qum
35. Jacob, bishop of the district of Derij
36. Cyril, bishop of Samosata, was ordained in Kafra
37. Gabriel, bishop of Tarsus, from the Monastery of Mor Solomon
38. Anastasius, bishop of Rish Kipha, from the Monastery of Shila
39. Iliyya (Elijah), bishop of the city of Hadath, was ordained in the Pillar Monastery in Callinicus (al-Raqqa)
40. Elisha, bishop of Karma and the Hassasites in Takrit
41. Iyawannis, bishop of Sharzoul, in the region of Takrit
42. Shimon (Simon), metropolitan of Takrit
43. Gewargi (George), bishop of the city of Adra' from the Monastery of the Tayoye (Arabs)
44. Sergius, bishop of Tur Abdin, from the Monastery of Qartmin
45. Uthman, bishop of the Taghlibite (Arabs) in the Jazira
46. Ignatius, bishop of Anazarba, from the Natfo (Qatra) Monastery
47. Yuhanon, bishop of Homs, from the Monastery of Bir Qum
48. Arabi, bishop of Theodosiopolis (Rish 'Ayna), from the Sena Monastery
49. Shlemon (Solomon), metropolitan of Cyrus, from the Monastery of Mor Jacob
50. Maqim, bishop of Cercegium, from the Monastery of Tella
51. Habib, bishop of the region of Arguna, from the Monastery of Sarmin
52. Dionysius, bishop of Tella, from the Monastery of Mor Tuma
53. Shimon (Simon), bishop of Arabia, from the Monastery of Mor Zakai
54. Theodosius, bishop of Samosata, from the Monastery of the Easterners
55. Theodore, bishop of Kesum, from the monastery of Mor Jacob in Kesum
56. Li'azar, bishop of Gishra, from the Monastery of Mor Abhai
57. Iyawannis, metropolitan of Amid, from the Monastery of Mor Atonos
58. Shimon (Simon), bishop of Rasafa, from the Monastery of Abin
59. Theodosius, metropolitan of Edessa, from the Monastery of Qinnestrin
60. Peter, bishop of Arzen, from the Monastery of Mor Yuhanon of Dara
61. Sergius, bishop of Ba'lbak, from Phsilta Monastery

BOOK TWENTY-ONE

62. Daniel, bishop of Aleppo, from the Monastery of the Tayoye (Arabs)
63. Jacob, bishop of the town of Orim, from the Monastery of Mor Joseph
64. Gewargi, bishop of the city of Samosata
65. Tiberius, bishop of Aphra in Khurasan, from the Monastery of the Cross
66. Basilius, metropolitan of Miyafarqat, from the Monastery of Phinehas
67. Yuhanon (John), bishop of the city of Qardu, from the Great Monastery of Hasmi
68. Gewargi, bishop of Harran, who later resigned
69. Gabriel, bishop of Great Armania, from the Monastery of Mor Shila
70. Habib, metropolitan of the city of Tarsus
71. Evagrius Akhsnaya, bishop of Arda't in Bithynia
72. Isaac, bishop of the city of Tiberias and not the bishop of Gomya
73. Yuhanon, bishop of the city of Tella, from the Qarqafta (the Skull) Monastery
74. Methodius, bishop of Tell Besme (Talbsam), from the Monastery of Mor Atonos
75. Gewargi, metropolitan of Miyafarqat, from the Monastery of Mor Phinehas
76. Basilius, metropolitan of Takrit, from the Monastery of Mor Sergius
77. Addai, bishop of Karma, from the Monastery of Mor Z'ura in Sarug
78. Ezekiel, bishop of Tur Abdin, from the Monastery of Qartmin
79. Gabriel, bishop of Great Armania, from the Monastery of Qartmin
80. Ignatius, bishop of Mardin and Kafartuta, from the monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran Monastery)
81. Gewargi, bishop of Harran, from the Monastery of Qartmin
82. Tuma, bishop of Rish Kipha, from the Monastery of Mor Jacob in Kesum
83. Iyawannis, bishop of Balish, from Rasafa and the Monastery of Mor Hananya in the same district
84. David, bishop of Garbous, from the monastery of Mor Joseph
85. Theophile, bishop of Zubatra, from the Monastery of Mor Elisha

Mor Cyriacus administered the patriarchate for twenty-four years. He died in Mosul in 1128 of the Greeks (A.D. 817). May his prayer and the prayers of those who he ordained, be with us. Amen.

Patriarch Dionysius, known as Tell Mahroyo (Tell Mahre), was summoned from the Monastery of Qinnesrin. He was ordained on Sunday, at the beginning of August 1129 (A.D. 818) in the city of al-Raqqa (Callinicus) in an assembly of forty-three bishops, with the laying on of hands of Theodosius, metropolitan of al-Raqqa. He ordained the following bishops:

1. Tuma, bishop of Arda't, from the Great Tal'ada Monastery
2. Habib, bishop of Beth Balish, from the Gubba Baraya Monastery
3. Sawera (Severus), bishop of the city of Dara, from the Monastery of Quba
4. Joseph, bishop of Beth Parsoye (Persia), from the monastery of Souqin
5. Basilius, bishop of Samosata, from the Monastery of Qinnesrin
6. Habib, bishop of Germanicia (Mar'ash), from the Monastery of Mor Jacob
7. Constantine, bishop of Khurasan, from the Monastery of Qinnesrin
8. Sergius, metropolitan of Mabug (Manbij), from Muraiba
9. Simon, bishop of Sarug, from Kafartuta
10. Yuhanon, bishop of Arabia, from the Monastery of Mor Zakai
11. Yunan (Jonah), bishop of the city of Arzen, from the Monastery of Shasrani
12. Yuhanon, bishop Tadmur (Palmyra), from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran)
13. Ayyub (Job), metropolitan of Jerusalem
14. Tuma, bishop of Zarang, from the Monastery of Qartmin
15. Tuma, bishop of Zoghma, from the Monastery of Mor Shlemon (Solomon)
16. Daniel bishop of Melitene, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum

17. Anastasius, metropolitan of Anazarba, from the Monastery of Qarqafta
18. Hananya, bishop of Qinnesrin, from the Monastery of Naphshuthe (the Souls)
19. Gabriel, bishop of Irenopolis
20. Jacob, bishop of Duluk (Doliche), from the Monastery of Tal'ada
21. Li'azar, bishop of Arsamosata, from the Monastery of Qinnesrin
22. Abraham, bishop of Gishra (the Bridge), from the Monastery of Qartmin
23. Sergius, bishop of Cyrus, from the Gubba Baraya Monastery
24. Mikha'il (Michael), bishop of Anazarba, from the Monastery of Mor Jacob in Cyrus
25. Iyawannis, metropolitan of Rasafa, from the Monastery of Sarmin
26. Denha, bishop of Rish Kipha, from the Monastery of Euspholis
27. Iyawannis, Metropolitan of the city of Dara, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran)
28. Hananya, bishop of Qallisura, from the Qatra Monastery
29. Yuhanon (John) bishop of Armania, from the Monastery of Sandeloio in the region of Miyafarqat
30. Constantine, bishop of Laodicea, from the Monastery of Sariga
31. Theodosius, bishop of Germania, from the Monastery of Bizma
32. Athanasius, metropolitan of Euphemia, from the Monastery of Qinnesrin
33. Ignatius, bishop of Arsamosata, from the Monastery of Qartmin
34. Quriqa, bishop of Hanzit, from the Monastery of Qartmin
35. Yuhann, bishop of the Taghlibite (Arabs), from the Monastery of Qarqafta
36. Simon, bishop of Tell Besme (Talbsam), from the Monastery of Sandeloio
37. Ignatius, bishop of Jerusalem, from the Monastery of Bizona
38. Timothy, metropolitan of Miyafarqat, from the Monastery of the Easterners
39. Ignatius, metropolitan of Amid, from the Monastery of Qartmin
40. Samuel, bishop of the Qarmanians, from the Monastery of Qartmin
41. Timothy, bishop of Damascus, from the Monastery of Qarqafta
42. Reubel, bishop of Joniah, from the Monastery of Euspholis
43. Tuma, bishop of Halbun, from the Monastery of Mor Musa
44. Tuma, bishop of the Taghlibite (Arabs), from the Monastery of Bir Qum
45. Abraham, bishop of Hanra, from the Monastery of the Easterners
46. Iyawannis, bishop of Tella, from the Monastery of Qinnesrin
47. Abraham, metropolitan of Miyafarqat, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran)
48. Daniel, bishop of Takrit, from the Monastery of Bir Qum
49. Iliyya (Elijah), bishop of Duluk (Doliche), from the Monastery of Mor Shlemon (Solomon)
50. Sawera (Severus), bishop of Gishra from the Monastery of Mor Basus
51. Yuhanon, bishop of Baghdad, from the Monastery of Eusebuna
52. Iyawannis, metropolitan of Hanra, from the Monastery of Mor Shina
53. Abraham, bishop of Arabia, from the Great Monastery of Tal'ada
54. Sawera (Severus), bishop of Tiberias, from the Monastery Kesum
55. Tomriqa, bishop of Qinnesrin, from the monastery of Naphshothe in Aleppo
56. Yuhanon, bishop of Duluk, from the Monastery of Mor Jacob in Kesum
57. Gewargi, bishop of Bahrain, From the Valley of Adam
58. Theophile, bishop of Tell Besme (Talbsam), from the Monastery of Sandeloio
59. Joseph Marzuq, bishop of the Taghlibite (Arabs)
60. Bar Hadh Bshabo, bishop of Jurjan, from the Monastery of the Easterners
61. Tuma, bishop of Zubatra, from the Monastery of the Easterners
62. Cyril, bishop of Edessa, from the Monastery of Zuqnin
63. Yuhanon Gdodo, bishop of Kenisa
64. Tomriqa, bishop of Sarug, from the Monastery of Qinnesrin
65. Abraham, bishop of Mar'ash, from the Monastery of Mor Joseph

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66. Anastasius, bishop of Rish 'Ayna, from the Monastery of Qartmin
67. Josephus, bishop of Jurjan, from the Monastery of the Easterners
68. Joseph, metropolitan of Jerusalem, from the Monastery of Bizona
69. Tuma, bishop of Melitene, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
70. Tuma, metropolitan of Takrit, from the Mountain of Edessa
71. Isaac, bishop of the Bees
72. Gabriel, bishop of Mar'ash, from the Monastery of Mor Shlemon (Solomon)
73. Abraham, metropolitan of Cyrus, from the Monastery of the Tayoye (Arabs)
74. Bacchus, bishop of Armenia, from Valley Adam
75. Habib, bishop of the Taghlibite (Arabs), from the Monastery of Knushia
76. Gewargi, metropolitan of Anazarba, from the Monastery of Sandeloio
77. Iliyya (Elijah) Zaqno, bishop of Qardu
78. Constantine, bishop of Cercegium
79. Gabriel, bishop of Kenisa, from the Monastery of Rabin (Raphine)
80. Sergius, bishop of Sijistan, from the Monastery of Tal'ada
81. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Miyafarqat, who is the musician Sandeloio
82. Abraham, metropolitan of Mabug (Manbij), from the Monastery of Bizona
83. Abraham, bishop of Nisibin, from the Monastery of Qartmin
84. Rabban Benjamin, metropolitan of Edessa, from the Monastery of Mor Jacob
85. Theodore, bishop of Gishra, from the Monastery of Mor Abi
86. Demit, bishop of Qardu, from the Monastery of Mor Basus
87. Sabro, bishop of Arabia, from the Monastery of Ato
88. Sawera (Severus), metropolitan of Anazarba, from the Monastery of Mor Zakai
89. Iliyya (Elijah), metropolitan of Edessa, from the Mountain of Edessa
90. Nonnus, bishop of Tur Abdin, from the Monastery of Qartmin
91. Gabriel, bishop of Samosata, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
92. David, bishop of Aphra, from the Mountain of Edessa
93. Tuma, bishop of Kesum, from the Monastery of Mor Jacob in Kesum
94. Basilius, bishop of Tella, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran)
95. Gewargi, bishop of Hadath, from the Gubba Baraya Monastery
96. Gregorius, bishop of Kesum, from the Monastery of Bir Qum
97. Zechariah, bishop of Callinicus (al-Raqqa), from the Monastery of Mor Zakai
98. Georgius, bishop of the Taghlibite (Arabs)
99. Yunan (Jonah), bishop of Jurjan, from the Monastery of Mor Shila
100. Constantine, metropolitan of Edessa, from the Monastery of Qinnésrin

Mor Dionysius Tell Mahre administered the patriarchate for twenty-seven years, and ordained the above bishops. He passed away on August 1156 (A.D. 845), and was buried in the Monastery of Qinnésrin. May God, by his prayer and the prayers of those he ordained, forgive our sins.

Patriarch Yuhanon (III) from the Monastery of Mor Zakai in Callinicus (al-Raqqa) was ordained in the Monastery of Mor Shila in Sarug on November 21, 1158 of the Greeks (A.D. 847), by the laying on of hands of Habib, bishop of Tarsus. He ordained the following bishops:

1. Gabriel, metropolitan of Rasafa, abbot of the Monastery of Mor Zakai
2. Arabi, metropolitan of Samosata
3. Bar Hadh Bshabo, bishop of Hanzit, from the Monastery of Mor Shila
4. Yuhanon Tubana, bishop of Cercegium
5. Andrew, bishop of Sijistan, from the Monastery of Mor Matta (near Mosul)
6. Basilius, metropolitan of Takrit, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum

7. Iliyya (Elijah), metropolitan of Cyrus, from the Monastery of the Easterners
8. Sergius, bishop of Aleppo, from the Monastery of Sarigta (the Mat)
9. Harun (Aaron) bishop of Seleucia, from the Monastery of Abam
10. Iyawannis, bishop of Zoghma, from the Monastery of Qartmin
11. Timothy, bishop of Samosata, from the Monastery of Mor Shila
12. Harun (Aaron), bishop of Miyafarqat, from the Monastery of Mor Atonos
13. David, bishop of Arsamosata, from the Monastery of Mor Musa
14. Yuhan (Jonah), bishop of Aphra, from the Monastery of Mor Atonos
15. Jacob, metropolitan of Homs, from the Monastery of Dehla
16. Harun (Aaron), bishop of Cercesium, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran)
17. Jacob, bishop of the Taghlibite (Arabs), from the Monastery of Bir Qum
18. Sawera (Severus), bishop of Akhzaqun, from the Monastery of Qartmin
19. Ahudemeh, bishop of the Ma'daye (Arabs) from Valley Adam
20. Stephen, bishop of Irenopolis, from the Monastery of Tal'ada
21. Anastasius, metropolitan of Tarsus, from the Monastery of Euspholis
22. Ignatius, bishop of Hadath, from the Monastery of Mor Zakai
23. Harun (Aaron), bishop of Anazarba, from the Monastery of Mor Zakai
24. Joseph, bishop of Zoghma, from the Monastery of Mor Yusuf (Joseph)
25. Harun (Aaron), metropolitan of Cyrus, from the Monastery of Mor Jacob
26. David, bishop of Harran, from the Monastery of Qartmin
27. Iyawannis, bishop of Qallisura, from the Monastery of Euspholis
28. Elisha, bishop of Nisibin, from the Monastery of Shlemon (Solomon)
29. Yuhanon, bishop of Kafartuta and Mardin, from the Monastery of Tell Safra
30. Sawera (Severus), bishop of Tella, from the Monastery of Mawdyone (Confessors)
31. Jacob, bishop of Kesum, from the monastery of Mor Shlemon (Solomon)
32. Theodosius, metropolitan of Euphemia, from the Monastery of Mor Jacob in Kesum
33. Habib, metropolitan of Amid, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran)
34. Basilius, metropolitan of Gishra, from the Monastery of the Easterners
35. Cyriacus, metropolitan of Callinicus (al-Raqqa), from the monastery of Mor Zakai
36. Sergius, bishop of Qinnestrin, from the Phsilta Monastery
37. Jacob, metropolitan of Hara, from the Monastery of Bir Qum
38. Theodore, bishop of Gishra, from the Monastery of Bir Qum
39. Isaiah, metropolitan of Miyafarqat, from the Monastery of Bizona
40. Sawera (Severus), bishop of Samosata and Hanzit, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran)
41. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Jerusalem, from the Greater Tal'ada Monastery
42. Dionysius, metropolitan of Rasafa, from the Monastery of Naphshothe
43. Hananya, bishop of Tiberias, from the Monastery of Dehla
44. Daniel, bishop of Tell Besme (Talbsam), from the Monastery of Atanos
45. Daniel, bishop of Kafabella, from Adam Valley
46. Peter from Adam Valley
47. Samuel, metropolitan of Sijistan, from St. Matthew's Monastery
48. Melchizedek, metropolitan of Takrit, from the Monastery of the Mother of God
49. Abraham, metropolitan of Amid, from the Monastery of Mor Shimon (Simon)
50. Tiberius, bishop of Arabia, from the Mountain of Edessa
51. Habib, bishop of Qardu, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran)
52. Ignatius, bishop of Armenia, from Harbaz
53. Shlemon (Solomon), bishop of Najran and the Bani Ma'd, from the monastery of Knushia
54. Anthimus, bishop of Duluk (Doliche), from the Monastery of Bar Hadh Bshabo
55. Peter, bishop of Aphra, from Beth Yihidhoye (Solitaries) of the Edessan Mountain

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56. Basilius, bishop of Cercesium, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran)
57. Bacchus, bishop of the Taghlibite Arabs from Adam Valley
58. Solomon, bishop of Damascus, from the Monastery of Mor Yunan (Jonah)
59. Ayyub (Job), bishop of Aphra, from the Monastery of Tell Safra in Harran
60. Noah, bishop of Irenopolis, from the Monastery of Zuqnin
61. Iyawannis, bishop of Euphemia, from the Monastery of Qinnesrin
62. Theodore, bishop of Rish 'Ayna, from the Monastery of Euspholis
63. Timothy, bishop of Arzen, from the Monastery of Mor Zakai
64. Athanasius Hakim, metropolitan of Dara
65. Philoxenus, metropolitan of Rasafa, from the Monastery of Mor Zakai
66. Cyril Noah, metropolitan of Jerusalem
67. Elisha, metropolitan of Miyafarqat, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran)
68. Isaac, metropolitan of Damascus, from the Monastery of Phsilta
69. Shimon (Simon), metropolitan of Mabug, from the Monastery of the Village of Saban
70. Shimon (Simon), bishop of Ba'lbak, from the Mountain of Edessa
71. Isaac, bishop of Sarug, from the Mountain of Edessa
72. Isaac, bishop of Cyrus, from the Edessan Mountain
73. Abraham, metropolitan of Hara, from the Mountain of Edessa
74. Athanasius, bishop of Qinnesrin, from the Monastery of Mor Phocas
75. Li'azar, metropolitan of Tarsus, from the Monastery of the Easterners
76. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Arabia, from the Monastery of Mor Zakai
77. Sergius Yihidhoyo (solitary), metropolitan of Takrit
78. Yuhanon, bishop of the Taghlibite Arabs, in the Jazira of Mosul
79. Yuhanon, bishop of Irenopolis, from the Monastery of the Qubines
80. Gabriel, bishop of Gishra, from the Monastery of the Easterners
81. Georgius, bishop of Zoghma, from the Monastery of Qinnesrin
82. Matta, bishop of Rish Kipha, from Beth Mawdyone (Confessors) of Edessa
83. Ignatius, bishop of Mardin, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran)
84. Stephen, bishop of Qallisura, from the Monastery of Mor Yuhanon

Patriarch Mor Yuhanon administered the patriarchate for twenty-seven years and ordained the above-mentioned bishops. He passed away on Thursday, December 23, 1185 of the Greeks (A.D. 874), and his body was transported to the Monastery of Mor Zakai.

Patriarch Ignatius from the Monastery of Harbaz was ordained in 1189 (A.D. 878) by the laying on of hands of Timothy, bishop of Samosata in a cell of a renowned hermit on the bank of the Euphrates. He ordained the following bishops:

1. Sawera (Severus), bishop of Rish Kipha from the Monastery of Akhsnaya
2. Abraham, metropolitan of Anazarba, from the Monastery of Bar Hadh Bshabo
3. Sergius, bishop of Cyrus, from the Monastery of Li'azar in Harran
4. Cyriacus, metropolitan of Edessa, from the Monastery of Mor Yuhanon of Dara
5. Abraham, metropolitan of Aleppo, from the Mountain of Edessa
6. Yuhanon, bishop of Germanicia (Mar'ash), from the Monastery of Zuqnin
7. Mikha'il, bishop of Samosata, from the Monastery of Atonos
8. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Amid, from the Monastery of Mor Sergius
9. Abraham, bishop of Cercesium, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran)
10. Iliyya (Elijah) bishop of Hadath, from the Monastery of Mor Sawera (Severus)
11. Shimon (Simon), bishop of Zubatra, from the Monastery of Mor Jacob in Kesum
12. Cyril, bishop of Miyafarqat, from the Monastery of Qinnesrin

13. Gabriel, bishop of Sarug, from the Monastery of the Mother of God in the wilderness
14. Jacob, bishop of Ba'lbak, from the Monastery of Phsilta
15. Cyriacus, metropolitan of Anazarba, from the Monastery of Mor Shlemon (Solomon)
16. Constantine, bishop of Harran, from the Monastery of Qartmin
17. Harun (Aaron), metropolitan of Miyafarqat, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran)
18. Gabriel, bishop of Arabia, from the Monastery of Siban
19. Matta, metropolitan of Dara, from the Monastery of Yuhanon of Dara
20. Iyawannis, bishop of Abdiqu, from the Monastery of Mor Shlemon in Duluk
21. Sawera (Severus), bishop of Sijistan, from the Monastery of Tell Safra in Harran
22. Sawera Severus), metropolitan of Callinicus (al-Raqqa), from the Monastery of Mor Zakai
23. Theodosius, bishop of Daula, from the Monastery of Qinnestrin
24. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Mabug (Manbij), from the Mountain of Edessa
25. Yuhanon, bishop of Duluk from the Monastery of Mor Jacob
26. Sawera (Severus), metropolitan of Jerusalem, from the Monastery of Zuqnin

Patriarch Ignatius administered the patriarchate for five years. He died on Tuesday of Passion Week at Muraiba, and his body was interred in its Great Church.

Patriarch Theodosius from the Monastery of Qartmin (Mor Gabriel) was ordained in Amid on Sunday, February 5, 1198 (A.D. 887), by the laying on of hands of Timothy, bishop of Samosata. He ordained the following bishops:

1. Athanasius, metropolitan of Takrit, from the Mountain of Edessa
2. Ayyub (Job), metropolitan of Harah, from the Monastery of Tell Safra in Kesum
3. Dionysius, metropolitan of Euphemia, from the Monastery of the Mother of God
4. Cyril, metropolitan of Anazarba, from the Monastery of Zuqnin
5. Dionysius, bishop of Tella, from the Monastery of Qartmin
6. Ezekiel, bishop of Melitene, from the Monastery of Atanos
7. Daniel, metropolitan of Damascus
8. Denha, bishop of Qallisura, from the Monastery of Mor Shila
9. Gewargi, bishop of Cercesium, from the Monastery of Mor Yuhanon (John) of Dara
10. Gabriel, metropolitan of Tiberias, from the Monastery of Tar'il
11. Mikha'il, metropolitan of Mabug (Manbij), from the Monastery of Bizona
12. Jacob, metropolitan of Samosata, from the Mountain of Edessa
13. Ignatius, metropolitan of Aphra in Khurasan, from the Mountain of Edessa
14. Ezekiel, bishop of Tur Abdin, from the Monastery of Qartmin
15. Silvanus, bishop of Arzen, from the Monastery of Bar Hadh Bshabo
16. Basilius, bishop of the Armenians
17. Yunan (Jonah), bishop of Irenopolis, from the Monastery of Qartmin
18. Habib, metropolitan of Anazarba, from the Monastery of Sergius
19. Shimon (Simon), bishop of Tell Besme (Talbsam), from the monastery of Atanos
20. Habib, metropolitan of Rasafa, from the Monastery of Naphshothe in the Mountain of Edessa
21. Yuhanon, bishop of Sarug, from the Monastery of the Hbosh (the cloistered)
22. Li'azar, metropolitan of Tarsus, from the Great Monastery of Samosata
23. Iliyya (Elijah), bishop of Gishra from the recluses of the Mountain of Edessa
24. Habib, bishop of Kesum, from the Mountain of Edessa
25. Basilius, bishop of Zoghma, from the Monastery of Siagta
26. Matta, bishop of the city of Tella, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran)
27. Tuma, bishop of Cercesium, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran)
28. Tuma, bishop of Irenopolis, from the Monastery of Zuqnin

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29. Sawera (Severus), bishop of Dara
30. Jacob, bishop of the Najdites
31. Habib, bishop of Irenopolis
32. Sergius, bishop of Rish 'Ayna, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran)

Patriarch Theodosius administered the patriarchate for nine years and four months. He passed away on June 4, 1207 (A.D. 896), at the Monastery of Qartmin.

Patriarch Dionysius from the Monastery of Beth Batin was ordained on April 23, 1208 (A.D. 897), by the laying on of hands of Jacob, metropolitan of Homs. He ordained the following bishops:

1. Theodosius, metropolitan of Edessa, from the Mountain of Edessa
2. Iyawannis, metropolitan of Samosata, from the Monastery of Euspholis
3. Timothy, metropolitan of Damascus, from the Monastery of Mor Atanos
4. Yuhanon, bishop of the Tribes (Arabs), from the Monastery of Mor Jacob in Kesum
5. Jacob, bishop of Irenopolis, from the Monastery of Tal'ada
6. Ignatius, metropolitan of Qinnésrin, from the Monastery of Eusebuna
7. Yuhanon, bishop of Zubatra, from the Monastery of Mor Simon
8. Yuhanon, bishop of Harran, from the Monastery of Mor Sawera (Severus)
9. Daniel, bishop of Samosata, from the Monastery of Harbaz
10. Cyriacus, bishop of Ba'lbak, from the Monastery of Yuhanon (John) of Dara
11. Gabriel, bishop of Cyrus, from the Great Monastery
12. Isaac, metropolitan of Herat, from the Great Monastery in the region of Tella
13. Philoxenus, metropolitan from the Monastery of Shina
14. Dioscorus, metropolitan of Edessa, from the Monastery of Harbaz
15. Habib, bishop of Irenopolis
16. Samuel, bishop of Miyafarqat
17. Abraham, metropolitan of Aphra, from the Monastery of Euspholis
18. Isaac, bishop of Nisibin, from the Monastery of Qinnésrin
19. Yuhanon, bishop of Tur Abdin, from the Monastery of Qartmin
20. Ayyub (Job), bishop of Qallisura, from the Monastery of Qartmin
21. Theodosius, bishop of Rish 'Ayna
22. Cyril, metropolitan of Tarsus, from the Monastery of Bizona
23. Theophile, bishop of Zubatra, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran)
24. Daniel, bishop of Armania
25. Gregorius, metropolitan of Callinicus and native of the city
26. Jacob, bishop of Abdiquin, from the Monastery of Beth Batin
27. Abraham, bishop of the city of Daula
28. Cosmas, bishop of Hadath
29. Peter, bishop of Rasafa from the Mountain of Edessa
30. Jacob, bishop of Tiberias, from the Monastery of Mor Jacob of Sarug
31. Musa, bishop of Amid, from the Monastery Amalina
32. Sergius, bishop of Hadath, from the Mountain of Edessa,
33. Yuhanon, bishop of Mardin, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran)
34. Timothy, bishop of Cercesium
35. Anastasius, bishop of Abdiquin in Khurasan
36. Athanasius, metropolitan of Damascus
37. Athanasius, metropolitan of Tarsus
38. Theodoret, metropolitan of Miyafarqat, from the Monastery of Tella
39. Gabriel, metropolitan of Euphemia, from the Monastery of Bizona

40. Isaac, bishop of Armania, from Mar Mattai Monastery (St. Matthew's Monastery)
41. Jacob, bishop of Duluk, from the Monastery of Mor Jacob
42. Iliyya (Elijah), bishop of Melitene, from the Monastery of Beth Batin
43. Ignatius, bishop of Irenopolis, from the Monastery of Mor Yuhanon
44. Iyawannis, metropolitan of Dara, from the same city
45. Ignatius, metropolitan of Amid, from the Monastery of Harbaz
46. Isaac, bishop of Zoghma, from the Monastery of Elisha
47. Timothy, bishop of Samosata, from the Monastery of Mor Simon
48. Basilius, bishop of Bithynia, from the Mountain of Edessa
49. Timothy, bishop of Edessa, from the Monastery of Rish 'Ayna
50. Joseph, bishop of Sarug, from the Monastery of Mor Saba

Mor Dionysius administered the patriarchate for thirteen years. He died on Tuesday of the Rest in April 1220 (A.D. 909), at the Monastery of Beth Batin, where his body was interred.

Patriarch Yuhanon from the Pillar Monastery in Qurzhil was ordained in the Monastery of Tell Safra in Harran on Saturday, June 21, 1221 (A.D. 910), by the laying on of hands of Yuhanon, metropolitan of Mar'ash. He ordained the following bishops:

1. Tuma, metropolitan of Takrit, from the Pillar Monastery in the Mountain of Edessa
2. Iyawannis, metropolitan of Herat
3. Denha, bishop of Kesum, from the Monastery Euspholis
4. Abraham, bishop of Duluk, from the Monastery of Nolaban
5. Joseph, bishop of Mar'ash, from the Monastery of Tabesh
6. Theodosius, metropolitan of Miyafarqat
7. Joseph, metropolitan of Jerusalem, from Damascus
8. Severus, bishop of Qallisura, from the Monastery of Mor Jacob in Kesum
9. Gabriel, bishop of Duluk (Doliche), from the Monastery of Mor Jacob
10. Ayyub (Job), bishop of Aleppo, from the Monastery of Bizona
11. Simon, bishop of Gishra, from the Monastery of the Pillar
12. Denha, metropolitan of Takrit, from the Church of Mor Tuma
13. Isaac, metropolitan of Homs, from the Monastery of Qurzhil in Harran
14. Stephen, bishop of Irenopolis
15. Jacob, bishop of the city of Zoghma
16. Tuma, bishop of Qinnasrin, from the Monastery of Siagta
17. Theodosius, bishop of the Najdites and the Taghlibite (Arabs), from the Monastery of the Pillar
18. Sergius, metropolitan of Rasafa, from the Monastery of Mor Zakai
19. Harun (Aaron), bishop of Gishra, from the Monastery of Qinnasrin
20. Samuel, bishop of Tur Abdin, from the Monastery of Qartmin
21. Theodosius, metropolitan of Jerusalem, from the Monastery of Mor Atanos
22. Joseph, bishop of Arzen, archimandrite of the Monastery of Qartmin
23. Ignatius, bishop of Mardin, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran)
24. Musa, metropolitan of Damascus, from the Monastery of Shila
25. Anthimus, bishop of Rish Kipha
26. Constantine, bishop of the city of Tella
27. Isaac, metropolitan of Cyrus, from Qurzhil
28. Abraham, metropolitan of Nisibin, from the Monastery of Mor Simon
29. Li'azar, bishop of Irenopolis, from the Monastery of Mor Jacob
30. Dioscorus, bishop of Rish 'Ayna
31. Basilius, bishop of Cercesium

32. Yuhanon, bishop of Melitene, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
33. Bulus, bishop of Aphra, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
34. David, bishop of Zubatra, from the Monastery of Shlemon in Duluk (Doliche)
35. Ignatius, bishop of Harran, from the Monastery of Hisn Hamusa
36. Sawera (Severus), bishop of Callinicus (al-Raqqa), from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran)
37. Jacob, metropolitan of Callinicus (al-Raqqa), from the mountain of Edessa
38. Iyawannis, bishop of Irenopolis, from the Monastery of Hisn Hamusa
39. Habib, bishop of Tella, from the Monastery of Qurzhil
40. Cyriacus, bishop of Bithynia, from the Monastery of Mor Shlemon
41. Severus, bishop of Tell Besme, from the Monastery of Atanos

Patriarch Yuhanon administered the patriarchate for twelve years. He passed away on the last Saturday of November (1234- A.D. 923), at the Monastery of Euspholis in Rish 'Ayna, and was buried in the Monastery's Great Church

Patriarch Basilius from the Monastery of Euspholis in the town of Muraiba, was ordained on Friday August 15, which is the Festival of the Assumption of the Mother of God in the year 1234 (A.D. 923), by the laying on of hands of Mor Habib, bishop of Anazarba. He ordained the following bishops:

1. Cyriacus, metropolitan of Cyrus, from the same Monastery
2. Gregorius, metropolitan of Melitene and Claudia
3. Ignatius, metropolitan of Anazarba, from the Monastery of Bella
4. Theodosius, metropolitan of Mabug (Manbij) from Arphania
5. Ayyub (Job), bishop of Abdiquin in Persia, from Edessa
6. Theodosius, metropolitan of Samosata, from the Mountain of Edessa
7. Simon, metropolitan of Hadath, from the Monastery of Mor Jacob
8. Yuhanon, bishop of Sarug, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran)
9. Stephen, bishop of Armania, from the Monastery of Mor Elisha
10. Ayyub (Job), metropolitan of Tiberias, from the monastery of Mor Zakai
11. Iyawannis, bishop of Tur Abdin, from the Monastery of Qartmin
12. Gabriel, bishop of Dara, archimandrite of the Monastery of the Easterners
13. Yuhanon, bishop of Najdites and Ma'daye (Arabs), from the Monastery of Qarqafta (the Skull)
14. Athanasius, metropolitan of Homs, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya
15. Athanasius, bishop of the Tribes (Arabs), from the Monastery of Harbaz
16. Cyril, metropolitan of Jerusalem, from the Mountain of Edessa
17. Iyawannis, bishop of Sarug, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
18. Philoxenus, metropolitan of Edessa
19. David, metropolitan of Homs, from the Monastery of Mor Shila.
20. Julius, metropolitan of Miyafarqat, from the Pillar Monastery
21. Athanasius, bishop of Ba'bak, archimandrite of the Monastery of Edessa
22. Iyawannis, metropolitan of Amid, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
23. Ayyub (Job), bishop of Zoghma, from the Monastery of Siagta
24. Dionysius, metropolitan of Samosata, from the Monastery of Mor Severus
25. Gregorius, bishop of Hadath, from the Monastery of Mor Yuhanon
26. Abraham, bishop of Aleppo, from the Monastery of Mor Yuhanon
27. Butrus (Peter), metropolitan of Sijistan, from the Mountain of Edessa
28. Sergius, bishop of Sarug from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
29. Iyawannis, bishop of Gishra, from the Monastery of Mor Zakai
30. Irmia (Jeremiah), bishop of Hama, from the Monastery of Hisn Hamusa
31. Butrus (Peter), bishop of Mardin and Kafartuta, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya

32. Bulus, metropolitan of Herat, from the Mountain of Edessa

Patriarch Mor Basilius administered the patriarchate for eleven years and seven months. He passed away on Wednesday of Passion Week, April 25 at the Eastern Monastery. May his prayer and those whom he ordained be with us. Amen.

Patriarch Yuhanon (V) of the hermits of Turo d'Ukomo (The Black Mountain) was ordained in the village of Tal'ada in the district of Antioch on Sunday, August 28, 1227 (A.D. 916), by the laying on of hands of Mor Athanasius, metropolitan of Tarsus. He ordained the following bishops:

1. Basilius, metropolitan of Takrit, from the Monastery of Qartmin
2. Anastasius, bishop of Aleppo, from the Monastery of Mor Simon
3. Jacob, metropolitan of Tiberias, from the Monastery of Mor Yunan (Jonah) in Damascus
4. Gregorius, bishop of Rish 'Ayna
5. Matta, bishop of Arzen, from the Monastery of Mor Zakai
6. Iyawannis, bishop of Daula
7. Abraham, bishop of Hadath, from the Monastery of Mor Zakai
8. Iyawannis, bishop of Qastan, from the Monastery of Mor Elisha
9. Iyawannis, bishop of Duluk (Dolich), from the Monastery of Mor Shlemon
10. Habib, bishop of Tur Abdin, from the Monastery of Qartmin
11. Basilius, bishop of Samosata, from the Monastery of Qaqosin
12. Athanasius, metropolitan of Aphra, from the Monastery of Mor Daniel
13. Sawera (Severus), bishop of Cercesium, from the Monastery of Qartmin
14. Jacob, bishop of Miyafarqat, from the Monastery of Bizona
15. Timothy, bishop of Wastan
16. Athanasius, bishop of Aphra, from the Monastery of Euspholis
17. Ayyub (Job), bishop of Hamam and Kenisa
18. Sergius, metropolitan of Euphemia, from Bizona
19. Basilius, bishop of Samosata, from the Monastery of Mor Shlemon
20. Abraham, bishop of Armania, from the Monastery of Mor Sergius
21. Simon, bishop of Qinnasrin from the Great Monastery
22. Theodosius, bishop of Zubatra, from the Monastery of Mor Atonos
23. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Damascus, from the Monastery of Naphshothe (Souls) in Aleppo
24. Jacob, metropolitan of Mabug (Manbij), from the Monastery of Mor Zakai
25. Athanasius, metropolitan of Samosata
26. Sawera Severus, bishop of Rish Kipha, from Bizona
27. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Anazarba
28. Ayyub (Job), metropolitan of Nisibin
29. Joseph, metropolitan of Amid, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
30. Stephen, bishop of Zubatra
31. Butrus (Peter), bishop of Claudia
32. Iyawannis, bishop of Sijistan
33. Ignatius, bishop of the country of Halys
34. Philoxenus, bishop of Harran, from the Monastery of Naphshothe
35. Abraham, metropolitan of Edessa, from the Monastery of the Pillar
36. Athanasius, bishop of Tarsus
37. Musa, bishop of Germanicia (Mar'ash)
38. David, metropolitan of Anazarba
39. Habib, metropolitan of Rasafa, from the Monastery of Mor Zakai
40. Irmiya (Jeremiah), metropolitan of Tarsus

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41. Athanasius, bishop of Anazarba
42. Ignatius, bishop of Tur Abdin
43. Jacob, bishop of Hama and Kenisa
44. Iyawannis, bishop of Wastan in Amid
45. Iyawannis, metropolitan of Melitene
46. Mikha'il, metropolitan of Dara
47. Irmiya (Jeremiah), metropolitan of Jerusalem, from the Mountain of Edessa
48. Yuhanon, bishop of Qarnah

Mor Yuhanon administered the patriarchate seventeen years. He died on July 3, the festival of St. Thomas, and was buried in the vault of the venerable Mor Jacob of Edessa in the Great Monastery of Tal'ada.

Patriarch Iyawannis (John) from the Pillar Monastery in Qurzhil, was ordained in the village of Tal'ada in the year 1265 (A.D. 954), by the laying on of hands of Mor Jacob, metropolitan of Callinicus (al-Raqqa). He ordained the following bishops:

1. Iliyya (Elijah), metropolitan of Melitene, from the Monastery of Zuqnin
2. Joseph, metropolitan of Damascus
3. Musa, metropolitan of Homs, from the Monastery of Mor Abhai
4. Basilius, bishop of Zubatra
5. Luke, bishop of Qarnah
6. Joseph, metropolitan of Nisibin
7. Musa, metropolitan of Arabiya
8. Simon, bishop of Aphra in Khurasan
9. Sergius, metropolitan of Ba'lbak
10. Jacob, metropolitan of Hisn Mansur (Semando)

Patriarch Iyawannis administered the patriarchate for two years. He passed away on the last Friday of January at the Monastery of Mor Shlemon in Duluk (Doliche).

Patriarch Dionysius, from the Monastery of Qartmin (Mor Gabriel), was ordained on November 28, 1269 (A.D. 958), by the laying on of hands of Mor Jacob, bishop of al-Raqqa (Callinicus). He ordained the following bishops:

1. Li'azar, metropolitan of Anazarba
2. Yuhanon, bishop of Zubatra from the Monastery of Qariro (the Cold, al-Barid)
3. Iyawannis, metropolitan of Damascus
4. Iyawannis, bishop of Mardin, from the Monastery of Qartmin
5. Theodosius, bishop of Aphra, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya
6. Dioscorus, metropolitan of Dara
7. Ezekiel, metropolitan of Melitene
8. Timothy, bishop of Cercesium

Patriarch Dionysius administered the patriarchate for two years. He died in June of the year 1272 (A.D. 961), at the Monastery of Qartmin, and was buried in the vault of Patriarch Mor Theodosius.

Patriarch Abraham, from the Monastery of Tar'il, was ordained in the year 1273 (A.D. 962), by the laying on of hands of Mor Ayyub (Job), bishop of Zoghma. He ordained the following bishops:

1. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Tiberias, from Antioch
2. Cyriacus, metropolitan of Takrit, from the city of Aleppo

3. Constantine, metropolitan of Germanicia (Mar'ash)
4. Sawera (Severus), bishop of Tur Abdin from Tal'ada
5. Timothy, bishop of Harran, from the Monastery of Tar'il
6. Ignatius, bishop of Gishra, form the Monastery of Tar'il
7. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Callinicus, from the Monastery of Tar'il

Patriarch Abraham administered the patriarchate for ten months and passed away on March 4. He was buried by his master Anastasius, bishop of Aleppo. May their prayers be with us.

Patriarch Yuhanon (VII) from the Monastery of Tar'il, known as Sarigta (he of the saddle-cloth), because of his strict asceticism, was ordained on Sunday, July 9, 1276 (A.D. 965) at Kafar Nabu in the region of Sarug by the laying on of hands of Mor Sergius. He ordained the following bishops:

1. Yuhanon, bishop of Rish 'Ayna, from the Monastery of the Pillar
2. Ignatius, metropolitan of Amid
3. Theodosius, metropolitan of Damascus
4. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Herat
5. Timothy, metropolitan of Miyafarqat, from the Qariro (The Cold) Monastery
6. Philoxenus, metropolitan of Edessa, from the Mountain of Edessa
7. Ignatius, metropolitan of Melitene
8. Iyawannis, bishop of Tur Abdin
9. Basilius, bishop of Mardin
10. Iyawannis, bishop of Herat in Khurasan
11. Athanasius, bishop of Qallisura
12. Dionysius, bishop of Hadath
13. Iliyya (Elijah), metropolitan of Samosata
14. Sergius, bishop of Aleppo, from the Fountain of Phesqin
15. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Tiberias
16. Cyriacus, metropolitan of Sarug, from the Monastery of Segisiyya
17. Iyawannis, bishop of Germanicia (Mar'ash) from the Monastery of the wilderness
18. Ignatius, metropolitan of Dara, from the Monastery of Qartmin
19. Sergius, bishop of Rish 'Ayna, from the Monastery of Tell Batriq
20. Theophile, metropolitan of Damascus, from the Monastery of Mor Yunan (Jonah)
21. Timothy, metropolitan of Amid, from the Shagra of Mor Ahrun
22. Mikha'il, bishop of Claudia, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
23. Theodosius, bishop of Harran, from the Monastery of Beth Batin
24. Basilius, metropolitan of Semando, from the Monastery of the Mother of God
25. Sergius, metropolitan of Euphemia, from the Monastery of Atonos
26. Simon, bishop of Zoghma and Gubbin, at the Qariro (Cold, al-Barid) River
27. Tuma, metropolitan of Jerusalem, from the Monastery of Tar'il in Mar'ash
28. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Cyrus, from the Fountain of Phesqin
29. Cosmas, metropolitan of Rasafa, from the pillar of the Monastery of Mor Barsoum in Sarug
30. Peter, bishop of Arzen, from Amid in the region of the Qariro (al-Barid) river
31. Ezekiel, metropolitan of Dara and Habura, from the monastery of Qartmin
32. Sergius, bishop of Qarnah, from the Fountain of Phesqin
33. Musa, bishop of the region of Claudia in Mar'ash
34. Basilius, bishop of Tiberias, from the village of Arnos
35. Cyriacus, bishop of Zubatra, from the Qariro (Barid) River in Mar'ash
36. Bulus, Bishop of Aphra, from the Fountain of Phesqin
37. Denah, bishop of Arsamosata, from (the Monastery of) Tabesh in Kesum

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38. Zachariah, bishop of Sarug, from the River Qariro (al-Barid)
39. Basilius, bishop of Sijistan, from the Monastery of Sergius in Mar'ash
40. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Nisibin, from the Monastery of Mor Yuhanon at the Qariro (Cold, al-Barid) River
41. Mikha'il, bishop of Qallisura, from the Monastery of Mor Yuhanon
42. Basilius, bishop of Sarug, from the Mountain of Edessa
43. Iyawannis, bishop of Hamam, from (the Monastery in) Tabesh in Kesum-Mar'ash
44. Butrus (Peter), bishop of Harran, from the Great Monastery in Mar'ash
45. Theodosius, bishop of Mar'ash, from the Monastery of Sergius and Bacchus
46. Samuel, bishop of Hamam, from the Monastery of Mor Phargisia in the country of Tagra

Patriarch Yuhanon administered the patriarchate for twenty-five years. He died at the Qariro (Cold, al-Barid) Monastery, and his body was buried in the church he had built.

Patriarch Athanasius (V) of Salah from the Monastery of Mor Ahrun (Aaron) in Shagra was ordained on Thursday, October 27, 1298 (A.D. 987), in the village of Qutaine in the country of Jihan by the laying on of hands of Li'azar, metropolitan of Anazarba. He ordained the following bishops:

1. Bulus, metropolitan of Tarsus, from the Monastery of Madiq
2. Andrew, metropolitan of Cyrus, from the Barid Monastery
3. Iyawannis, bishop of Arsamosata, from the Monastery of the Mother of God in Qallisura
4. Isaac, bishop of Qallisura, from the Monastery of Sergisiyya
5. Butrus (Peter), bishop of Sarug, from the Monastery Mor Barsoum
6. Iyawannis, bishop of Mardin, Rish 'Ayna and Kafartuta, from the Monastery of Sergisiyya
7. Philoxenus, metropolitan of Dara, from the Monastery of Qartmin
8. Christodolus, bishop of Ba'lbak, from the Monastery of Mor Yunan (Jonah) in Damascus
9. Cyril, bishop of Armania, from the Monastery of Mor Elisha
10. Musa, bishop of Samosata, from the Monastery of the Qariro (Barid) River
11. Basilius, metropolitan of Balish, from the district of Antioch
12. Timothy, metropolitan of Mabug (Manbij), from the Monastery of Maurice
13. Iyawannis, metropolitan of Herat, from Amid and from the Monastery of Maurice
14. Gregorius, bishop of Birta (Bira), from the Monastery of Rahoto (courier, al-Sa'i) in Melitene
15. Musa, metropolitan of Callinicus, from the Monastery of Mor Yuhanon in Cyrus in Melitene
16. Philoxenus, bishop of the town of Tella, from the Monastery of the Forty of Bar Jaji in Melitene
17. Ignatius, metropolitan of Takrit, from the Monastery of the Forty of Bar Jaji in Melitene
18. Basilius, bishop of Arqa, from Baitoye in the Barid Monastery
19. Yuhanon, bishop of Zoghma, from the same Barid Monastery
20. Ignatius, metropolitan of Edessa, from the Monastery of Bar Jaji
21. Dioscorus, metropolitan of Homs, from the Monastery of Mor Mama
22. Joseph, bishop of Tur Abdin, from the Monastery of Qartmin
23. Tuma, metropolitan of Anazarba, from the Monastery of Mshar'o at the Barid River
24. Dionysius, the syncellus, bishop of Claudia
25. Timothy, bishop of Aphra, from the Monastery of Mshar'o
26. Yuhanon, bishop of Tur Abdin, from the Monastery of Qartmin
27. Gabriel, bishop of Aleppo, from the Monastery of Mor Shlemon
28. Theodosius, metropolitan of Miyafarqat, from the Monastery of Mor Yuhanon
29. Iyawannis, bishop of Arsamosata from the Barid Monastery-Mor Demit
30. Philoxenus, metropolitan of Mabug (Manbij) and Gishra, from the Monastery of the Mother of God
31. Jacob, bishop of Ba'lbak, from the Monastery of Mor Yuhanon

32. Daniel, bishop of Armania, from the Monastery of Kipha of the Arzanians at the Barid River
33. Tuma, metropolitan of Tiberias, from St. Matthew's Monastery
34. Butrus, bishop of Arabisus, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
35. Abraham, bishop of Zoghma, from the Monastery of the Mother of God in the region of the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
36. Yuhanon, bishop of Duluk (Doliche), from the Monastery of Mor Shina
37. Iliyya (Elijah), bishop of Semando, from the Monastery of Mor Butrus
38. Ignatius, bishop of Arzen, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum

Patriarch Athanasius administered the patriarchate for sixteen years. He passed away at the Monastery of Mor Barsoum, and his holy body was interred at the burial chamber in the northern part of the ancient church. His prayer is with us.

Patriarch Yuhanon (VIII) Bar Abdun of Melitene, lived as a hermit in *Turo d' Ukomo* (The Black Mountain). He was ordained on Thursday, July 6, 1315 (A.D. 1004), at the Monastery of the Mother of God in Bunduqah in the region of Godfi, by the laying on of hand of Butrus (Peter), bishop of Harran. He ordained the following bishops:

1. Tuma, metropolitan of Samosata, from Turo d' Ukomo (The Black Mountain)
2. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Amid, student of the Monastery of Atonos
3. Severus, bishop of Arzen, from the Monastery of Qartmin
4. Athanasius, metropolitan of Tarsus, from the Monastery of Sergius and Bacchus
5. Ignatius, metropolitan of Melitene, from the Monastery of Qainan in Hadath
6. Athanasius, metropolitan of Callinicus (al-Raqqa), from the Monastery of Madiq
7. Yuhanon, metropolitan of the diocese of Hawran of Bithynia, from the Church of Tyre
8. Basilius, metropolitan of Herat, from the Monastery of Qartmin
9. Iyawannis, metropolitan of Hadath and Ra'ban, from the Monastery of Li'azar, bishop of Arqa
10. Abraham, bishop of Qallisura, from the Monastery of Sergisiyya
11. Butrus (Peter), metropolitan of Callinicus (al-Raqqa), from the Monastery of Abdahar
12. Marutha, metropolitan of Tiberias, from the city of Balish
13. Simon, bishop of Shayzar, from the Monastery of Mashra'a
14. Basilius, metropolitan of Anazarba, from the Monastery of Abulhor
15. Isaac, bishop of Arqa, from the Monastery of Bar Jaji. He was syncellus of the patriarch, but later became Chalcedonian
16. Iliyya (Elijah), bishop of Zoghma, from the Monastery of Mor Julian
17. Matta, metropolitan of Sijistan, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya
18. Andrew, bishop of Kesum, from the Monastery of Tabesh
19. Basilius, metropolitan of Nisibin, from the Monastery of Qartmin
20. Sergius, bishop of Sarug, from the Monastery of Mor Julian in Kesum
21. Yuhanon, bishop of Rish 'Ayna, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya
22. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Dara and Habura, from the Barid Monastery
23. Timothy, bishop of Qarna and Tell Arsanius, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
24. Simon, bishop of Tella and Laqbin, from the Monastery of Mor Demit
25. Cyril, bishop of Hamam, from the Monastery of the Mother of God in Anazarba
26. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Dara, from the Monastery of Mor Abai in Qilleth
27. Tuma, bishop of Claudia, from the Monastery of the Qariri (Barid) River
28. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Jerusalem, from the Monastery of Dashno (Sena) in Antioch
29. Theodosius, metropolitan of Damascus, from the Monastery of Sumoqo (Red) in Kharshana
30. Athanasius, metropolitan of Takrit, from the Monastery of the Mother of God
31. Basilius, metropolitan of Amid, from the Monastery of Bar Jaji

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32. Abraham, metropolitan of Tarsus, from the Monastery of Callinicus
33. Athanasius, metropolitan of Godfi in Kharshana, form the monastery of Ladders
34. Ignatius, bishop of Hamam, from the Monastery of Abulhor
35. Gregorius, bishop of Birta (Bira), from the Monastery of Harsafta
36. Cyril, metropolitan of Cyrus, from the Monastery of Mor Saba
37. Dionysius, metropolitan of Miyafarqat, from the Monastery of Zarnuqa
38. Philothoes, metropolitan of Aphra, from the Monastery of Mor Mattai (St. Matthew's Monastery)
39. Philoxenus, metropolitan of Jerusalem, from the Monastery of Bar Jaji
40. Basilius, bishop of Harran, from the Monastery of Qartmin
41. Musa, bishop of Hisn Ziyad, from the Monastery of Mor Ahrun (Aaron)
42. Athanasius Haya, bishop of Arsamosata, from the Monastery of Mor Ahrun (Aaron)-Shaghr. Later, he became a patriarch
43. Iyawannis, bishop of Duluk (Doliche), from the Monastery of Abulhor
44. Abraham, metropolitan of Samosata, from the Monastery of Ladders
45. Dionysius, bishop of Tell Arsanius, from the Monastery of Ladders
46. Basilius, bishop of Claudia, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
47. Iyawannis, metropolitan of Arzen, from the Monastery of Qartmin

The blessed (Bar Abdun) ordained more than these bishops whose names we have not put down, as we indicated in his life story above, because the Greeks seized him and banished him. He administered the patriarchate for twenty six years and was martyred in exile in the country of the Bulgarians on February 2, 1341 (A.D. 1030)

Patriarch Dionysius (IV) Yahya, superior of the Monastery of Li'azar in the region of Melitene, was ordained on Thursday, October 14, 1343 (A.D.1032), at the Monastery of Mor Demit in Claudia during the period of the Chalcedonians' persecution, by the laying on of hands of Mor Abraham, bishop of Qallisura. He ordained the following bishops:

1. Philoxenus, metropolitan of Semando, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
2. Ignatius Isaiah, bishop of Birta (Bira), from Harsafta
3. Yuhanon, bishop of Arqa, from the Monastery of Tell Batriq
4. Gregorius Li'azar, bishop of Mar'ash
5. Athanasius, bishop of Jihan, from the Monastery Seraphion
6. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Melitene, from the Monastery of Mor Shina. Afterwards, he fled the persecution of the Greeks and settled in the Tayoye (Muslim) region of Amid.
7. Timothy, metropolitan of Balish, from the Monastery of Mor Atanos
8. Athanasius Yeshu, metropolitan of Edessa, the superior of the Monastery of Mor Abhai
9. Iyawannis, bishop of Ba'lbak form the same Monastery (of Mor Abhai)
10. Iyawannis, metropolitan of Anazarba, from the Monastery of Buqa
11. Basilius, bishop of Hadath, from the Monastery of Mor Ahrun (Aaron)
12. Iyawannis Zakka, bishop of Tur Abdin, from the Monastery of Abid
13. Cyril, metropolitan of Homs, from the Monastery of Qalaf
14. Yuhanon, bishop of Tella and Laqbin, from the Monastery of Bar Jaji
15. Iyawannis Barsoum, bishop of Hisn Ziyad, from the Monastery of Bar Jaji
16. Timothy, bishop of Qallisura, from the Monastery of Mor Ahrun (Aaron)
17. Philoxenus, Methuselah, bishop of Mabug (Manbij), from Arslis
18. Metropolitan Mor Athanasius, from the Barid Monastery in Amid
19. Iyawannis, metropolitan of Herat, from the Monastery of the Persians
20. Mark, metropolitan of Aphra, from the Qariro (Barid) Monastery
21. Iyawannis, metropolitan of Herat, from the Monastery of Bar Jaji

22. Athanasius, metropolitan of Homs, from the Monastery of Qalaf
23. Basilius, bishop of Arqa, from the Monastery of Abulhor
24. Gregorius, metropolitan of Armania, from the Monastery of Mor Sergius
25. Timothy, metropolitan of Tiberias, from the Monastery of Zarnuqa
26. Basilius, metropolitan of Takrit in 1349 (A.D.1038)
27. Gregorius, metropolitan of Callinicus (Mar'ash), from the Monastery of Bar Jaji
28. Abraham, bishop of Samosata, from the Monastery of Shaghro of Bar Jaji
29. Iyawannis, bishop of Cercesium, for the Barid Monastery
30. Ignatius, bishop of Arzen, from the Monastery of Bushir
31. Yuhanon, bishop of Kesum, from the Monastery Mor Julian, the Red Monastery
32. Ignatius, metropolitan of Amid, from the same monastery
33. Bulus, bishop of Mardin, from the Monastery of Qartmin

Patriarch Haya served for ten years. He passed away on March 21, and his body was interned in the Great Church of Amid.

Patriarch Yuhanon (IX), of the Monastery of Bar Jaji, was a nephew of Patriarch Yuhanon Bar Abdun. He was ordained on Tuesday, 1353 (1042), in the region of Zoghma in Farzman on the borders of Ra'ban, by the laying on of hands of Mor Iliyya (Elijah), president of the council. He ordained the following bishops:

1. Yuhanon, bishop of Zubatra, whom he was compelled to ordain
2. Athanasius, bishop of Nisibin, from the Monastery of Qartmin
3. Iyawannis, bishop of Hadath, syncellus of the patriarch
4. Zachariah, metropolitan of Jerusalem, from the Barid Monastery
5. Mark, bishop of Arzen, from the Monastery of Elisha
6. Basilius, metropolitan of Tarsus, his (the patriarch) syncellus
7. Basilius, metropolitan of Anazarba, from the Monastery of Abulhor
8. Butrus, bishop of Hamam and Balinj, from the Monastery of Sobe (The Elders)
9. Timothy, bishop of Hadath, from the Monastery of Bar Jaji in Hani
10. Sergius, bishop of Aleppo, from the Monastery of Habib
11. Basilius, bishop of Tur Abdin, from the Monastery of Qartmin
12. Butrus, metropolitan of Nisibin, from the Monastery of Qartmin
13. Tuma, metropolitan of Jerusalem, from the Monastery of Qartmin
14. Athanasius, metropolitan of Samosata, from the Monastery of Li'azar
15. Iyawannis Bar Hadh Bshabo, bishop of Kharshana
16. Tuma, metropolitan of Sijistan, from the Monastery of Hani
17. Iliyya (Elijah) Abu al-Hasan, deacon of Mitani, metropolitan of Balish,
18. Dionysius David, bishop of Birta-Gargar, from the Monastery of Mor Julian, bishop of Kesum
19. Basilius, bishop of Hisn Mansur in Qanqart
20. Dioscorus, bishop of Samosata, in Labitor
21. Basilius, metropolitan of Aphra, from the Monastery of Hani
22. Iyawannis, bishop of Qallisura, from Tell Batriq
23. Basilius, bishop of Arqa, from the Monastery of the Persians
24. Gregorius, bishop of Mardin, Tell Besme and Rish 'Ayna
25. Athanasius, metropolitan of Arzen, from the Monastery of Abid Abdun
26. Iyawannis, bishop of Jubas, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
27. Butrus, bishop of Claudia, from the Monastery of Hur 'Bar
28. Philoxenus, bishop of Hamam, Kalinj and Sanodno, from the Monastery of the Mother of God in Turo d' Ukomo (the Black Mountain)

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29. Iyawannis, bishop of Aleppo, from the Monastery of Habib in Turo d'Ukomo (the Black Mountain)
30. Dionysius, metropolitan of Samosata, from the Monastery of Bar Jaji

Patriarch Yuhanna served fourteen years and ten months. He was realistic in choosing his ordinations and was impacted by his teacher. He died on Saturday, May 24, 1368 (A.D. 1057), and was buried in the northern part of the Church of the Mother of God in Amid.

Patriarch Athanasius (VI) Haya was bishop of Arsamosata. He was ordained uncanonically for the second time in Persia by the laying on of hands of Basilius, bishop of Harran. He was criticized for his second ordination. He ordained the following bishops:

1. Gregorius, bishop of Kesum
2. Ignatius, bishop of Arqa, from the Monastery of Argula
3. Timothy, bishop of Hisn Batriq, from the Monastery of Mor Ahrun (Aaron)
4. Timothy, bishop of Tell Batriq, from the Monastery of Beth Bo'utho in Hisn Ziyad
5. Ignatius, bishop of Semando, from the Barid Monastery
6. Athanasius, metropolitan of Homs, from the same city
7. Philoxenus, bishop of Arsamosata, from the Office of the patriarchate
8. Matta, metropolitan of Samosata
9. Iyawannis, metropolitan of Miyafarqat from the Monastery of Hur 'Abir
10. Timothy, bishop of Mar'ash, from the Monastery of Mor Shina
11. Ignatius, metropolitan of Damascus
12. Basilius, metropolitan of Halbun, from Turo d' Ukomo (the Black Mountain)
13. Theodosius, bishop of Ra'ban
14. Butrus, Bar Arikho, bishop of Arqa, who became Chalcedonian because of a certain controversy
15. Gregorius, bishop of Birta-Gargar
16. Athanasius, bishop of Rahubot
17. Ignatius, nephew (son of the patriarch's sister), metropolitan of Melitene

Athanasius Haya ordained other bishops, whose names are not recorded because of a controversy that was stirred up following the departure of the Turks. He passed away in 1374 (A.D. 1063), on the way to Constantinople, where he was taken by the Chalcedonians allegedly to debate with him.

Patriarch Yuhanon (X) Bar Shushan of Melitene was ordained in Amid in the time of Patriarch Haya, but he stepped aside. Upon Haya's death, the bishops assembled and forced him to accept the patriarchate, and thus began to serve it. He ordained the following bishops:

1. Ignatius, a native of Qilleth, metropolitan of this city and of Dara
2. Simon, bishop of Kesum, from the Patriarchal Office
3. Timothy, bishop of Harran, from the Church of the Edessan in Edessa
4. Timothy, bishop of Claudia, from the Monastery of Harsafta
5. Athanasius, metropolitan of Semando, from the Barid Monastery in Harran
6. Basilius, bishop of Laqbin, from the Monastery of Li'azar in 'Arqa
7. Dionysius, bishop of Jubas, from Bar Jaji
8. Iyawannis, bishop of Arqa, from Bar Jaji
9. Matta, bishop of Sarug, who deserted his diocese
10. Philoxenus, bishop of Sijistan who refused to join it and was deposed
11. Ignatius, bishop of Arzen from the region of Miyafarqat
12. Timothy of Amid, metropolitan of Jerusalem, from the Monastery of Mor Abhai
13. Ignatius, metropolitan of Callinicus (al-Raqqa), from the same monastery

14. Basilius, bishop of Mardin, from the Monastery of Qartmin
15. Athanasius, metropolitan of Samosata, from the Monastery of Mor Ashot
16. Ignatius, bishop of Duluk (Doliche), from the Monastery of Abulhor
17. Iyawannis Saul, bishop of Mardin, from the Monastery of Qartmin

Bar Shushan served the patriarchate for nine years. He passed away on Tuesday, November 27, 1384 (A.D. 1073), and was buried in the Church of the Mother of God next to the grave of Mor Yuhanon Bar Abdun.

Patriarch Basilius (II) from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum in Shena was ordained in January 1385 (A.D. 1074), at Hisn Mansur by the laying on of hands of Athanasius, metropolitan of Edessa. He ordained the following bishops:

1. Basilius, metropolitan of Anazarba, from the Monastery of Mor Abhai
2. Gregorius, bishop of Aleppo, from the Monasteries of Ashot and Mor Barsoum
3. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Semando from the Monastery of Bar Jaji, at the Monastery of Mor Barsoum. He is Patriarch Yuhanon Bar Abdun.
4. Athanasius, bishop of Hisn Ziyad, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
5. Athanasius, metropolitan of Edessa, at the Monastery of Mor Abhai
6. Athanasius, bishop of Kharshana at the Patriarchal Office in Qanqart
7. Yuhanon, metropolitan and maphryono of Takrit, from the Monastery of Qartmin

Basilius served the patriarchate for one year and six months. He passed away and was buried in Miyafarqat, the City of Martyrs.

Patriarch Yuhanon Bar Abdun was a metropolitan of Semando, and stole the patriarchate by force. He ordained the following bishops:

1. Iyawannis, bishop of Tell Hamdun
2. Abdokos, bishop of Arqa
3. Ignatius, bishop of Mardin, and Bouzir who converted to Islam in Amid

He was still living during the periods of four patriarchs.

Patriarch Dionysius (V) Li'azar, superior of the Monastery of Mor Barsoum, was ordained in the same monastery by the laying on of hands of Mor Yuhanon, metropolitan of Takrit, in the year 1388 (A.D. 1077). He served for one year and ordained no bishops. He died in Hisn Mansur.

Patriarch Yuhanon (XI), the hermit from the region of Kharshana, was ordained at Melitene in the year 1391 (A.D. 1080), by the laying on of hands of Ignatius, metropolitan of Melitene and the bishops with him. He ordained the following bishops:

1. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Jerusalem, from the Barid Monastery
2. Timothy, bishop of Qallisura, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
3. Athanasius, bishop of Duluk (Doliche) and Mabug (Manbij), from the Barid Monastery
4. Basilius, metropolitan of Miyafarqat, from the Barid Monastery
5. Slibo, bishop of Balikh, from the same monastery

Patriarch Yuhanon served one year and six months. He died at the Barid Monastery and was buried in it.

Patriarch Dionysius Marcus, superior of the Barid Monastery, was ordained in this monastery in the presence of few bishops, and thus refused to accept the position. He did not yield until Abdun started making trouble. He ordained the following bishops:

1. Philoxenus, bishop of Mar'ash, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
2. Matta, bishop of Ra'ban, from the Monastery of Shamnuk
3. Basilius, bishop of Harran from the same monastery
4. Iyawannis, bishop of Arsamosata, from the Monastery Qaiso Abyo (Thick Wood)
5. Ohiloxenus, bishop of Hisn Mansur, from the Monastery of... (name of the monastery is not given)
6. Harun (Aaron), metropolitan of Sijistan, from the Monastery of Mor Ahrun in the Blessed Mountain
7. Basilius Shamli, bishop of Tur Abdin
8. Gregorius Li'azar, bishop of the diocese which was split
9. Yeshu, bishop of Anazarba, from the Monastery of Abulhor
10. Basilius, metropolitan of Kafartab and Homs

Dionysius served one and a half years and died at the Monastery of Zarnuqa.

Patriarch Athanasius Abu al-Fraj of Amid, a monk-priest at the Monastery of Mor Barsoum, was ordained in Melitene on the first Sunday of December of the year 1402 (A.D. 1091) by the laying on of hands of Mor Timothy, metropolitan of Tell Batriq. He ordained the following bishops:

1. Cyril of Jerusalem, metropolitan of Jerusalem, was called from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum. He is Sa'dun of the seven sheets of paper.
2. Iyawannis, bishop of Kalinj and Bithynia, from the Barid Monastery
3. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Melitene, who is Sa'id Bar Sabuni who was killed
4. Basilius, bishop of Birta (Bira)-Gargar, from the Monastery of Mor Abhai
5. Ignatius, metropolitan of Tell Batriq, from the Monastery of Mor Ahrun (Aaron)
6. Dionysius, metropolitan of Arzen, from the Monastery of Mor Habib
7. Basilius, metropolitan of Edessa, who is Bar Sabuni who was deposed
8. Dionysius, bishop of Kesum, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
9. Philoxenus, metropolitan of Mabug (Manbij), from the Monastery of Kasliyyud
10. Basilius, metropolitan of Semando, from the Barid Monastery
11. Timothy, bishop of Samosata, from the Monastery of Mor Abhai
12. Iyawannis, bishop of Tell Batriq, from the Monastery of Sarsaq
13. Basilius, bishop of Sarug, from the Mountain of Edessa
14. Gregorius, bishop of Claudia, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
15. Timothy, bishop of Kharshana, from the Monastery of Bar Jaji
16. Yuhanon Bar Tuma, bishop of Laqbin, from the church of Melitene
17. David, metropolitan of Jerusalem, from Roghulo d'Lilyo (Night Rivulet). He is Sa'dun who drowned in the sea.
18. Basilius, bishop of Hisn Ziyad, from Beth Qanya
19. Gregorius, bishop of Ra'ban, from the Monastery of Arnish
20. Timothy, metropolitan of Tarsus, from the Monastery of Mor Habib
21. Iyawannis, bishop of Sarug, from the Mountain of Edessa
22. Timothy Bar Basil, bishop of Gargar, from the Monastery of Sergisiyya
23. Iyawannis, bishop of al-Raqqa (Callinicus), from the church of Balish
24. Iyawannis Elisha, metropolitan of Melitene, from Mar'ash
25. Dionysius Musa, maphryono of Takrit, from the Barid Monastery
26. Basilius, bishop of Hisn Mansur, who resigned after one year and lived a year and then died
27. Ignatius, bishop of Hana, from Tur Abdin
28. Timothy, bishop of Mar'ash, from the hermits of Duwayr

29. Timothy, bishop of Tell Batriq, from the Monastery of Phuqa
30. Ignatius, bishop of Kafartab, from our Monastery in Jerusalem
31. Basilius, bishop of the Monastery of Qartmin, from the same monastery
32. Ignatius Hasnun, metropolitan of Jerusalem
33. Cyril, metropolitan of Kafartab, from Duwayr
34. Philoxenus, bishop of Kalinj, from the Monastery of Mor Shina
35. Ignatius, metropolitan of Mabug (Manbij), from Turo d'Ukomo (the Black Mountain)
36. Timothy Fraij of Edessa, metropolitan of Samosata and Hisn Mansur
37. Ignatius the Edessan, metropolitan of Arsamosata, from Harsafta
38. Iyawannis Marcus, metropolitan of Miyafarqat
39. Timothy, bishop of Claudia, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
40. Iyawannis, bishop of Sijistan, from Hisn Ziyad
41. Iyawannis, metropolitan of Callinicus (al-Raqqa), from the Monastery of Arnish
42. Iyawannis, bishop of Qallisura, from the Monastery of Madiq
43. Ignatius, Bar Gadina (Fortunate), metropolitan of Edessa, from our Patriarchal Office
44. Basilius, bishop of Jihun, from the Monastery of Romana
45. Basilius Bar Abbas, metropolitan of Mardin, from the Mountain of Edessa
46. Dionysius, bishop of Hisna, from Mor Abhai
47. Iyawannis, bishop of Hisn Ziyad, from our Patriarchal Office
48. Ignatius, bishop of Harran, from our Patriarchal Office
49. Gregorius, bishop of Kharshana, from the Barid Monastery
50. Yuhanon of Arnish, metropolitan of Damascus, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
51. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Rish 'Ayna and Mardin, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
52. Basilius, metropolitan of Miyafarqat, from the Monastery of Qanqart
53. Dionysius, bishop of Jubas, from the Monastery of Sergisiyya
54. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Mabug (Manbij), from our Patriarchal Office in Qanqart
55. Yuhanon Yusuf (Joseph), metropolitan of Mardin, who gained a great renown in his generation
56. Philoxenus, bishop of Kharshana in Kesum
57. Timothy, bishop of Haza, in Kesum
58. Simon, metropolitan of Anazarba, in Kesum
59. Basilius, bishop of Hisn Ziyad, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
60. Ignatius, bishop of Arqa from the same monastery
61. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Sijistan, from the same monastery

He (Patriarch Athanasius Abu al-Faraj) served for thirty-eight years. He died on June 8, 1440 (A.D. 1129), and was buried in the burial chamber of the ancient church of Mor Barsoum, where Patriarch Athanasius of Salah was buried.

Patriarch Yuhanon (XII) Modyana (Confessor), superior of the Monastery of Duwayr, was ordained in Tell Bashir (Turbessel), on Monday, February 7, 1442 (A.D. 1131), by the laying on of hands of Maphryono Dionysius. His ordination was attended by Joscelin and prominent men. He ordained the following bishops:

1. Athanasius, metropolitan of Miyafarqat, from the Monastery of Antioch
2. Athanasius, metropolitan of Edessa, from the same city
3. Basilius Abu al-Faraj Bar Shumanna, metropolitan of Kesum
4. Basilius, bishop of Laqbin, from Arnish who was later deposed
5. Iyawannis, bishop of Adana, from the Monastery of Duwayr
6. Athanasius, bishop of Sadad, from the Monastery of Mor Matta (St. Matthew's Monastery)
7. Athanasius, bishop of Anazarba, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum

8. Iyawannis, bishop of Sebaber, from the same monastery
9. Basilius, metropolitan of Amid, from the Monastery of Jerusalem
10. Dionysius, metropolitan of Damascus, from Edessa
11. Matta, metropolitan of Semando, from the Monastery of Beth Qanya
12. Basilius, Metropolitan of Arzen from the same region

Patriarch Yuhanon Modyana served for eight years, and passed away at the Monastery of Duwayr where he was also buried.

Patriarch Athanasius Yeshu Bar Qatra, deacon of Melitene, was ordained in the city of Amid on Sunday, December 4, 1450 (A.D. 1139), by the laying on of hands of Maphryono Mor Dionysius. He ordained the following bishops:

1. Ignatius, metropolitan of Melitene, who is son of the patriarch's sister
2. Ignatius Romanus, metropolitan of Jerusalem, a monk from the Monastery of Melitene
3. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Samosata, from the Mountain of Edessa
4. Ignatius, bishop of Aleppo, from the Mountain of Edessa
5. Maphryono Ignatius, from the monastery of Sergisiyya in the Shaghra (Fountain) of Mor Ahrun (Aaron)
6. Cyril, bishop of Sarug, from the Monastery of Abulhor in Melitene
7. Philoxenus, bishop of Mar'ash, from Melitene
8. Iyawannis, syncellus of the patriarch, bishop of Kesum, from the monastery of Madiq
9. Timothy Yusuf (Joseph), bishop of Gargar, who fell (for a transgression)
10. Philoxenus, bishop of Kafartab, from the Monastery of Duwar in Kesum
11. Yuhanon of Melitene, bishop of Qallisura, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
12. Iyawannis, bishop of Laqbin, from the Monastery of Sergisiyya
13. Iyawannis, metropolitan of Callinicus (al-Raqqa), from the city of Amid
14. Basilius, bishop of Claudia, from Madiq
15. Iyawannis, disciple of the patriarch, bishop of Hisn Ziyad, from Maqrana
16. Basilius, metropolitan of Semando, from Mor Ahrun (Aaron) in the Blessed Mountain
17. Timothy, bishop of Arsamosata, from Madiq
18. Yuhanon, bishop of Tur Abdin, from the Monastery of Qartmin
19. Ignatius, bishop of Tell Arsanius, from Sergisiyya
20. Dionysius Rhetor (Bar Salibi) of Melitene, bishop of Mar'ash who then moved to Amid
21. Simon, metropolitan of Arzen, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran)
22. Ignatius, metropolitan of Arqa, from the Monastery of Mor Li'azar
23. Iyawannis Musa, bishop of Hana, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya in Melitene
24. Timothy, bishop of Harran, from the Monastery of Azrun in Sergisiyya
25. Iyawannis, bishop of Jihan, nephew of the Shaykh (old man) while the Shaykh was still living
26. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Hamam, at the Monastery of Mor Barsoum. He was most venerable.
27. Ignatius, metropolitan of Amid, from the Monastery of Mado
28. Iyawannis, bishop of Arsamosata, from the same monastery
29. Ignatius Gabriel, bishop of Tur Abdin, from the same region
30. Dionysius, bishop of Laqbin, from Melitene, who later abandoned it (Laqbin)
31. Timothy, bishop of Jubas, son of the brother of the Shaykh who ordained him while still living
32. Basilius, bishop of Mar'ash, from the Barid Monastery
33. Maphryono Yuhanon, superior of the Monastery of Mor Jacob in the Mountain of Edessa
34. Timothy, bishop of Kharshana, from the same region

Patriarch Bar Qatra served twenty-seven years and seven months. He passed away on Thursday, July 14, 1477 (A.D. 1166), and was buried on Friday, which is the commemoration of Mar Abhai, in the ancient church of Mor Barsoum where Athanasius of Salah and Athanasius of Amid were buried. May the prayers of three of them be a help for us. *Amen.*

Michael (Rabo)

I say in all truth and not as a matter of humbleness, that I am unworthy of the holy dignity of the patriarchate, not even by name. However, it is the incomprehensible dispensations of God and his divine grace.

The Holy Council, assembled at the Monastery of Mor Barsoum, was attended by Maphryono Mor Yuhanon, and the Bishops Mor Basilius of Edessa and president of the Council, Mor Basilius of Jihan, Mor Dionysius of Jubas, Mor Athanasius of Anazarba, Mor Ignatius of Melitene, Mor Yuhanon of Samosata, Mor Iyawannis of Kesum, Mor Basilius of Claudia, Mor Yuhanon of Qartmin, Mor Ignatius of Birta, Mor Dionysius the malphono, Mor Simon of Arzen, Mor Ignatius of Tur Abdin, Mor Ignatius of Arqa, Mor Dionysius of Laqbin, Mor Timothy of Harran, the young Mor Iyawannis of Jihan, Mor Iyawannis of Arsamosata, the young Mor Timothy of Jubas, Mor Timothy of Beth Araboye (the Arabs), Mor Timothy of Azerbaijan, Mor Yuhanon of Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia), Mor Iyawannis of Beth Romana, Mor Iyawannis of Nisibin, Mor Yuhanon of Qallisura, Mor Iyawannis of Callinicus (al-Raqqa), and Mor Basilius of Mar'ash. The ordination was done on Tuesday, October 18, 1478 (A.D. 1167). He (Michael) ordained the following bishops:

1. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Damascus, was ordained in Jerusalem in order that in Jerusalem ordinations should begin. He was ordained on Easter Sunday in the presence of four bishops
2. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Tarsus, from Duwayr
3. Athanasius, metropolitan of Anazarba, from Kasliyud, was ordained in Antioch
4. Yuhanon, bishop of Arsamosata, disciple of the late patriarch, ordained in Antioch
5. Ignatius Abu Ghalib, metropolitan of Miyafarqat, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
6. Philoxenus, metropolitan of Mabug (Manbij), from Kasliyud, ordained in the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
7. Iyawannis Theodor, son of Bar Andrew's brother, metropolitan of Samosata
8. Timothy Constantine, bishop of Laqbin, who is superior of the Monastery of Mor Ahrun (Aaron) in Shaghra
9. Ignatius Barsoum, bishop of Tell Arsanius, superior of the Monastery of Sergisiyya
10. Iyawannis, bishop of Sebaber, from the Monastery of Mor Ahrun in the Blessed Mountain, was ordained in the Monastery of Mor Hananya in Mar'ash
11. Athanasius Abu Ghalib, the old hermit, bishop of Jihan
12. Athanasius, bishop of Edessa, who is Rabban (monk) Denha of Edessa
13. Basilius Yuhanon the hermit, bishop of Ra'ban
14. Gregorius, bishop of Kesum, from the mountain of Edessa
15. Abraham, metropolitan of Amid, from the same city
16. Timothy, bishop of Claudia, superior of the Monastery of Madiq
17. Iyawannis, metropolitan of Kesum, from the Monastery of the Cross in Tur Abdin
18. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Callinicus (al-Raqqa), from the Monastery of the Samosatians in the district of Mardin
19. Yuhanon Simon, bishop of Arsamosata from the Monastery of Mor Ahrun (Aaron) in the Blessed Mountain
20. Basilius, metropolitan of Semando, from the same monastery
21. Iyawannis Isaac, bishop of Tur Abdin, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
22. Basilius, metropolitan of Sijistan, who was educated at the Patriarchal Office

23. Dionysius, metropolitan of Homs, from the Monastery of Mor Hananya (Za'faran)
24. Yuhanon, bishop of Shalbain, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
25. Abraham, metropolitan of the Monastery of Sha'ba, who fell into the error of Bar Wahbun
26. Athanasius, metropolitan of Jerusalem, who is the carnal son of my brother
27. Dionysius, metropolitan of Aleppo, who is the monk Mubarak of Edessa
28. Yuhanon, bishop of Hisn Ziyad, who is Yesu the syncellus from Tur Abdin
29. Ignatius, metropolitan of Miyafarqat, from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
30. Dionysius, metropolitan of Melitene, who is Agrippa Bar Samka, who was educated at our Patriarchal Office
31. Basilius, bishop of Hisn Ziyad, from the Monastery of the Hisn
32. Iyawannis, bishop of Amid, from the Monastery of Mor Ahrun, was ordained in Melitene
33. Iyawannis, bishop of Ra'ban, of Tell Arsanius, from the Monastery of Madiq
34. Ignatius, bishop of Laqbin, was summoned from our Patriarchal Office
35. Ignatius, bishop of Harran, was transferred to Damascus. He converted to Islam during the persecution of Jerusalem and fled to Egypt
36. Stephen, a superior of the monastery, metropolitan of Sijistan
37. Basilius, bishop of Birta Gargar, from the Patriarchal Office
38. Basilius Simon, metropolitan of Callinicus (al-Raqqa), a monk from the region of Antioch
39. Gregorius, chief priest, that is maphryono of Takrit, is Jacob, son of my brother, and my spiritual son. He is a learned man who was summoned from our Patriarchal Office and ordained in the year 1500 (A.D. 1189), in the presence of four bishops
40. Ignatius, bishop of Mar'ash, from the Monastery of Kasliyud
41. Iyawannis, bishop of Qallisura, son of Qunun, who was later transferred to Melitene
42. Yuhanon, bishop of Mardin, the Mawdyono (confessor), who later fell and denied the Orthodox faith and went to Constantinople and became Chalcedonian
43. Timothy, bishop of Claudia, from the Monastery of Madiq
44. Iyawannis, bishop of Caesarea and Cappadocia, is the monk Damian from the Monastery of Romana
45. Iyawannis Micha, metropolitan of Amid, summoned from the Monastery of Mor Barsoum
46. Yuhanon, metropolitan of Damascus, is the Antiochian monk Gregorius
47. Ignatius, bishop of Jubas, from the Monastery of Maqrana
48. Basilius, metropolitan of Edessa, is the cavalier of the mountain's summit
49. Basilius Constantine, bishop of Aleppo, was superior of the Monastery of Abu Ghalib
50. Philoxenus, Barsoum, bishop of Romana
51. Gregorius, bishop of Claudia, from the Monastery of Madiq
52. Ignatius Sahdo, metropolitan of Jerusalem, was superior the of the monastery
53. Basilius, bishop of Qallisura, from the Monastery in the Blessed Mountain
54. Dionysius, bishop of Jihan and the Barid Monastery, from the Barid Monastery
55. Iyawannis Joseph of Amid, bishop of Homs, from the Monastery of Abu Ghalib

Here ends the tables of the names of bishops ordained by each of the patriarchs, and the regions where they were ordained. He who reads, let him pray for the sinner.

Names of the chief priests (bishops) of Jerusalem:

1. Jacob, brother of the Lord, three years
2. Yusuf (Joseph) Bar Cleophas, five years
3. Zakka, two years
4. Tobias, three years

5. Benjamin, one year
6. Yuhanon, three years
7. Matthias, seven years
8. Justus, five years
9. Philip, seven years
10. Justus, one year
11. Ephraim, who is Aphres, three years
12. Levi, two years
13. Joseph, two years
14. Judah, one year (all of these were people of the Circumcision, and their terms continued until the destruction of Jerusalem)
15. Marcus from the gentiles
16. Cassianus, three years
17. Maximus, five years
18. Julian, six years
19. Gaius, two years
20. Symmachus, four years
21. Gaius, twenty-four years
22. another Julian, two years
23. Caphiton, eighteen years
24. Maximianus, eight years
25. Antonius, ten years
26. Valens
27. Dolichianus
28. Narcissus
29. Dios
30. Germalion
31. Gordian
32. Narcissus, the same one
33. Antoninus
34. Valens
35. Mosius, four years
36. Alexander
37. Mazcanius
38. Homanus
39. Abados
40. Hermon
41. Judah, who attended the Council of the 318 (Nicaea) in the time of Constantine
42. Macarius
43. Maximianus, whose eyes were gouged by the heathens during the persecution
44. Cyril, who was driven away by the Arians
45. Arsanius the Arian
46. Elarnaus the Arian
47. Cyril, who attended the Council of the 150 (Council of Constantinople)
48. Prailus
49. Juvenal, who fell into Chalcedonianism
50. Theodosius, who was strangled by the Chalcedonians
51. Anastasius
52. Martyrius

BOOK TWENTY-ONE

53. Sallustianus, from whom the pope of Rome separated
54. Elias, who was driven away, and no bishop was set up for the Orthodox until the appearance of Islam
55. Cyril
56. Jeremiah
57. Tuma
58. Yuhanon
59. Philoxenus
60. Timothy
61. Job
62. Ignatius
63. Joseph
64. Yuhanon
65. Cyril
66. Cyriacus
67. Sawera (Severus)
68. Joseph
69. Theodorus
70. Cyril
71. Jeremiah
72. Tuma
73. Yuhanon
74. Philoxenus
75. Zachariah
76. Tuma
77. Timothy
78. Yuhanon
79. Cyril
80. David
81. Ignatius
82. Ignatius
83. Ignatius
84. Athanasius
85. Ignatius

Names of the bishops of Edessa:

1. Addai
2. Aggi
3. Phalut
4. Abshlama
5. Bar Samia (son of the blind one)
6. Tiridate
7. Barnai
8. Shalula
9. Abda
10. Gouria
11. Abda
12. Izni

13. Hystaspe
14. Aqai
15. Quna
16. Sha'uth
17. Ithalaha
18. Abraham
19. Eulogius
20. Rabula
21. Ithalaha
22. Habsai
23. Barnai
24. Abraham
25. Barsa
26. Eulogius
27. Qura
28. Silona (Silvanus)
29. Phqidha
30. Diogene
31. Rabula
32. Hiba (Ibas) the heretic
33. Nonnus
34. Cyrus
35. Peter
36. Paul
37. Asliph
38. Amahon (Amasanius)
39. Jacob
40. Epiphanius
41. Sawera (Severus)
42. Sergius
43. Theodore
44. Paul
45. Yunan (Jona)
46. Isaiah
47. Simon
48. Gabriel
49. Tiberias
50. Jacob the Rhetorician
51. Habib
52. Constantine
53. Zachariah
54. Zachariah
55. Basilius
56. Theodosius
57. Cyril
58. Benjamin the Rabban (monk, teacher)
59. Iliyya (Elijah)
60. Constantine
61. Theodosius

62. Dioscorus
63. Timothy
64. Philoxenus
65. Abraham
66. Philoxenus
67. Ignatius
68. Athanasius
69. Athanasius
70. Basilius
71. Athanasius
72. Basilius
73. Athanasius
74. Basilius

End of names

Names of the bishops of Melitene:

1. Leontius
2. Otreius
3. Accacius
4. Mama
5. Domitian
- (Then follows a long period)
6. Tuma
7. Ezekiel
8. Gregorius
9. Ahrun (Aaron)
10. Daniel
11. Ezekiel
12. Iliyya (Elijah)
13. Yuhanon
14. Gregorius
15. Iyawannis
16. Iliyya (Elijah)
17. Ezekiel
18. Ignatius Rahuto (the Runner)
19. Iyawannis
20. Ignatius
21. Yuhanon
22. Ignatius the Rhetorician
23. Yuhanon
24. Dionysius
25. Iyawanins
26. Iganatius
27. Dionysius
28. Iyawannis

End of the names

Names of the bishops of Amid:

1. Iyawannis
2. Ignatius
3. Habib
4. Abraham
5. Yuhanon
6. Moses
7. Ignatius
8. Iyawannis
9. Joseph
10. Ignatius
11. Timothy
12. Yuhanon
13. Bailius
14. Ignatius
15. Athanasius
16. Basilius
17. Athanasius
18. Dionysius the Rhetorician
19. Ignatius
20. Abrah
21. Ignatius
22. Abraham
23. Iyawannis who was excommunicated
24. Iyawannis

End of the names

Names of the bishops of Takrit following the martyr Babai:

1. Garmai
2. Marutha
3. Christodolus
4. Yuhanon
5. Denha
6. Bacchus
7. Yuhanon Zakonoyo
8. Sharbil
9. Simon
10. Basilius
11. Tuma
12. Basilius
13. Melchizedek
14. Sergius
15. Athanasius
16. Tuma
17. Denha
18. Basilius
19. Cyriacus
20. Ignatius who apostatized becoming a Muslim

21. Athanasius
22. Basilius
23. Yuhanon
24. Dionysius
25. Ignatius
26. Yuhanon
27. Gregorius the Rhetorician

We append below the names of Armenian kings and chief priests as recorded in their books:

The chief priests and the duration of their pontificates:

After Bartholomew and Addai the evangelists:

1. Krikor, thirty years
2. Restakes, one year
3. Bartanes, his son, seventeen years
4. Ausig, six years
5. Parnerseh, ten years
6. Nerses, thirty-four years
7. Sahak, five years
8. Zaven, six years
9. Asporases, five years
10. Sahak Balhab, five years
11. Sourmag, one year
12. Yusuf (Joseph), eight years
13. Kit, ten years
14. Vahan Mandaguni, six years
15. Papken, six years
16. Samuel, ten years
17. Moses, eight years
18. Sahak, five years
19. Christopher, six years
20. Lebon, three years
21. Nerses, nine years
22. Ohannes, seventeen years
23. Moses, thirty years
24. Abraham, twenty-three years
25. Vahan, twenty-six years
26. Gomidas, eight years
27. Christopher, three years
28. Ezra, ten years
29. Nerses, twenty years
30. Anastas, six years
31. Anael, ten years
32. Sahak, twenty-seven years
33. Egia, thirteen years
34. Iohannes Amanser (Imastaser), eleven years
35. Tabit (David), thirteen years

36. Dertad, twenty-three years

37. Sion, eight years

They say that in the first year of Abgar son of Arsham, which is the year 43 of Augustus Caesar and the year 33 of Herod, our Lord who was born in Bethlehem was baptized when he was thirty years old and suffered at the age of thirty-three. When Abgar learned of the mystery of his suffering, he sent to him Hananya Aphhoni accompanied by ten others. When Aphhoni arrived in Jerusalem, he met one of the Lord's disciples named Philip and told him the reason of his coming to Jerusalem. Philip informed Andrew of (what Aphhoni said), and both of them related the story to Jesus. As John had written that people went up to Jerusalem and said, "We want to see Jesus," and Andrew and Philip told Jesus of these people. Jesus said to them, "The hour has come for the Son of Man to be glorified."²⁴²² He (Jesus) called the Passion and the Cross by which all mankind was redeemed, a glory. He did not want to go to Armenia but welcomed Hananya Aphhoni the messenger of Abgar. He instructed the Apostle Thomas to write a reply to Abgar, and promised to send, after his Resurrection, one of his disciples to heal him.

The Prophet Zechariah, who saw this mystery through the eye of the prophecy, alluded to Abgar and the ten men he sent to the Lord. He said that, "In those days ten men from all languages and nations will take firm hold of one Jew by the hem of his robe and say to him, etc."²⁴²³

Abgar lived five years after the Passion of our Lord, and the total duration of his reign was thirty-eight years.

After Abgar, Sanatruk, son of his uncle, reigned. He founded the city of Nisibin in Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia) situated on the River Euphrates. After completing its construction, he ordered a statue of himself be made and erected on its wall, holding one dirham (drachma) in his hand as an indication that after its building he had nothing but one dirham. He is the one who killed the Apostle Thaddeus in Adra (Ardaz).

Afterwards, Sanatruk Erband from the same family reigned. He was son of Arshaguni and a wife of an unlawful marriage. He ruled for twenty years. He killed the sons of Sanatruk by the instigation of God to avenge the blood of the Apostle (Thaddeus). Then, a certain man named So'badh (Smbat) Pskraoduni took one of the sons of Sanatruk named Arshuk, to Tarish, the Persian king. He told him that the boy was a son of Sanatruk and he alone escaped the massacre of his brothers. When the Persian king heard this, he crowned the boy and gave Smbat seventy thousand armed men and dispatched him against Erband. Smbat killed Erband, took his crown of Sanatruk, and placed it on the head of his son Arshouh, and they called that spot Erband-aband.

In the tenth year of Erband, Jerusalem was devastated by Espinianus (Vespasian).

After Erband, Arshuk ruled for forty years. He took to wife the daughter of the king of the Alans. They were accompanied by the Saints Soubia and Sinos. He became a believer and was baptized by Saint Segianus, disciple of the Apostle Thaddeus. In the time of Arshuk were saints called *Bazak* who ate herbage, and all of them won the crown of martyrdom.

After Arshuk, his son Ardabazd reigned for two years. The Armenians exaggerate him immensely. They say that mighty men called *Kashir* took him in chains to Masius Mountain, but he attempted to release himself in order to devastate the earth. However, his chains kept being renewed by the hammering of the ironsmiths, which made it difficult for him to escape. They also led others against him. When he was crossing the Arshak bridge, he stumbled and fell (into the water), and his body could not be found. They (the Armenians) spread the rumor that he was still alive until this day.

Arshuk was followed by his brother, Tirad, who ruled for seventeen years, and by his other brother, Tikran, who ruled for forty-five years.

Tikran was followed by his son Bagras who ruled for eighteen years.

²⁴²² John 12:20-24.

²⁴²³ Zechariah 8:23.

Bagras was followed by his son Khosrov who ruled for forty-eight years. He was killed by the Persian King Ardashir who ruled the Armenians for twenty-six years.

After the Persian king, Dertat son of Khosrov, ruled for fifty-six years. In year sixteen of his rule, which was the year twenty of Domitian, and the year 460 of the Passion of the Savior, Saint Gregorius went out of Birab and evangelized the Armenians for thirty years, and then departed to our Lord. He was succeeded by his young son Restakes who built the Great Church of Hagia Sophia in the hamlet of Kozan. He was killed by a leader named Arkegabos because he censured him for his evil deeds. After him, Bartanes, the eldest son of Gregorius, ruled for seventeen years.

He was persecuted by a woman named Satal "dignas digin" for rebuking her.

After Dertat, his young son Khosrov ruled for twenty years. He built a city at the foot of a mountain Khegam on the River Azad and called it Tebin, in Persian that is plar or, plour (hillock) in Armenian. In the year sixteen of his rule, his grandson Ausig, son of Bartanes, was ordained a catholicos of the Armenians for six years.

Khosrov was succeeded by his son Diran for fifteen years. However, because the Catholicos Ausig reprimanded him, he ordered the catholicos be whipped to death. When the aged Chorepiscopus Daniel, a disciple of Gregorius, heard this, he cursed the king and everything he had, and the accursed king had him strangled.

Then, Pharnerseh, a peaceful and meek man, was ordained a catholicos. Four years later, however, the king had him killed. Afterwards, the Persian king seized Diran and blinded his eyes. Thus, the Lord delivered him to his enemies because of his wickedness and for murdering the catholicos and scattering the Armenians.

After Diran, his son Arshak ruled for thirty years. He killed his nephew Knel on account of a woman called Pharandzem. In the fourth year of his reign, Athanakine, son of Ausig, son of Bartanes, son of Gregorius, was ordained a catholicos. He occupied the seat of the episcopate for thirty-four years. He condemned King Arshak for murdering his nephew and taking his wife. He also cursed the Armenian race, and that no king of them would be set up anymore. He abandoned his seat and went to the country of the Greeks.

Then, the Persian king summoned Arshak, king of the Armenians. When Arshak went to him, he bound him in iron fetters and cast him into prison. Arshak killed himself there as was prophesied by the Catholicos Nerses. The Persian king appointed a leader for Armenia, a Persian man named Mehrojan. Meanwhile, Catholicos Nerses implored Theodosius the Great, king (emperor) of the Romans, who delivered unto him the army of the imprisoned Arshak. Moreover, Pap, son of Arshak, commanded the army and defeated Mehrojan. He ruled for seven years.

In this period, Theodosius had a city built in Armenia by Anatolius, commanding general of the Roman army, which accompanied Pap. The city was called Garno-Kakak, but then it was named after king (emperor) Theodosius.²⁴²⁴

Because he followed his father's wicked steps, Catholicos Nerses never stopped reprimanding him. Pap, afraid that the catholicos might curse him as he cursed his father and then depart to the Greeks, had the catholicos poisoned to death. Then, Basilius the Great excommunicated Pap, and determined that no catholicos would be ordained for the Armenians from Caesarea, for until then Armenian catholicoses were ordained from the See of Caesarea. The curse of Saint Basilius followed Pap like arrows of wrath. He was seized by Anatolius and brought to king Theodosius, who ordered him to be thrown into the sea, as said by Moses Kertoghair of fair speech.

After Pap, Baraztan Arhsakuni ruled for ten years. He assumed power by the command of King (Emperor) Theodosius because he was a hostage of the Romans.

²⁴²⁴ Moses Khorenats'i, *History of the Armenians*, translated by Robert W. Thomson (Harvard University Press, 1978), 331-332.

In this period, Sahak, son of Nerses, was ordained a catholicos of the Armenians without the permission of the metropolitan of Caesarea. He served for six years. He was succeeded by his brother, Zaven, who likewise served for six years. He was succeeded by Asiporag for five years.

After Barzadad, the two sons of Pap, Arshak and Bagarshak, reigned for twenty years. After them, ruled Khosrov Arshakuni by order of the king of Persia because, once more, the Armenians rebelled against the Romans. Khosrov ruled for ten years. In his second year, Sahak, son of Nerses the Great, was ordained a catholicos of the Armenians for forty-one years.

After Khosrov reigned Pershapuh by order of the Persian king for twenty-two years. In his time, the Armenians were able to refine their script by the effort of the blessed Mesrop from the village of Hasegas in the region of Taron. In this script, their books were copied by Sahak.²⁴²⁵

After Pershapuh, his son Ardashes ruled for ten years. Because he was of wicked deeds, the Armenian leaders met with Catholicos Sahak. They asked him to accompany them to the Persian king in order to depose their king and set up another one. The catholicos refused saying, "God forbid that I should deliver the branch of Christ to the hand of a wolf that has no faith." The leaders were angry with him. They went to Pershapuh, the Persian king, and slandered their king and their catholicos. He seized Ardasher, bound him and sent him to Khugastan (Khurasan), and deposed Sahak from being a catholicos. Based on the demand of the Armenian leaders, a Syrian Jacobite named Abti'o, a crafty and wicked person, was set up (in place of Ardasher). He lasted for only one year and died. He was succeeded by Samuel from the same race, who died two years later.

Afterwards, a person was set up named Sourmag who joined the Armenian leaders in calumniating the blessed Sahak. He was set up as king by order of the Persian king and died seven years later. Sahak, too, died in the village of Hasegas in the region of Taron. Also, King Khosrov died, and the Armenians set up a person named Sparabed (literally, judge), whose real name is Bartan (Vardan), and a grandson of Saint Sahak, from the family of Mamikonians.²⁴²⁶

According to the biography of malphono (teacher) Elisha, the Armenians at times succumbed to the Persian bondage, at other times they rebelled against them as they had rebelled against the Romans in the past. As to Bartan (Vardan), he was reconciled with the Armenian leaders for thirty years. Then he was martyred in the cause of the church at the hand of the Persian army. In his time, the Armenians had Yusuf (Joseph), a disciple of the martyr Mesrop, ordained a catholicos for eight years. He was succeeded by Kiud for ten years. In his time flourished the learned men Moses Bar Togahair (Kertogahair), his brother Mambre Baznug (Berzanug) and the philosopher Tabid (David).

Kiud was succeeded by Ohan Mangoni for 8 years, who set down many orders in the Armenian church like the orders of homilies to be recited during the day and vesper prayers, baptism, the ordination of bishops, presbyters and deacons, the consecration of the church, and the preparation for the offering of the Elements of the Eucharist. In his time, the Council of Chalcedon was convened (A.D. 451), but he did not accept it. He was succeeded by Papken for 6 years.

Judge Bartan (Vardan) was succeeded by his son Mankanus for 20 years. He was succeeded by his son Bahan (Vahan) for 15 years, who was succeeded by his brother's daughter for 12 years, and then by Megeg Knouni for 30 years.

In the tenth year, which is the year 310 of the Greeks, the year seven of Philip Caesar, the year fourteen of Justinian who built the grand church of Hagia Sophia and the year two hundred fifty-eight of Gregory the Illuminator, the history of the Armenians was written down.

Then, Samuel became a catholicos for 10 years; after him, Mouse (Moses) for 8 years; after him Sahak for 5 years; after him Christopher the philosopher for 6 years; after him Lebon (Leon) for 3 years; and after him Nerses for 9 years.

²⁴²⁵ Moses Khorenats'i *History of the Armenians*, translated Robert W. Thomson, 309-311.

²⁴²⁶ For Vardan's grandson of Sahak see Moses Khorenats'i, *History of the Armenians*, 327.

In the fourth year, Nerses convened a council at a place called Tebin, presided over by Peter of Siounik, Barshabouh (Nersabouh) of Daron, and Aptisho of Sanason.²⁴²⁷

In the same period, the Syrians assembled a council in Beth Nahrin (Mesopotamia). They sent to the Armenian council a delegation of seven prominent men with letters containing the definition of the Orthodox faith, and the instruction that after the phrase "Holy thou art God" (in the Trisagion), they should say "You who was crucified for us." When the Armenians read this, they united themselves with the Syrians, and the dogma of both became the same. The Syrian delegates were Ahrun (Aaron), presbyter of the monastery, Tabit, presbyter of the monastery, Mor Dyab, Shaporis, Agob Arstrabuni, Tabit the presbyter, and Sarkis the presbyter. They also sent with them Abdisho, the saint and chosen of God, to be ordained a priest. As a token of affection, Nerses, president of the council, ordained him and sent him back with honor loaded with gifts, and a letter containing the definition of their faith. When the Syrians read it, they rejoiced, and with one accord with the Armenians, they anathematized the Council of Chalcedon and the *Tome* of Leo.

After Megega Knouni, Gabad, son of Beroz (Firuz) ruled the Persians.

In this period, the Persian Marzuban (governor) sent a person named Artensabuh to the Armenians to oblige them to worship fire, and kill those who refused to do so. He ruled for 8 years and was followed by Baraztad, also a Persian, who ruled for 7 years. When Qabad the Persian king died, his son Khosrov reigned. He sent (to the Armenians) an envoy from his Persian race named Souren, more wicked than the first who ruled for seven years. He raped the wives of the Armenian leaders in front of their husbands. Urged by zeal, the Armenian Bartan (Vardan) Peteshk killed the Persian and fled to Justinian, king (emperor) of the Greeks who welcomed him. The Church of Hagia Sophia was then in the process of being built. The Armenians and Justinian called one of its doors, "Armenian." Until this day it is known as The Armenian Door. Then, the Persians chose an Armenian from the Saruni family and set him up a leader over the Armenians.

In the twelfth year, appeared Muhammad ibn Abd Allah (The Prophet of Islam). With him, began the kingdom of the Arabs, which is the year 72 of the Armenian calendar. Tabit's leadership of the Armenians lasted 30 years, and he was succeeded by Theodosius Rashduni for 13 years.

In this time, Ohannes was ordained a catholicos of the Armenians for 23 years. He was followed by Moses for 30 years, who was followed by Abraham for 23 years. In his time, Qioron, catholicos of the Iberians, accepted the Council of Chalcedon, and the Iberians were separated from the Armenians and seized the towns of Garnoi-Kagak and Gedrasi. However, the name of the catholicos Vahan was not included in the table (of catholicoses) for his inclination toward Chalcedon, and he was deposed.

Then, Gomidas became catholicos for 8 years. He built the rest house of the martyr Horpsima (Saint Rhipsimé), and renovated the one which was built by Gregorius. He was succeeded by Christophor for 3 years, and then deposed because of a conflict among the leaders.

After Christophor, Azad was catholicos for 10 years. In his time, that was the year hundred according to the Armenian calendar, the Persian hegemony over Armenia vanished and the Arabs ruled Armenia and the country of the Iberians by Umar ibn Muhammad.

After Azad, Nerses was catholicos for 20 years. He built the Great Church of Mor Gregorius in the city of Tashdi, and invited Constantine, the grandson of Heraclius, to attend its consecration. However, Constantine did not honor the desires of the leaders as they expected. When he departed, they rejected the Catholicos Nerses because he defiled the church by introducing Chalcedonianism into it. Nerses cursed the Armenian leaders and fled to the county of the Romans where he died.

Nerses was succeeded by Anastasius for six years. In his time, Doctor Anania Shiargasi fixed an Armenian calendar because the Armenians were still using the Greek Calendar. Also in this time flourished Philon Diragasi, who translated the book of Socrates from Greek into Armenian.²⁴²⁸

²⁴²⁷ It should be noted that the Syriac transliteration of these names, and in fact, most of the Armenian names are garbled.

²⁴²⁸ This must be *The Ecclesiastical History* of the sixth-century Socrates Scholasticus of Constantinople.

After Anastasius, Ail was set up for 10 years; after him Sahak for 27 years who died in Harran; after him Elia for 13 years; after him Ohannes for 11, who convened a council in Manzagird.

As to the princes who came after Theodorus Rashduni, they were Hamazazp, Gurabagad, and Mamikon who was appointed by the Arabs and reigned for 26 years. He was succeeded by Krikor Badrig for 20 years; Ashot Pakraduni for, 17 years; Nerses Gamsargan, 20 years; Smbat Pakraduni for 20 years; Ashot Pakraduni, son of Basag for 18 years and his son Smbat, for 12 years.

The chief priests (pontiffs) after Ohannes were:

Tabit the philosopher, 13 years

Dertad, 23 years

Another Dertad, 3 years

Sion, 8 years

Esaya (Isaiah), 13 years

Sdepahnos, 2 years

Keork, 3 years

Ioseph, 10 years

Obab, 6 months

Shlemon (Solomon), 2 years

David, 25 years

Ohannes, 22 years. In his time, Mamunig was set up as prince over the Armenians in the fourth year of the Armenian Calendar.

Zachariah, the amiable man, 22 years

Keork, 21 years

Masdos, who was an ascetic from childhood, and became a catholicos for 8 months only.

Ohannes, 29 years. In his time, Smbat, son of Ashot became ruler of the Armenians.

He was succeeded by his son Ashot, called Msager, or “carnivore,” who ruled for twenty-five years. He is the one who bought with silver (money) the region of Arsanouris from the family of Gamsaraganas and changed its system of government.

After Smbat, ruled his son called Aplapas, 30 years. In his youth, he was taken as hostage to Samaria in the time of (Harun al-Rashid, the Abbasid caliph, d. 809). After his release, he came to Armenia to reign. Smbat was succeeded by his son Ashot for 20 years by order of the Amir Isa ibn Hashak, and the consent of Basil, king (emperor) of the Greeks. He was succeeded by his son Kiud in the year 339 of the Armenian calendar at the behest of the Amir Ahmad ibn Hashak Isa, and by the command of Leon, king (emperor) of the Romans. In his time, and in the time of his father, Armenia enjoyed peace.

In the year 22, which is the year 368 of the Armenian calendar, the Amir Yusuf ibn Bushig, the Arab, came to Armenia with a great army. Andrunserseh, king (emperor) of the Greeks, Kakig, prince of the Basburugan, and Ashot, son of Sabuh, encamped against Smbat in a place called Gabvid. After seizing the place, the Amir Yusuf crucified Smbat and devastated Armenia, and the condemnation of Israel by the prophet was fulfilled in the Armenians.

We found these chronicles in an Armenian book beginning from the year of the Incarnation of the Savior to the year 360 of the Armenian calendar, in which Smbat was killed and the Arabs dominated, the total of which is 970 years. Since then, the Armenians had no king.

Names of the Armenian kings and the years of the reign of each of them:

1. Abgar, 38 years
2. Sanatruk, 30 years
3. Erband, 20 years
4. Artashes, 40 years
5. Artavazd, 2 years

6. Tiran, 17 years
7. Tigran, 45 years
8. Bagars, 18 years
9. Khosrov, 44 years
10. Barsig, 16 years
11. Pokr Khosrov, 7 years
12. Dertad, 16 years
13. Diran, 15 years
14. Arshak, 30 years
15. Pap, 1 year
16. Barastad, 10 years
17. Arshak Bagarshak, 24 years
18. Khosrov, 10 years
19. Bramsabuh, 22 years
20. Ardases, 10 years

Here ends the epoch of the Armenian kings. After them arose princes called "Governors":

21. Vartan, thirty years
22. Manganos, twenty years.
23. Bahan (Vahan), fifteen years
24. Bart, twelve years
25. Megeg Knouni, thirty years

Here ends the rule of the Armenian governors. They were ruled by Persian governors called Marzubans (Judges):

26. Artensabuh, eight years
27. Barazbad, one year
28. Suren, one year

Then came new Armenian prince:

29. Tabi Saharuni, thirty years
30. Theodorus Rashduni, twenty-four years
31. Hamazazp, Guarabagad, twenty-five years
32. Keikor Badrig, twenty years
33. Ashot Bagratuni, seventeen years
34. Nerses Gamasaragan, twenty years
35. Smbat Bagratuni, twenty years
36. Ashot Bagratuni, eighteen years
37. Smbat, his son, twelve years

Then came kings of Armenian origin:

38. Ashot Msager, twenty years
39. Smbat Aplapas, thirty years
40. Ashot, his son, forty years
41. Smbat, his son, twenty-two years.

After Smbat was murdered, no Armenian king or governor was set up because the Arabs ruled Greater Armenia. They were followed by the Turks who ruled the Armenians until this day.

...lacuna... of a few lines

In his time the Greeks assembled in all over the Armenian countries and rejected the Council of Chalcedon in the time of the emperors Zeno and Anastasius.

16. Samuel of Peznun from the village Arzuhe, ten years
17. Mor Musa from the village of Alaperiz, five years
18. Mor Isaac from the village of Agabij (Ekekige), five years
19. Mor Christophor from the village of PakRabbant, six years
20. Mor Leon from the village of Aresd, three years
21. Nerses from the village of Megdala, seven years
22. Ohannes from the village of Sinsegban, seventeen years
23. Moses from the village of Elebart, thirty years. During his reign, he instructed that history should be written down in the form of a chronology like the one the Armenians did in the time of Megeg Knouni.
24. Abraham Eregduni from the village of Agap, thirteen years. In his time, the troubles in the region of under Armenian authority quieted down, and the Armenians abolished the traditions of the Greeks in anticipation of accepting the Council of Chalcedon. The catholicos of the Iberians then was Quirion who created a schism.
25. Mor Ohan from Gogobita, twenty-six years. Ohan set up an Armenian catholicos in the time of the Catholicos Abraham. He made ready a house for the episcopate of Ohan in Qodas, the village of Laban.
26. Mor Gomidas from the village of Aghsis of the family of Horpsima, eight years
27. Mor Christophorus from the noble family of Mor Abraham, three years
28. Mor Ezr from the village of Paraznagerd who was raised in the house of the catholicate, ten years
29. Mor Nerses

Other matters should have been added to this chronicle. However, the copyist who transcribed this copy said that he could not copy except these portions because it was deficient in the beginning and the end. Reader! Pray for the sinner, poor and lowly copyist for the sake of our Lord.

Jacob of Edessa mentions nine Armenian kings who ruled before the establishment of the late Persian kingdom, that is, before the advent of the Lord. They are Khosrov, Terdat, Khosrov, Tiran, Ashaq (Arshak), Pap, Urstat (Varazdat), Ashaq (Arshak), and Valshaq (Valarshak). Their rule extended until the rise of the Christian kings, and the Armenian kings united themselves to the believing kings after the Armenians embraced Christianity. However, the Persian kings imposed their authority over them and did not allow them to have rulers of their own. This is what Malphono (doctor, teacher) Jacob said.²⁴²⁹

The Armenians claim that Ashaq, one of their kings, is the one who killed King Antiochus and controlled Syria, Jerusalem, entire Palestine, Athor (Mesopotamia) and Babylon. He filled the sea with ships. Then, he marched to the West, devastated Italy, and controlled Rome. He set up two statues between two mountains from which gold was extracted. When he returned to the regions of Greece, he struck a marble pillar with his lance and made a hole in it. When the sages of Athens saw this, they said, "The head of the lance must have been stained with the blood of a poisonous monster which perforated that solid stone." This Ashaq ravaged the island of the Iberians, took its people captive, and stationed them in the northern mountains to be slaves to the Armenians. These are the people called today as Iberians. After he ruled for thirty years, he died in Nisibin.

²⁴²⁹ See "Chronicon Jacobi Edesseni", by E. W. Brooks in *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, Vol. 4, 3d Series (1903): 211.

This is what is written in the books of the Armenians, which they consider a fact. Actually, it is like the fables of the Chaldeans.

Now we write down the names of the Nestorian Catholicoses:²⁴³⁰

1. Aqaq (Acacius) was educated in the School of Edessa with Barsoum and Narsai, who studied the writings of Deodorus and Theodorus in this Aramaic school. When he entered the country of the Greeks, they had Aulos, a disciple of Theodorus, their guide. When they returned to the East, Aqaq was chosen and ordained in a place called al-Mada'in (Ctesiphon). He gathered bishops of his own dogma of whom were Barsoum the Rhetorician, and Yuhanon (John), bishop of Beth Garmai (present-day Kirkuk, Iraq) and determined that, in Christ the Son, there are two *qnume* (hypostases, substances), two natures and two essences and one unique prosopon.
2. Yani (Babai). After Aqaq, Babai, his disciple, was ordained in al-Mada'in (Ctesiphon) and administered (the Episcopal office) for six years. He issued an order that priests could marry more than once. He also allowed catholicoses to marry.
3. Shila. After Babi that is "Demanded," came Shila. He was a priest with wife and a son. He was ordained in al-Mada'in. He served for eight years, died and was buried in Ctesiphon.
4. Narsai was ordained after Shila. However, he was not accepted by the majority of the people because his ordination was not unanimous.
5. Elisha was ordained outside the mentioned place. A conflict stirred up among the people who split into two factions one condemning the other. When Narsai died, Elisha was deposed.
6. Bulus (Paul) was a bishop of Jundisapur when he was elected a catholicos. They forced him to unfrock the bishops who were ordained by Narsai and Elisha, and he did one after the other. He died after one year.
7. Mar Aba served for sixteen years. He was a Magian by race and had profane education. He was ordained in the sixth year of the rule of Khusro (Anusheerwan) who waged persecution against the Christians. Aba set rules and ordinances for the Nestorians. He resolved that the catholicos should not marry. He commented on the books of Theodorus and extended his teachings.
8. Yusuf (Joseph) served for twelve years. He was a physician proficient in his trade. He added new ordinances to the Nestorians. After twelve years of earnest service, he was afflicted with avarice. He indulged in collecting money, bribing the governors and simony (selling church offices for money). The bishops met and deposed him. He died after three years but the ordinances he set were not abolished.
9. Ezekiel served for eleven years. He was a pupil of Mar Aba and a bishop of Nu'maniyya. After his election and ordination, he administered the office peacefully for eleven years and then died.
10. Yeshu Yab served for fifteen years. He was known as the Arzonaya. He adjusted church orders. He was delegated by Khusro, king of the Persians, to Maurice, king (emperor) of the Greeks. In his time, Beth Garmai was afflicted by wrath. He introduced the three days fasting of Nineveh and the wrath stopped. In his time al-Nu'man ibn al-Mundhir embraced Christianity.
11. Sabar Yeshu served for eight years. He was from Beth Garmai. He was ordained by a threat of the governor who beat the bishops until they ordained him while he was an old man. He died after serving for eight years.
12. Gregorius served four years. He was known as Bar Babai and came from Kashkar (in southern Iraq). He was ordained in al-Mada'in (Ctesiphon) and died after four years of service.
13. Yeshu Yab served for eight years. He was married as a youth. He was ordained by the threatening of the governor in Makka in the fourth year of the Tayoye, Islamic Calendar, (A.D. 626), and died

²⁴³⁰ The Nestorian Bishop Iliyya (Elijah) bar Shinaya (d. 1046), lists the names of the Nestorian Catholicoses which are at variance with those given by Michael Rabo. See *The Chronicle of Elijah bar Shinaya*, translated Rev. Yusuf Habbi, 63-78.

after a short period. The Nestorians went without a catholicos for eighteen years in view of the instability of their conditions.

14. Mar Ammah served for three years. He came from Arzen and became a bishop of Jundisapur. He served three years after his election and ordination.
15. Bar Bastar of Harran. When the bishops assembled, they agreed that they should unanimously endorse who was elected a (catholicos) and depose who refused. When he (Bar Bastar) took their signatures, he said, "I have elected myself to be your leader." and they submitted in spite of themselves. However, his administration was good. He abridged the very lengthy liturgy of Nestorius. On his deathbed, he instructed that his pupil Georgius be ordained (a catholicos). Georgius served for a very short period and died.
16. Yuhanon Bar Marta, who was met with a vehement opposition by the bishops, abandoned his office voluntarily.
17. Hannan Yeshu known to the Nestorians as "the Great." After seven years of service, Yuhanon (Bar Marta) returned and bribed the governor who told Hannan Yeshu, "He (Yuhanon Bar Marta) has more precedence than you. Hand over to him the staff and the mitre; otherwise, you will lose your life." He did because of fear. Yuhanon, accompanied by armed men with swords, went into the city (Ctesiphon) and forced the bishops to accept him (as catholicos). After a while, he died, Hannan Yeshu also died, and the Nestorians remained without a catholicos for twenty-five years.
18. Sliba (Zkha) served for fourteen years. He effaced the name of Yuhanon and proclaimed the name of Hannan Yeshu. After serving fourteen years, he died.
19. Pethion served for twelve years. He was from Beth Garmai and a bishop of Tirhan. After administering the office of the Catholicate for twelve years, he died in the year 123 of the Tayoye (Islamic Calendar, (A.D. 740).
20. Mar Aba nicknamed Bar Brikha Sibyana. He came from Kashkar of which he was a bishop. Later, he became a catholicos and died after ten years.
21. Sourin was a bishop of Nisibin. He bribed the governor of the city, and he forced the bishops to ordain him a catholicos. The Nestorian nobles, however, met with the Caliph the Saffah (Abu al-Abbas al-Saffah 750-754) who dismissed the governor, and Sourin was deposed and driven out.
22. Yaqub (Jacob) served for nineteen years. When he became a catholicos, Sourin returned to the dignity of a metropolitan. He died after nineteen years of service.
23. Hannan Yeshu served for seven years. He was a bishop of Daquqa and then a catholicos in the year the (Abbasid) Caliph al-Mahdi (775-785) assumed the office of the caliphate.
24. Timothy served for forty-three years. He promised the people of the Mada'in money upon his ordination, but reneged on his promise. After serving for forty-three years, he died in the time of the Abbasid Caliph al-Ma'mun (d. 833).
25. Yeshu served four years. He was from the district of Nineveh. He was ordained in the year 205 of the Tayoye (Islamic Calendar) and died in the Monastery of Klil Yeshu.
26. Gorgis (George) served for four years. He was known as Bar Sabah form Marga. He married a woman and then became a monk and was ordained a bishop. He became a catholicos for four years and then passed away.
27. Sabar Yeshu served for four years. He was a bishop of Harran and was ordained by Iyawannis, metropolitan of Mosul, and was transferred by Timothy to Damascus. When the Caliph al-Ma'mun visited Damascus accompanied by Nestorian nobles, he welcomed them with honor and they elected him a catholicos in the year 217 of the Tayoye (Islamic Calendar), (A.D. 832). He served for four years and died.
28. Abraham served for thirteen years. He was from Maragha (in Azerbaijan)). He was ordained by order of the Abbasid Caliph al-Mu'tasim. He served for thirteen years and died.

BOOK TWENTY-ONE

29. Theodosius served for five years. He was a bishop of Beth Garmai²⁴³¹ and then promoted by the catholicos Sabar Yeshu to the dignity of a metropolitan of Angar. However, conflict was stirred up on his account and he remained in his house for five years without a diocese. Later, he was elected a catholicos.
30. Sergius served for twelve years. He was a metropolitan of Nisibin, and was ordained (a catholicos) by order of the (Abbasid) caliph al-Mutawakkil (847-861) in the year 1171 of the Syriac calendar. He served four years. After him, the See of the Catholicate was vacant for four years.
31. Anush served seven years. He was a metropolitan of Mosul. He served for seven years and died in the year 270 of the Tayoye (Islamic Calendar), (A.D. 883).
32. Yuhanon served eight years. He is known as Bar Narsai. He was bishop of the Anbar and became a catholicos in the year 271 of the Tayoye (Islamic Calendar), (A.D. 884). He served eight years and died.
33. Iyawannis served six years. He is nephew of Theodosius. On Pentecost, he commented from the pulpit on the homily of the Theologian (Gregory of Nazianzus) on the Holy Spirit. He was admired by the bishops because he was well versed in church sciences. He was ordained (a catholicos in the year 288 of Hijra (A.D. 900). He served for six years and died.
34. Yuhanon served four years. The Nestorians were split into two factions, one promoting Theodosius, metropolitan of Jundisapur as a candidate; the other factions wanted Yuhanon Bar Isa the Lamé. After suffering great losses, they agreed to cast a lot on both of them, and Yuhanon won. He was ordained (a catholicos), served four years, and died.
35. Abraham served thirty-two years. He was a bishop of Beth Garmai and was ordained a catholicos in the time of the (Abbasid) caliph al-Muktafi (d. 908). He served for thirty-two years and died.
36. Emmanuel served twenty-two years. He was ordained in the year 326 of the Tayoye (Islamic Calendar), (A.D. 937). He served for twenty-two years and passed away.
37. Israel served twenty-six years. He was a bishop of Kashkar and then ordained a catholicos. He served for twenty-six years and died.
38. Mari served fourteen years. He was from Mosul and became a bishop and then a metropolitan in Persia. He was then ordained a catholicos, served fourteen years, and passed away.
39. Yuhanon was a bishop of a region called Sana. He became a metropolitan of Persia. However, the Nestorians of Baghdad chose him as a catholicos in the year 391 of the Tayoye (Islamic Calendar), (A.D. 1000). He became a friend of Ignatius Bar Qiqi, the Jacobite catholicos (maphryono) of Takrit.²⁴³² He served nine years and then passed away.

End of the above table of names that we have found. However, the Syriac copy used and published by J.B. Chabot adds the following on p. 777, “we have found this table of names in a book written by Deacon Gouria in the year 2199 of the Greeks/A.D. 1888.” This passage is written in Garshuni (Arabic in Syriac letters). Gouria is the Deacon who has transcribed the copy Michael’s Chronicle for Chabot, as shown by Mor Gregorius Yuhanna Ibrahim, Metropolitan of Aleppo, in his preface to the *Edessa-Aleppo Syriac Codex of the Chronicle of Michael the Great* (Gorgias Press, 2009), xii.

Addendum

The Bishops of Rome:

1. Peter, 25 years
2. Linus, 12 years

²⁴³¹ In the district of Sulaymaniyy in northern Iraq.

²⁴³² For a biography of Marcus Bar Qiqi (d.1016), see Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls*, translated into English by Matti Moosa (Gorgias Press, 2003), 414.

3. Analetus, 11 years
4. Clement, 9 years
5. Evaristus, 8 years
6. Alexander, 52 years
7. Xistus, 10, years
8. Telesphorus, 11 years
9. Hyginus, 4 years
10. Pius, 15 years
11. Anicius, 11 years
12. Soter, 9 years
13. Zephyrinus, 8 years
14. Calistus, 5 years
15. Eleutherus, 15 years
16. Victor, 12 years
17. Urbanus, 9 years
18. Pontianus, 5 years
19. Anterus, 8 years
20. Fabian, 11 years
21. Cornelius, 2 years
22. Lucius, 4 years
23. Stephan, 1 year
24. Xistus, ii years and 5 months
25. Dionysius, 8 years
26. Felix, 4 years and 1 month
27. Eutychius, 1 year
28. Gaius, 11 years and 4 months
29. Marcus, 1 year and 4 months

Bishops before the time of Persecution:

30. Eusebius, 6 months
31. Militiades, 31 years
32. Sylvester, 23 years
33. Marcus, 2 years
34. Julius 15 years
35. Liberius, 4 years
36. Felix
37. Damasus
38. Siricius
39. Anastasius, 3 years
40. Innocent, 15 years
41. Zosimus, 7 years
42. Celestinus, 9 years
43. Leon, heretic, 21 years
44. Gallus, 8 years
45. Hilarius, 7 years
46. Simplicius, 16 years
47. Anastasius, 11 years

Here the Bishops are Chalcedonians:

48. Symmachus, 6 years
49. Teorontos, 4 years
50. Hormisdas, 10 years
51. Iwannis, 14 years
52. Felix, 35 years
53. Vigilius, 20 years
54. Agapius, 15 years
55. Silvester
56. Pelagius
57. Zosos
58. Martinus
59. Agathon
60. Adrian

The Bishops of Alexandria:

1. Marcus, 22 years
2. Ananius, 22 years
3. Milius, who is Akilius (Abilius)
4. Cerdon, 11 years
5. Primus, 12 years
6. Justus, 11 years
7. Eumenius, 13 years
8. Marcianus, 10 years
9. Celadion, 14 years
10. Agrippianus, 12 years
11. Julianus, 14 years
12. Demetrius, 43 years
13. Heraclius, 16 years
14. Dionysius, 17 years
15. Maximus, 18 years
16. Theonas, 19 years
17. Petrus, 10 years
18. Achilleus, 6 years
19. Alexander, 15 years
20. Athanasius, 46 years
21. Petrus, 7 years
22. Lucius an Arian
23. Timothy, brother of Petrua, 3 years
24. Theophylus, 28 years
25. Cyril, 33 years
26. Dioscorus, 7 years
27. Proterius
28. Timothy Goumrara, 20 years
29. Timothy
30. Yuhanna, a heretic
31. Petrus, 12 years

32. Athanasius, 7 years
33. Yuhannan, 9 years
34. Iwannis, 11 years
35. Dioscorus, 11 years
36. Timothy, 11 years
37. Theodosius, 38 years
38. Petrus, 1 year
39. Gayana, a heretic
40. Paul, 40 years
41. Zoilus
42. Apollinarius
43. Theodorus
44. Petrus
45. Yuhanna, Chalcedonian
46. Damian
47. Anastasus
48. Andronicus,
49. Benjamin,
50. Cyrus, Chalcedonian
51. Agathon
52. Yuhannes
53. Simeon
54. Isaac,
55. Alexander
56. Cosmas, 40 years
57. Iwannis
58. Marcus
59. Jacob
60. Simeon
61. Joseph

The Bishops of Ephesus:

1. Andrea, 12 years
2. Astikos, 10 years
3. Onesimus, 14 years
4. Polycarp, 17 years
5. Politrobos, 16 years
6. Diogenes, 8 years
7. Athenodorus, 13 years
8. Eleutherius
9. Philippus
10. Polycarp
11. Euzeius, 5 years
12. Laurentius
13. Olympus
14. Protonicus, 18 years
15. Marcus, 13 years
16. Cornelius

17. Constantinus
18. Titus
19. Domitian, 11 years
20. Probus

Here the Bishopric seat was transferred to Constantinople:

21. Alexander 23 years
22. Paul
23. Macedonius, Arian
24. Eusebius
25. Eudoxius, heretic
26. Demophilus, Arian
27. Evagrius
28. Gregory the Great Nazianzus, 10 years
29. Nectarius, 7 years
30. Iwannis, 1 year
31. Arcasius
32. Atticus
33. Sisinnus
34. Nestor, heretic
35. Maximian, 2 years
36. Proclus
37. Flavian, heretic
38. Anatolius, heretic
39. Gennadius, heretic
40. Acacius
41. Flabitus, 4 months
42. Euphemius, heretic
43. Macedonius, heretic
44. Timothy
45. Yuhanna, Chalcedonian
46. Epiphanius, Chalcedonian
47. Anthimus

Here the Bishops are Chalcedonians:

48. Yuhanna
49. Cyriacus
50. Sergius
51. Mennas
52. Germanicus
53. Theodotus

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